THE LIFE OF JOHN, Duke of Marlborough, Prince of the *Roman* Empire;

Illustrated with

MAPS, Plans of BATTLES, SIEGES, and MEDALS,

And a great Number of

ORIGINAL LETTERS and PAPERS Never before Published.

The SECOND EDITION.
With Considerable Additional Improvements.

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Esq; F. R. S.

VOLUME II.

Let GREECE *and* ROME *their rival Heroes boast,*
Till Truth of History's in Fiction lost:
BRITAIN *shall sing her* MARLBOROUGH *alone,*
And all her MIGHTY GENERALS *shew in* ONE.

LONDON:
Printed for J. WILCOX, against the New Church in the *Strand.*

MDCCXLIII.

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VOLUME II.

In GREECE and ROME their vanquish'd Heroes laugh,
With Pomp of Words in Triumph lug'd:
BRITAIN scarce flags her MARLBOROUGH alone,
But all her MIGHTY GENERALS drowns in One.

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Printed for J. WILCOX, against the New Church in the Strand.

MDCCXLIII.

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE,

WILLIAM Earl of *Bath*,

Viſcount *Pulteney*, of *Wrington*, in the County of *Sommerſet*, and Baron of *Hedon*, in the County of *York*, one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council.

MY LORD,

HAVING dedicated the *Firſt Edition* of theſe Sheets, and the firſt Volume of this *Second Edition*, to the Moſt Noble Succeſſor to my HERO's Dignities and Virtues, who is following the Steps of his Great Predeceſſor, in the Art of an experienc'd Commander, my next Thoughts were to offer the ſecond Volume to ſome Perſon of Diſtinction, of whom it might juſtly, and without Adulation, be ſaid, that he equall'd him in the other conſpicuous Parts of his Character, as a *Courtier* and a *Stateſman*: And here, my Lord, I could not be long in determining my Choice.

When I conſidered the ſeveral Particulars of theſe Parts of the Character, which (I hope, upon the beſt Authorities,) I have given this *Great Man*, in my *Preface*, I found them to tally ſo exactly with what all the unprejudiced Part of Mankind agrees in attributing to your Lordſhip, that it was impoſſible to think of one more deſerving the Compariſon.

" As a COURTIER, the *Great Duke of* MARLBOROUGH was never exceeded by any one, in all the " Arts necessary for forming that Character: He " was supple, affable, sedate, reserved both with Friends " and Enemies; yet careſs'd all People, with a ſoft " and obliging Deportment, being always ready to " do good Offices.

" He was, indeed, ambitious, every Action of his " Life ſhew'd it: But his Ambition was of that Kind, " which as much deſerves our Praiſe, as its Oppoſite " does our Blame, was always free from Haughti- " neſs and Oſtentation, and was grounded upon the " moſt juſt and reaſonable Principles; ſince he aim'd " at being Great only that he might do Good.

" He never forfeited his Word or his Promiſes; " but was a ſtrict Obſerver of Juſtice, which he " practis'd moſt deliberately, where he had the greateſt " Opportunity of doing Wrong.

" He had an uncommon Talent of inſinuating him- " ſelf, and gaining upon the Minds of thoſe he dealt " with.

" His Advancements, as well in Honour, as at " Court and in the Cabinet, were ſo gradual, and ſo " long foreſeen, that he was the leſs envied, as they " were look'd upon as the juſt Rewards of his Merit: " And tho' he incurr'd the Fate, which the greateſt " of Men have often been but too liable to, and was, " for a Time, miſrepreſented to his Sovereign: He " was juſtly reſtored again to Favour; and, like the " Sun, darting its Rays thro' a Cloud, ſhone forth " with the greater Luſtre.

" As a STATESMAN, he managed Variety of Bu- " ſineſs, with the greateſt Dexterity, Eaſe and Suf- " ficiency, Aſſiduity and a long Experience of Court- " Intrigues, finiſh'd him in this Character.

" He had lively Parts, a faithful and moſt exact " Memory, a deep Penetration, a ſolid and clear

" Judgment,

" Judgment, and an incomparable Preſence of Mind. " He never was ſupercilious or overbearing in Coun- " cil, but could ſuffer Contradiction without Paſſion, " and always endeavoured, where he thought he had " Reaſon to perſiſt in his Opinion, to bring over " others, by cool but convincing Arguments.—— " When he ſpoke, he rarely ſpoke in vain,—— and, " in important Debates, he expreſſed himſelf very " pertinently, and always maintain'd the Reputation " of a *Wiſe Man.*

I fear, my Lord, I preſume too long on your Lordſhip's Patience; and yet more, that I offend your Modeſty, while I am giving you a Sketch of one Part of the Character of the *Greateſt Man of the Age he liv'd in*, and, at the ſame Time, apply it to *Your Own*: Permit me, therefore, my Lord, only to add to the Parallel; that,

" The *Great Duke of* MARLBOROUGH was always " a bold Aſſerter of Revolution Principles, and, by " Reaſon added to theſe Principles, was as firm- " ly attach'd to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, in the " *Moſt Illuſtrious Houſe of Hannover.* He was, in- " deed, thereby induced generally to ſide with the " Whigs, but it was always with the greateſt Mo- " deration; and tho' he may ſometimes have ſeem'd " rather to lean to the other Side of the Queſtion, it " was only when he was convinc'd that the Exigences " of the State, and the Good of his Country (which " he ever zealouſly purſued) required it.

" It is reported, that our great Redeemer from " Popery and Slavery, King WILLIAM, on his " Death-bed, ſaid, *That the Duke of* MARLBOROUGH " *was the fitteſt Perſon in his Dominions to preſide in* " *his Succeſſor's Councils, as he was a Man of a cool* " *Head and a warm Heart.* And if I, (to borrow a " Paſſage from the *Tatler*) may be allowed to wiſh " and hope, that *Great Britain* will always be ſo happy,

" to

" to have a proper Perſon to preſide over her publick " Councils, it ſhould certainly be, that it may be one, " as much admir'd for his univerſal Knowledge of " Men and Things, as for his Eloquence, Courage, and " Integrity in the exerting of ſuch extraordinary Ta- " lents.

Your Lordſhip will, I believe, ſuſpect (and the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude obliges me to confeſs it) that I embrace this Opportunity (which I have long wiſh'd for) publickly to acknowledge the very many Obligations I have, for re-iterated Favours beſtow'd upon me and mine.

They are, my Lord, not only numerous, but carry with them ſuch Inſtances of *Impartial Candour* and *Exceſs of Goodneſs* as are hardly to be parallel'd; and ſuch as the ſhort Remains of a Life like mine, a Life almoſt worn out by a conſtant and indefatigable Application to Buſineſs, to enable me to ſupport a numerous Family, with Reputation, is much too ſhort a Time ſufficiently to acknowledge. All that is therefore in my Power, is to dedicate myſelf, with a conſtant Attachment, to the faithful Execution of your Lordſhip's Commands; and all that I have to wiſh, which I do with the moſt fervent Ardour, is, that I may ever be allowed to ſubſcribe myſelf, with the greateſt Deference and Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

Moſt Devoted,

Moſt Obliged, and

Moſt Obedient,

Humble Servant,

THOMAS LEDIARD.

Old Palace-Yard, Weſtminſter, April 2. 1743.

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THE LIFE OF JOHN, Duke of *Marlborough*, &c. &c.

VOLUME, II. BOOK, V.

CHAP. VII.

The Campaign in Flanders, *with other Tranſactions before the Battle of* Oudenarde.

1708.

Several tranſactions at home, the beginning of this year.

I CONCLUDED the laſt chapter of the firſt volume, with an account of a memorable debate in the houſe of lords, in which the duke of Marlborough had a large ſhare, and which, indeed, was chiefly levell'd at him. Complaints were alſo made of his grace, by his enemies, for continuing the war, tho' at the concluſion of the Year 1706, the French had offer'd to yield up Spain and the Weſt Indies; but this, ſays a late author, was a falſe ſuggeſ-

1708. tion. All theſe heats in parliament, after they had got this vent, were abated, upon aſſurances given by the queen, that all paſt errors ſhould be redreſs'd for the future. The duke of Marlborough, and his friends had, however, at this juncture, ſeveral uneaſineſſes to encounter with; for the better underſtanding of which, I muſt previouſly inform the reader of ſome things, which were, as I may ſay, a prelude to what enſued.

The ducheſs of Marlborough declines in the queen's favour.

The ducheſs of Marlborough, who hitherto had almoſt engroſs'd the queen's favour, began now very much to decline in her majeſty's eſteem, and in the credit ſhe had formerly had: her grace had introduced one mrs. Maſham into the queen's ſervice; and this lady had found means to inſinuate herſelf ſo far into the queen's good graces, that ſhe began to eclipſe the ducheſs, and to become almoſt her majeſty's only favourite. Mr. Harley (afterwards earl of Oxford) then ſecretary of ſtate, and at the head of the party, which oppoſed the duke and his adherents, and was endeavouring to ſupplant them, at court, began likewiſe to grow daily in the queen's favour, and to have great influence over her meaſures.

Mrs. Maſham and mr. Harley gain her eſteem.

Character of mrs. Maſham.

" This mrs. Maſham, afterwards lady Maſham, having had a " great ſhare in the univerſal change of the miniſtry, which the read- " er will find in the ſequel of this hiſtory, it may be proper to " give a brief account here, who ſhe was, and by what means " ſhe came to have ſo great an influence over her royal miſtreſs. " The ducheſs of Marlborough, either weary of a conſtant and " cloſe attendance at court, or, as ſome would have it, think- " ing herſelf, as a princeſs of the empire, above it, had pre- " fer'd mrs. *Abigail Hill*, her kinſwoman, to be one of her ma- " jeſty's dreſſers and chamber-woman, thinking ſhe might ſe- " curely eaſe herſelf, by leaving a dependent and relation, in " whom ſhe entirely confided, near the queen. Mrs. Hill diſ- " charg'd her duty with great obſequiouſneſs, and having a to- " lerable ſhare of wit and good humour, made herſelf ſo a- " greeable, that, as the ducheſs of Marlborough let ſome- " times whole months paſs, without waiting on the queen, ſo " her majeſty very eaſily diſpenſed with her abſence. On the " other hand, the growing favourite as eaſily forgot her be- " nefactreſs, and reſolved to ſet up for herſelf. Her princi- " pal adviſer was mr. ſecretary Harley, who judging her " a proper inſtrument for his deſigns, applied himſelf to her, " with all the cunning and addreſs he was maſter of, ſhew'd her " more regard than ſhe had reaſon to expect from a perſon in " his poſt, and infuſed ſuch notions into her, as ſoon taught her " to ſet a ſuperior value on herſelf. At length there grew " ſuch an intimacy and confidence between them, that mrs. Hill, " looking with an affectionate eye on mr. Maſham, a comely " years, formerly page to the queen, but afterwards a gentle-

" man

" man of the bed-chamber to prince George, ſhe did not ſcruple 1708.
" to diſcloſe the ſecret to mr. Harley, by whoſe means the
" match was made. Mrs. Hill (now mrs. Maſham) became,
" out of gratitude, entirely devoted to mr. Harley, who, by
" her means, had freer acceſs to the queen, than any other mi-
" niſter. This advantage he improv'd ſo dexterouſly, by enter-
" taining her majeſty with diverting ſtories of the town, that,
" on pretence of buſineſs, he was, at laſt, admitted into her
" pleaſurable retirements, where he had opportunities, not on-
" ly to ſtudy and humour her inclinations, but alſo to inſinu-
" ate ſuch hints of perſons and things as were agreeable to
" his deſigns; and thus was the foundation laid to thoſe great
" and unexpected events, which will, in great part, make out
" the continuation of this work."

Character of mr. Harley.

" Robert Harley, eſq; was a gentleman of a good family
" in Herefordſhire, who early applied himſelf, and took a
" great deal of pains to underſtand perfectly the conſtitution of
" his country. He appear'd very active at the revolution, but
" not being gratified, as he thought, according to his deſerts,
" he openly voted in parliament, in oppoſition to the princi-
" ples he had always profeſs'd. It is ſaid, that ſome ſteps were
" made towards gaining him over to king William, yet he made
" no advance, till the parliament was called, which impeached
" the partition; but of that, and the next ſucceeding, he was
" choſen ſpeaker."

" No man (ſays my author) underſtood more the management
" of that chair to the advantage of his party, nor knew better
" all the t——cks of the houſe. He was bred a presbyterian,
" yet join'd with the church party in every thing, and they
" hardly did any thing without him. He was well ſkill'd in
" almoſt all things; but his eloquence was what he chiefly
" ſhone forth in, on all occaſions."

" He was as indefatigable as he was uſeful, and for that rea-
" ſon was well with the miniſtry, till he profeſſedly ſet up in op-
" poſition to them. He always made a ſhew, at leaſt of re-
" ligion, and never fail'd to have a clergyman of each ſort
" (church of England and presbyterian) at his table on Sunday,
" tho' his family generally follow'd the latter."

" As I ſhall have occaſion to mention him frequently, in the
" continuation of this work, I ſhall not dwell longer on his
" character in this place."

Two diſcoveries made to the prejudice of mr. Harley.

Two diſcoveries were made, at this time, unluckily for mr. Harley. One was of a private correſpondence, carried on with France, by one Gregg, a clerk of the ſecretary's office, whom this gentleman had not only entertained, but taken into a particular confidence; and he was, hereupon, tried and executed for it: but it did not appear, that mr. Harley was any way

1708. privy to, or had given the leaſt countenance to this illicit correſpondence: this not only, did not appear, by any circumſtances in the courſe of the moſt ſtrict enquiries made on this occaſion; but the unhappy criminal himſelf, in the laſt moments of his life, amply vindicated his innocence, in the moſt ſolemn manner, in a paper, that at his execution, he deliver'd to the ordinary of Newgate, which tho' ſuppreſs'd for a time, till it appear'd in print from a copy that had been put into other hands, was then publiſh'd by the ordinary likewiſe: he there, among other things, expreſſes himſelf in the following words.

Part of Gregg's laſt confeſſion.

"I declare, in the next place, the reparation I would make, "were it in my power, to thoſe of her majeſty's ſubjects, I "have wrong'd, in any kind; and particularly the right "honourable Robert Harley, eſq; whoſe pardon I heartily "beg, for baſely betraying my truſt: which declaration, tho' "of itſelf ſufficient to clear the ſaid gentleman, yet for the ſake "of thoſe, whom it was my misfortune not to be able to ſa-"tisfy in my life-time, I do ſacredly proteſt, that, as I ſhall "anſwer it before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, the gentleman "aforeſaid was not privy to my writing to France, directly nor "indirectly; neither I, his unworthy clerk, any ways acceſſa-"ry to the miſcarriage before Toulon, nor the loſſes by ſea, "all which happened before the firſt of my letters, which was "writ the 24th of October, 1707.

The other, that Valiere and Bara, whom he had employed, as his ſpies, to go oft over to Calais under the pretence of bringing him intelligence, were informed againſt, as ſpies employed by France, to get intelligence from England. They were often complained of, upon ſuſpicion, but were always protected by mr. Harley; yet the preſumptions againſt them were ſo violent, that they were, at laſt, ſeized on, and brought up priſoners for it. "Theſe accidents (ſays a late author) might "make mr. Harley more earneſt, to bring about a change in "the conduct of affairs, in which he relied on the credit of "the new favourite."

The duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin make complaints againſt him. And offer to lay down their places.

"The duke of Marlborough and the lord treaſurer (con-"tinues my author) having diſcover'd many of his practices, "laid them before the queen: ſhe would believe nothing, that "was ſuggeſted to his prejudice; nor would ſhe enter into any "examination of his ill conduct; but was uneaſy when ſhe "heard it ſpoke of: ſo theſe lords wrote to the queen, that "they could ſerve her no longer, if he was continued in his "poſt. The Sunday following, when they were ſummoned to "a cabinet council, they both went to the queen, and told "her, they muſt quit her ſervice, ſince they ſaw, ſhe was "reſolved not to part with Harley. She ſeemed not much con-"cerned, at the lord Godolphin's offering to lay down; and it

"was

" was believed to be part of mr. Harley's new ſcheme to remove 1708.
" him; but ſhe was much touched with the duke of Marl-
" borough's offering to quit, and ſtudied, with ſome ſoft ex-
" preſſions, to divert him from that reſolution; but he was
" firm, and ſhe did not yield to them; ſo they both went a-
" way, to the wonder of the whole court. Immediately af-
" ter, the queen went to the cabinet counil, and mr. Harley
" opened ſome matters, relating to foreign affairs: the whole Uneaſineſs
" board was very uneaſy; the duke of Sommerſet ſaid, he did of the cabi-
" not ſee how they could deliberate on ſuch matters, ſince the net council,
" general was not with them; he repeated this, with ſome on this occa-
" vehemence, while all the reſt looked ſo cold and ſullen, ſion.
" that the cabinet-council was ſoon at an end; and the queen
" ſaw, that the reſt of her miniſters, and the chief officers,
" were reſolved to withdraw from her ſervice, if ſhe did not
" re-call the two, that had left it. It was ſaid, that ſhe would
" have put all to the hazard, if mr. Harley himſelf had not
" apprehended his danger, and reſolved to lay down. The
" queen ſent, the next day, for the duke of Marlborough, and, Mr. Harley
" after ſome expoſtulations, ſhe told him, Harley ſhould im- and ſeveral
" mediately leave his poſt, which he did within two days, (viz. others lay
" the eleventh of February;) but the queen ſeemed to carry a down their
" deep reſentment of his and the lord Godolphin's behavi- places.
" our, on this occaſion; and, tho' they went on with their bu-
" ſineſs, they found they had not her confidence.

Thus mr. Harley loſt the ſeals, but, by the good offices of his truſty friend mrs. Maſham, he ſtill retain'd privately the queen's ear and favour, which he continued to enjoy, till, at length, (as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel) he again triumphed, in his turn.

" The ducheſs of Marlborough did, for ſome weeks, abſtain
" from going to court; but, afterwards, that breach was made
" up in appearance, tho' it was little more than an appearance.
" Both houſes of parliament expreſs'd a great concern, at this
" rupture, in the court, and apprehended the ill effects it might
" have. The commons let the bill of ſupply ly on the table,
" tho' it was order'd for that day; and the lords appointed a
" committee to examine Gregg, and the other priſoners. As
" Harley laid down, Harcourt, then attorney general, Man-
" ſel, the comptroller of the houſhold, and St. John, the ſe-
" cretary of war, went and laid down with him.

" Sir Simon Harcourt was an able lawyer, who had been ſol- Character of
" licitor-general; mr. Manſel, a young gentleman of a very good ſir Simon
" eſtate in Wales; who always made a great figure in the houſe Harcourt,
" of commons; but generally oppos'd the meaſures of king mr. Man-
" William's reign. He had a ready wit, and a great deal of ſel, and mr,
" good-nature, was a lover of the fair ſex, and an agreeable St. John.
" companion; and mr. St John a very active man," of whom

1708. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in the ſequel.

Mr. Boyle made ſecretary of ſtate.

" The queen took much time to conſider, how ſhe ſhould fill " up ſome of their places; but mr. Boyle, uncle to the earl of " Burlington, was, the next day, made ſecretary of ſtate.

At the time that this breach happen'd at court, the duke had a great many ſtaunch friends, of the higheſt diſtinction and rank, in both houſes of parliament. His family was alſo very much ſtrengthened in alliances, with other great and powerful families; for his only ſon being dead, he had married his eldeſt daughter to the eldeſt ſon of the lord treaſurer Godolphin: He had married another to the earl of Sunderland; a third to the earl of Bridgwater, and the youngeſt to the preſent duke of Montague, then only Marquis of Montharmar, his father being yet alive. This however, created a no ſmall jealouſy among ſome ſort of people, who did all they could to prepoſſeſs men's minds with fears, leſt the command of the army, the treaſury, and all affairs of ſtate, being as it were, in the hands of one family, and the duke of Marlborough being in ſuch great authority with the allies abroad, might be the means to endanger the conſtitution.

The greateſt and ableſt men of the kingdom were alſo of the duke's party, and gave their concurrence to all the meaſures then on foot, in relation both to foreign and domeſtick affairs. The earl of Godolphin was an able ſtateſman of long experience, eſpecially (as I have obſerv'd already) in the treaſury, where he had been a commiſſioner many years, before he was made lord treaſurer; and tho' he was approv'd an honeſt man, afterwards, when a ſcrutiny was made into his conduct, yet being ſo nearly allied to the duke, by the ſtrongeſt ties of private intereſt, it proved the means to heighten peoples jealouſies very much; inſomuch that he was looked upon by many as a dangerous perſon, to be in ſo high a truſt.

The late lord Cowper, who was then lord chancellor, owed his riſe chiefly to the lord treaſurer, and the other great men of that party, and was the greateſt orator of his time.

The lord Somers, the late chancellor, was alſo in great repute, as an able counſellor, but was grown ſomewhat infirm, and therefore unfit for the toils of buſineſs, tho' he had great experience in affairs.

The late lord Halliſax, another very great man, was in his full vigour.

The earl of Sunderland, the duke's ſon in law, and mr. Boyle, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, were both of them men of great application and vigilance; who being alſo in their prime, were the more fit for the heavy burden of affairs, that lay upon them.

But the earl of Wharton excell'd all others in readineſs of wit, and quickneſs of penetration: and he was alſo very active

and

and indefatigable, by which he got a knowledge of the ſtrength and weakneſs of thoſe who oppoſed the publick meaſures; and ſeldom fail'd of getting intelligence of their moſt ſecret combinations and intrigues. 1708.

Beſides theſe, there were many of the nobility and gentlemen of the beſt account who held with the miniſtry, in all their publick meaſures; and moſt of thoſe who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their wit or learning, who naturally approv'd their conduct, as it was the moſt rational, and the moſt adapted to the honour and ſafety of the nation. The merchants likewiſe, and moſt people who were intereſted in trade, were on this ſide, becauſe they look'd on their intereſt as altogether precarious, unleſs ſuch a balance ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as might put it out of the power of France, or any other nation to hurt our commerce; and as they had this neceſſary point in view, they all along contributed chearfully, to the ſupport of the war, and all other exigencies of the ſtate.

Theſe great men, being thus ſtrengthened with ſo powerful a body, one might reaſonably have concluded, that nothing could have been able to give them the leaſt interruption, much leſs to move them out of the queen's favour, for whom they had performed ſuch notable ſervices: notwithſtanding all which we ſhall ſoon ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory, that the party which oppoſed them, found means to undermine them, in what they thought their greateſt and moſt inſuperable ſecurity, their influence over the queen, which hitherto had been ſuch, as in all human appearance, was out of the power of the rankeſt envy, or the moſt powerful oppoſition, to overthrow. And this may ſerve for a leſſon to all future favourites, that too much power in the hands of ſubjects, whatever good and prudent uſe may have been made of it, and however advantageous it may prove, either at preſent, or in the conſequences of it, to the publick, may, in the end, be injurious to the poſſeſſors of it, even when there is the leaſt appearance of danger.

But to return from this digreſſion; a few days after this breach, the nation was alarm'd, by news from Holland, of a deſign, which the French no longer kept, or could keep, a ſecret, that they were ſending the pretended prince of Wales to Scotland, with a fleet and an army, to poſſeſs himſelf of that kingdom, in revenge for the late attempt the confederates had made on Toulon. Scotland threaten'd with an invaſion.

France was encouraged, at this time, to ſuch an attempt, by a report that the Scots were ſo highly diſcontented, on account of the union, as to be ripe for a revolt, and ready to declare for the pretended prince of Wales, on his arrival among them. A French author ſays, that while the preparations were making in Dunkirk, the chevalier de Nangis, captain of a French man of war was privately ſent to Edinburgh, with credentials and inſtructions

1708. ſtructions to ſound the nobility and the people; that he was received by the malecontents with great joy, and found every thing ripe for a revolution; that he landed ſome arms and ammunition; and that he was made to hope there were 30,000 Scots ready to receive the pretender as ſoon as he ſhould land in Scotland.

When the pretender left Verſailles, to proceed on this expedition, the French king wrote the following letter to the pope, which pretty well diſcovers his intentions and expectations.

"Holy father,

"THE great zeal which I have always had, to re-eſtabliſh "on the throne of England, king James Stuart III. is well "known to you; tho' there was not hitherto a time proper for "it, as well by reaſon of the conjunctures, as by the unity of "my enemies, which did not give me leave to act in ſo righteous a cauſe, for our holy faith, the chief object of all our actions. We have now thought good to let him depart from "this our royal ſeat, on the ſeventh of March, in order to embark himſelf on a fleet, where every thing has been prepared "for him, with ſufficient forces to eſtabliſh him on the throne; "after he ſhall have been received, on his arrival, by the faithful people of Scotland, and proclaimed as their true and lawful king. I have thought it fit not to omit ſending you this "important news, that by your ardour the union of our holy "mother, the church, may encreaſe in that kingdom, and that "God may proſper him while the time is favourable. It is "now, holy father, your buſineſs to accompany him by your "zeal, with your holy benediction, which I alſo aſk for myſelf; and I remain,

"Holy father,

Verſailles, March 9, 1708. Your moſt loving ſon, LOUIS.

Great hopes conceiv'd by Lewis XIV. of this deſign.

Lewis XIV. had conceived vaſt hopes from this undertaking: he imagined, that as ſoon as his fleet had ſet the pretender on ſhoar, in Scotland, the whole kingdom would riſe in his favour: and that the leaſt advantage gain'd on this ſide would ſoon have brought about a ſuperiority of his troops in Flanders; for he fondly believed, queen Ann would ſoon be oblig'd to draw at leaſt thirty battalions out of thoſe parts; and this he concluded would ſoon oblige the States General to accept of the terms he ſhould propoſe them, to quit the grand alliance, and to make a ſeparate peace. But this vaſt project vaniſh'd into air. Contrary winds prevented their fleet putting to ſea till the whole matter was diſcover'd. An ague hinder'd the pretender from embarking, when he ſhould have done; and he embark'd afterwards, when it was too late, and when all reaſonable

reaſonable hopes of effecting any thing to the purpoſe were loſt; inſomuch that it was next to a miracle, that he, together with his little fleet, did not fall into the hands of the Engliſh; all which gave occaſion to a report, that Lewis XIV. would willingly have loſt his ſhips to have been rid, at the ſame time, of his gueſt; and that this ſquadron was fitted out, with that view, if it ſhould fail of ſucceſs: but if this was the deſign, the officers of the fleet do not ſeem to have been in the ſecret. 1708.

Which is wholly fruſtrated.

As the circumſtances of this matter have been lately treated, in a particular manner, in Lediard's naval hiſtory, I paſs them by here, only obſerving, that, by the vigilance of the queen, and her miniſters, the whole deſign was defeated.

The ſtorm which threatened Great Britain being thus happily diſpelled, and the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the government taken, his grace, the duke of Marlborough, ſet out from London, the nine and twentieth of March, early in the morning, and having reach'd Margate, embark'd there, that evening. The next day, at two in the afternoon, he came in ſight of the coaſt of Holland; but there being no pilot to carry in the yatch, his grace came, in an open boat, with oars, to Maeſlandt-Sluys, from whence he arriv'd, late that night, at the Hague. Prince Eugene of Savoy, who came to that place two days before, upon notice of his grace's arrival, ſent him immediately a compliment, and let him know, he would make him a viſit about nine the next morning: but his grace, with his uſual politeneſs, prevented him, and, at eight, went to ſee the prince, who, returning the viſit, about noon, they then went together to the grand penſionary, Heinſius. They were entertain'd, at dinner, by the baron de Bothmar, the elector of Hannover's envoy: whither vaſt crowds of people reſorted, to ſee theſe two great generals, particularly prince Eugene; who, having never been in Holland before, raiſed an eager curioſity, in all the inhabitants of that country, to behold him.

The duke of Marlborough goes to Holland.

Meets prince Eugene at the Hague.

Confers with him and the grand Penſionary.

"This baron, afterwards count de Bothmar, (who died in "London, in the beginning of the year 1732, in a very ad- "vanced age, and much lamented by all that knew him) re- "ſided a long time here in the quality of the late king's envoy, "before his acceſſion to the throne, as Elector of Hannover; and "(ſays my author) by his prudent management, for his maſter, "cheriſhed the moſt inconteſtable right that a prince can poſ- "ſibly have to a crown, the voice of the people."

Character of baron Bothmar.

Before I proceed, I muſt ſay a word or two of what meaſures the French, on their ſide, were taking, for the opening of the campaign. The ſmall advantages they had obtained, the laſt year, tho' they were ſufficiently mortified, that the prudent conduct of the duke of Marlborough had not let them gain any thing

The French make alterations in their generals.

1708. thing in the Netherlands, ſpirited them to entertain ſeveral towering projects, and to make ſtill greater efforts, to regain their former ſuperiority; and, indeed their forces, this year, ſeemed to be more numerous than ever, eſpecially in the Netherlands, where it was believed the elector of Bavaria, and the duke de Vendôme would have again commanded: But an unexpected alteration was ſuddenly made, and the king of France declared the duke of Burgundy generaliſſimo of his forces in Flanders; appointing the duke de Vendôme to ſerve under him; and he was to be accompanied by the duke de Berry, and the pretender, who was returned from his unſucceſsful expedition to Scotland. The elector of Bavaria was to command on the Rhine, with the duke of Berwick under him, the marſhal de Villars being recalled, and appointed to command in Dauphiny. Theſe proceedings of the French king ſurprized every one; but he conceived great hopes from theſe alterations of his generals.

Conferences between the duke of Marlboro', prince Eugene, and the deputies of the States.

The twelfth of April, N. S. in the evening, there was a great conference, between prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, the deputies of the States for private affairs, and the Grand Penſionary, in the chambers of Triers, the uſual place of conferences in the States apartment; which was pitch'd upon, to avoid the trouble of the ceremonial: for otherwiſe, it muſt have been at the duke of Marlborough's, as ambaſſador extraordinary; whereas prince Eugene had no character, his credentials importing only, "That his Imperial majeſty had ſent his "firſt counſellor, preſident of the council of war, and general-"lieutenant, prince Eugene, to concert the operations of the "campaign, in whom the States were deſired to put an entire "confidence." As ſoon as they were entered the room, the duke of Marlborough, in a very civil manner, took prince Eugene by the hand, and led him to a ſeat above his own, after which, the States deputies placed themſelves, without obſerving any precedency among them. Prince Eugene open'd the conference with a ſpeech; wherein, in a plain, natural, but pathetick manner, "He gave a particular account of the Emperor's "forces in Naples, Lombardy, and Piedmont, and of thoſe de-"ſigned for Spain, and having mentioned the troops, which "his Imperial majeſty intended to employ in Germany, he gave, "in very modeſt terms, his own opinion of the operations of "the next campaign, both on the Upper Rhine, and the Low "Countries; concluding, that he had inſtructions from his Im-"perial majeſty, to uſe his endeavours to engage the queen of "Great Britain and the States General, to approve the ſcheme "he had propoſed, and to ſecond, on their parts, his Imperial "majeſty's efforts, both to reduce the exorbitant power of "France, and to reſtore his brother, king Charles III. to the "whole monarchy of Spain." The manly and nervous elo-

quence,

quence, with which prince Eugene expreſſed himſelf, was admir'd by all who were preſent; and after he had ended his diſcourſe, the duke of Marlborough acquainted the aſſembly with the inſtructions he had received from the queen, his miſtreſs, in relation to the buſineſs before them: and, at laſt, mention was made of a ſeparate army to be commanded by prince Eugene. This conference, which laſted above an hour, was but a kind of preliminary; for the deputies of the States were not empowered to make any anſwer, either to prince Eugene's or the duke of Marlborough's propoſals, but only (according to the uſual methods obſerv'd by that wiſe republick) to receive them, and to report the ſame to their High Mightineſſes, which they did, the 16th. 1708.

Several other conferences were held, tho' more privately, between the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the deputies of the States; the reſult of which was a myſtery, and afforded matter of ſpeculation to all Europe, for a while: but it afterwards appeared to be therein reſolved, "That moſt of the "Imperialiſts employ'd, the year before, on the Upper Rhine, "with the Saxons and Heſſians, in the pay of Great Britain "and Holland, and the troops, which the elector Palatine was "to furniſh, in conſideration of his Imperial majeſty's reſtoring "him to the poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate, with the pre"rogatives enjoyed by his anceſtors, ſhould march into the Ne"therlands, to act there, under prince Eugene, in concert with "the Britiſh and Dutch forces, commanded, in chief, by the "duke of Marlborough, and under him, by velt-marſhal d'Au"verquerque." Whether prince Eugene, who took Hanover in his way to the Hague, then communicated the above ſcheme to the Elector of that name, and found him averſe to it, or propoſed other meaſures to his Electoral Highneſs, I cannot ſay: but it was thought fit, that prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough, ſhould now both wait on that prince, in order to obtain his concurrence to the reſolutions taken at the Hague. Reſolutions taken in thoſe conferences.

The duke of Marlborough intended to have gone back to England, before the opening of the campaign; but prince Eugene was very earneſt with his grace to meet him at Hanover; and the States General having repreſented, to the queen of Great Britain, the neceſſity of his preſence on that ſide, and how uncertain the winds might make his timely return, the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, his grace reſolved upon the journey to the Hanoverian court. Prince *Eugene* having finiſhed his negociations at the Hague, ſet out, the twentieth of April, N. S. arrived the twenty-ſecond at Duſſeldorp, and, having ended his buſineſs, the next day, with the Elector Palatine, and ſent an expreſs thereupon to Vienna, purſued his journey towards Hanover, the four and twentieth. The duke of Marlborough met him, the ſix and twentieth, Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough arrive at Hanover.

1708. twentieth, two German miles from that place, and arriving there the ſame evening together, they alighted at the Britiſh envoy's.

And confer with the Elector.

The duke of Marlborough went firſt to court, and was followed thither, ſoon after, by prince Eugene; where the ſeveral audiences of ceremony, which they had of the Electoral family, being over, they had, together, a long conference with the Elector, who gave orders for their being accommodated at his own palace. Their conferences were continued the three following days, the count de Rechteren aſſiſting on the part of the States General. They met with ſome difficulties at firſt, which were removed by the dextrous and prudent management of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough; and his Electoral Highneſs, tho' he was ſenſible, that, by this ſcheme, for making vigorous efforts in Flanders, the army, which he was to command himſelf, on the Upper Rhine, muſt be extreamly weakened, and he ſhould be obliged to ſtand on the defenſive; yet, at length, he conſented to part with ſeveral regiments, and, being ſatisfied with the laurels he had already gained, chearfully ſacrificed to the common cauſe, the glory he might have reap'd by acting offenſively.

The Elector comes into their ſcheme

Prudent foreſight of the duke of Marlborough.

By this regulation, the duke of Marlborough wiſely foreſaw, he ſhould ſurmount the difficulties he had formerly laboured under; for, by this great addition of forces, he could, if occaſion required, form two armies, and he was ſo well aſſured of the intrepidity of his own troops, that he reſolved, if poſſible, to engage the enemy, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority; which he might now do, without conſulting the deputies of the States General attending the army, whereby he had been often diſappointed in his deſigns.

Mr. Howe, her majeſty's miniſter at the court of Hannover, gave the following account of the duke's negociation, in a letter to the earl of Mancheſter.

A LETTER from E. Howe, eſq; to the earl of Mancheſter,

Hannover, April 29, 1708.

My lord,

A letter from E. Howe, eſq; to the earl of Mancheſter.

" HIS grace the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, " and the count de Rechteren, arrived here on Thurſday " night. My lord duke and prince Eugene met at a poſt-" houſe, two German miles from hence, and came together, " in the ſame coach, to my houſe; having refreſhed themſelves, " they went to court, where they were lodged in the ſeveral " apartments prepared for them. The next morning, the duke " of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the count of Rechteren, " had a long conference with the Elector, and, in the evening, " went to hear a play. Laſt night, they honoured me with

" their

" their company, and ſupped at my houſe. The Elector's bag- 1708.
" gage, that was ordered to march on Wedneſday, was coun-
" termanded, the day before; the waggons are unloaded, and
" remain ſo till farther orders. However, the duke of Marlbo-
" rough and prince Eugene have prevailed ſo far with his Elec-
" toral highneſs, that I hope the baggage will be ſent, in a few
" days to Francfort. They have performed, in this matter, that
" which, I believe, nobody elſe could have done. Monſ. El-
" cetz, whom the Elector had ſent to Saxony, to treat with
" king Auguſtus's miniſters, about 3,000 horſe, which were to
" be taken into the ſervice of the Empire, is come again, with-
" out having concluded that treaty. I am, &c."

E. HOWE.

A ſtratagem ſucceſsfully put in practice.

It will be proper to obſerve, in this place, that, notwithſtanding it was agreed, prince Eugene ſhould come into the Netherlands; yet it was induſtriouſly given out, that he was to act, with a ſeparate body on the Moſel; which obliged the enemy to ſend a conſiderable number of forces that way, under the command of the duke of Berwick. The nine and twentieth, in the afternoon, prince Eugene ſet out for Leipzick, to confer with king Auguſtus, who was come thither on purpoſe, two days before, from Dreſden. On his highneſs's arrival there, the firſt of May, he finiſhed his negociations, in a few hours, and purſued his journey, the next day, to Vienna. The duke of Marlborough ſet out, from Hannover, the thirtieth of April, in the morning, and arrived, the third of May, in the afternoon, at the Hague, where his grace communicated to the States General the reſult of the conferences held at Hannover: the duke having concerted all farther meaſures, for opening the campaign, with their High Mightineſſes, left the Hague, the ſeventh, and went to Ghent, where having reviewed the Britiſh forces, he went, the eleventh, to Bruſſels.

Prince Eugene goes to Leipzick and Vienna.

And the duke of Marlborough to the Hague;

Ghent and Bruſſels.

Here his grace was honour'd with a letter from the Queen, dated May 6, by the contents and ſtile of which, ſhe ſeemed (notwithſtanding what had paſſed on account of mr. Harley) to retain ſtill a great degree of regard for him:

Letter from the queen.

' After complaining to him of being tired that day, with im-
' portunities from Whigs, that ſhe had not ſpirits left to open her
' afflicted heart ſo freely and fully as ſhe intended, ſhe goes on
' to ſay, ſhe is entirely of his opinion, thinking it neither for her
' honour nor intereſt to make ſteps (probably meaning the firſt
' ſteps) towards a peace, as the duke had been preſſed to do a-
' broad, and aſſures him, that whatever inſinuations her ene-
' mies might make to the contrary, ſhe would never give her
' conſent to a peace, but upon ſafe and honourable terms. She
' begs the duke to be ſo juſt to her, as not to let the miſrepreſen-

1708. 'tations, made of her, have any weight with him: adding, that 'it would be a greater trouble to her, than could be expreſſed; 'and concludes with theſe words; "I cannot end without "begging you to be very careful of yourſelf, there being no-"body, I am ſure, that prays more heartily than her, who "will live and die moſt ſincerely, your's, &c."

The Confederates form their army;

The duke of Marlborough having conferred with velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, who, notwithſtanding the infirm ſtate of health he laboured under, preſerved a vigorous mind, and ſeemed reſolved to die, like a hero, in the field, gave orders to the troops to march to Anderlech, near Bruſſels, where, accordingly, the Dutch, Pruſſians and Hanoverians, began to form the army, the twenty-third of May, N. S. The ſix and twentieth, they march'd to Billinghen, where the duke of Marlborough took up his quarters, in the abby of that name, and the velt-marſhal fix'd his at Hall, a little town, that lay in the front of the firſt line. The Britiſh forces repaired to this camp, likewiſe, with all poſſible expedition, as did, alſo, a conſiderable body of troops, in the ſervice of the States General, from their reſpective garriſons in Flanders. And, laſt of all, the field-deputies of their High Mightineſſes arrived there; who behav'd themſelves this campaign, with ſo much prudence, generoſity and reſolution, that they contributed very much to the ſucceſs of it.

As do, likewiſe, the enemy theirs

Upon notice of theſe motions, the duke de Vendôme aſſembled his army, the five and twentieth, between Mons and St. Giſlain, and took up his head quarters at St. Simpronien, from whence he march'd, the next day, to Soignies, poſting his right at Naiſt, and his left at Canchie Notre-Dame, within three leagues of the confederate camp. He was joined, the ſame day, by the duke of Burgundy, who had the chief (at leaſt titular) command of the army, together with the duke of Berry, his brother, and the pretended prince of Wales, under the romantick name of the Chevalier de St. George.

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry, with the pretender, join their army.

Before I proceed to give any farther account of the proceedings of theſe two armies, I ſhall firſt give the readers an account of the force of both, as they ſtood reſpectively, that of the confederates, on the nine and twentieth, and that of the enemy, on the ſix and twentieth of May.

Force of both armies.

The confederate army.

	Battalions.	Squadrons.
Firſt line	59	94
Second line	53	86
Total.	112	180

Artillery.

1708.

Artillery.

	Cannon.
Engliſh	45
Dutch	68
Total	113

The enemy's army.

	Battalions.	Squadrons.
Firſt line	62	103
Second line	51	57
Reſerve	11	37
Total	124	197

See letter A. above.

Marches and counter-marches of both armies.

The nine and twentieth of May, the confederate army, which conſiſted of 180 ſquadrons of horſe, and 112 battalions, made a motion from Bellinghen, advancing the right to Herſelinghen, the left to Lembecq, and fixing the head quarters at St. Renelle, in hopes of bringing the enemy to an engagement; which, by their bold march to Soignies, they ſeemed rather to ſeek than decline; being ſuperiour, at leaſt, in number, to the allies. For their army conſiſted of 197 ſquadrons, and 124 battalions.

The ſame day, the enemy received their heavy baggage from Mons; but ſent it back thither, the thirty-firſt; which ſtill gave the confederates hopes they ſhould come to an engagement; and, thereupon, the duke of Marlborough ordered the troops to be in a readineſs, to march at an hour's warning. The ſame evening, the duke of Marlborough received intelligence, that the enemy's heavy baggage, having received a counter-order, was actually returned to the camp; and that they had forag'd for two days; from whence it was reaſonably concluded, that they would not march the next day, as deſerters had reported. The duke of Marlborough having, hereupon, adviſed with the other generals, reſolved to ſend the horſe to forage, the next morning; and they went out, accordingly, before break of day; but they had not been out an hour, before advice came, that the enemy had begun the night before, at ten, to ſend their heavy baggage to Mons; and decamp'd without any noiſe, about eleven, marching towards Nivelle. The foragers were immediately recalled; and, to avoid all loſs of time, the infantry march'd firſt of all, about noon, from St. Renelle, and were followed by the cavalry.

A deſign of the enemy's

About four, they formed four columns, intending to encamp the right towards Anderlech, and the left to Lake; but, upon farther

1708. farther notice, that the enemy had not encamp'd at Nivelle, but had continued their march, by Bois Seigneur Iſaac, to Braine la Leu, the duke judged, that they could not have any other deſign, than to poſt themſelves, on the banks of the Deule, to hinder the allies from paſſing that river, and to ſeize Louvain; being the very ſame project which the duke de Vendôme had formed the laſt year; but miſcarried in it. To prevent the enemy, there was no other remedy, but to continue marching all night; ſo that, on the third of June, in the afternoon, the army of the allies arrived at the camp of Terbank, very much fatigued as well by this long march, as by the continual rains, which had fallen, for four and twenty hours together.

Prevented by an expeditious march.

The French, having received intelligence of this expeditious march of the confederates, did not venture to advance farther than Genap; but encamp'd their right to that place, and their left to Braine la Leu. Upon which, the duke of Marlborough took up his quarters, in the abby of Terbank, and monſ. d'Auverquerque his, in the ſuburbs of Louvain. The fourth, ſeveral bridges were laid on the Deule, between Havre and Louvain. The fifth, almoſt the whole confederate army foraged in the neighbourhood of their camp; the ſixth, being appointed by his grace, as a day of thankſgiving, for the paſt ſucceſſes of the arms of the allies, and to implore a bleſſing upon the preſent campaign, it was religiouſly obſerved throughout the whole army.

A thankſgiving obſerved.

From this camp, the duke of Marlborough wrote the following letter,

To the earl of Mancheſter.

Camp at Terbank, June 4. 1708.

My lord,

A letter from the duke of Marlborough to the earl of Mancheſter.

"I Have received the honour of your lordſhip's letter, of the "18th paſt, and tho' I was at firſt very ſorry to hear of an "accident, that muſt, for ſome time make your ſtay at Venice "leſs agreeable to you, than was deſired by your friends; yet I "hope the ſteps the queen has made, and the prudent manage- "ment you have obſerved on this occaſion, will, at laſt, turn "to her majeſty's honour and your ſatisfaction. As to what "you deſire for your return home, I ſuppoſe, you wrote the "ſame thing to lord Sunderland, with whom I ſhall be glad to "join in any thing you can deſire; and if the queen is pleaſed "to gratify your requeſt, I ſhall think it a great happineſs if "my quarters happen to lye in your way.

I am, &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

The

1708.

The enemy continuing quiet in their camp, the duke of Marlborough took that opportunity of reviewing his troops, which he began to do the ſeventh, and continued for eight or nine days following; when he had the ſatisfaction to find, that the reſpective bodies were all very compleat, the men in the moſt excellent order, fluſh'd with their former victories, and eager to engage an enemy, that was deſpicable in their eyes.

The duke of Marlborough reviews the confederate army.

In this camp it was, that the electoral prince of Hannover, now our moſt gracious ſovereign, king George II. came to the army, and was received with the greateſt marks of reſpect and diſtinction, by all the general officers.

The enemy declines fighting.

It was now plain that the enemy had no inclination to engage the confederates: they had indeed, in view, the recovery of the places they had loſt in the year 1706. but it was by their uſual method of ſurprize and treachery. Nor were their hopes altogether in vain: for the elector of Bavaria, who had gain'd ſome intereſt, in the provinces in the Netherlands, among people of all ranks, by his profuſeneſs and popularity, with the aſſiſtance of the count de Bergeyck, a perſon of great credit, and no leſs activity, and other friends of the houſe of Bourbon, eaſily found means to practiſe upon the levity, and reſtleſs ſpirits of the chief inhabitants of the cities of Ghent, Bruges and Antwerp, who, being uneaſy under the Dutch government, promiſed to open their gates to the troops of France and Spain, as ſoon as they could find a fair opportunity.

Under-hand practices of the elector of Bavaria.

The armies, on both ſides, had now remained a conſiderable time, in their reſpective camps, without any motion; the confederates, for their part, being in expectation of prince Eugene's taking the field, with an army compoſed of Pruſſian and Heſſian troops, 10,000 Palatines, and ſome Imperialiſts. The motion of this body was retarded by ſeveral difficulties about the march of the Palatine forces; of which the French getting intelligence, they concluded the confederates would hardly venture to force them, in the paſſes and defiles, they were poſſeſſed of, and, therefore, commanded a detachment to march towards Ghent and Bruges, to ſurprize thoſe towns, which they effected.

The French ſurprize Ghent and Bruges.

That the reader may have an idea of the importance of theſe two places, it may not be amiſs to give a brief deſcription of them.

A deſcription of Bruges.

Bruges (in Latin, Bruga) is a beautiful, ſtrong and noble city of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the capital of the territory of Bruges, a biſhoprick under the archbiſhop of Mechlin; it is a place of great trade, ſituate on ſeveral canals, which are very convenient for tranſporting of merchandize to the neighbouring cities and countries: it ſtands about 24 miles north-weſt of Ghent, 11 eaſt of Oſtend, 34 north-eaſt of Dunkirk, and 40 weſt of Antwerp.

1708. And Ghent. Ghent (in Latin, Gandavum, and Ganda) is a very large city and caſtle, one of the chief of the Low Countries, the metropolis of the earldom of Flanders, and territory of Ghent, a biſhoprick under the archbiſhop of Mechlin; famous for the birth of the emperor Charles V. the 24th of February, 1500. It ſtands on the rivers Scheld and Lys (which divide it into 26 iſlands) 27 miles almoſt ſouth-weſt of Antwerp, 30 north-weſt of Bruſſels, 94 almoſt ſouth of Amſterdam, and 154 north-eaſt of Paris.

Manner of effecting it. The fifth of July, N. S. a party of the enemy's troops, commanded by the brigadiers la Faille and Paſteur, advanc'd, before break of day, towards Ghent; and, at the opening of the gates, between five and ſix in the morning, half a dozen foot ſoldiers, with two or three troopers who were ſent before, pretending to be deſerters, were admitted into the town, by the watch of burghers, who were no more in number than themſelves: when they were going to be carried to the main-guard, ſome of them pretended a wearineſs, and ſetting themſelves down on the ground, deſired ſome brandy, to delay time; which being brought, they drank with the burghers, and amuſed them with a tale of the march of the French army, and their own deſertion. Soon after, another ſmall party of pretended deſerters came, and entertained the watch with the like frivolous ſtories, till brigadier la Faille, who, not long before, had been high bailiff of that city, and had yet a conſiderable intereſt there, coming in perſon, commanded the burghers who guarded the gates, to lay down their arms, and admit the French troops. They began, at firſt, to make a ſhew of reſiſtance; but the pretended deſerters, riſing up at once, preſented their bayonets, and ſtop'd them. Reſiſtance would now have been to little purpoſe; ſo the brigadier's commands being immediately obeyed, he left ſome of his men there, and, with the reſt, march'd directly into the town. It being early, they only met with a few labourers in the ſtreets, ſome of whom took them for deſerters, and others they quieted with gold. In this manner, they advanced to the gates of Bruges, which they ſeized with little or no reſiſtance, as they did, likewiſe, the bridge of Meuleſtede. In the mean time, monſ. Grimaldi, who followed monſ. de la Faille at a diſtance, entered the town likewiſe, and march'd, with the reſt of the detachment, to the market-place. All the gates being ſoon after ſeiz'd, about ten, monſ. de la Faille march'd to the town-houſe, and having aſſembled the magiſtrates, and chief burghers, he cauſed a pardon to be read to them, ſign'd by the elector of Bavaria, and underneath by the Count de Bergeyck; upon which, they readily ſubmitted.

The caſtle of Ghent obtain an honourable capitulation. The enemy, being thus become maſters of the town, cauſed the governour of the caſtle to be ſummoned immediately to ſurrender; but monſ. de Labene, major of ſir Richard Temple's Engliſh regiment

giment of foot, who commanded in that fortreſs, with about 300 men, expecting either to be re-inforced by major-general Murray, or relieved by the approach of the confederate army, anſwered, *That he would defend himſelf to the laſt extremity.* The French began, hereupon, to make their preparations for attacking the caſtle: and major-general Murray, who was poſted at Marienkirk, with two Engliſh regiments of foot, and one of Spaniſh dragoons, of colonel d'Audigni's, in vain attempted to throw a reinforcement into the place. Upon this, major Labene, having been ſummoned, a ſecond time, held a conſultation, with the officers under him; where, having conſidered the ſtrength of the enemy; the ſmall number of the garriſon, conſiſting, beſides, of recruits, and weak, ſickly men; a large old breach unrepair'd; the moat being fordable in that place; the cannon being, in a manner, uſeleſs, for want of neceſſaries thereunto belonging, and by the abſence of the ſtore-keepers and gunners; the vaſt number of women and children, amounting to upwards of 900, and the ſcarcity of proviſions; they thought it proper to accept of the honourable terms which were offered them; which, however, were to be void, in caſe the governour of the caſtle ſhould be relieved between the ſixth and eighth of July: rightly judging, that if they received no relief, in that time, they could not reaſonably expect any at all. 1708.

Some hours after the enemy had ſurprized Ghent, count de la Motte appeared with a ſtrong detachment before Bruges, which ſurrendered the next day, without making the leaſt reſiſtance, or putting the enemy to the trouble of firing more than three pieces of cannon. There was indeed a ſort of capitulation agreed upon, in which the ſieur Briel, receiver of the contributions, and mr. Volmar, his comptroller, were included; but it appeared, by every circumſtance, that this was a thing of form only, and that the articles had been long before agreed on. Bruges ſurrendered to the enemy.

This done, the count de la Motte marched immediately to Damme, hoping to meet with the ſame ſucceſs there; but as this place was fortified and garriſon'd, the governour open'd the ſluices, and put the whole country under water, which obliged the count to retire. From thence he march'd to Plaſſendahl, a little fort, on the canal which leads from Bruges to Oſtend, and is a ſecurity to the communication of theſe two places. The officer, who commanded in it, refuſed to ſurrender, upon which the count attack'd and took it, ſword in hand. Damme attempted by the enemy in vain. Fort Plaſſendahl taken.

Major-general Murray having thus found it impoſſible to re-inforce the caſtle of Ghent, retired to the Sas von Ghent, where he found the deputies of the States General, for the affairs of Flanders, and concerted, with them, the neceſſary meaſures, for putting the frontiers in a poſture of defenſe, and ſecuring thoſe poſts which were moſt expoſed. The governour of the Sas had, Motions of major-general Murray's detachment.

1708. before, re inforced the garriſon of the Red-Houſe, with fifty men, and the deputies countermanded the regiment of Eberfeldt, which was marching to Elkelo. Major-general Murray poſted his troops under the cannon of fort Leopold; but, the next morning, he receiv'd orders, from the duke of Marlborough, to march, and endeavour to join major-general Bothmar, who was detach'd from the grand army, with three regiments of dragoons, and one of horſe. He paſſed the canal, accordingly; but, receiving advice, from monſ. Bothmar, that the conjunction was impracticable, he returned, the ſeventh, to his former poſt. The deputies, in the mean time, reinforced the garriſon of the Red-houſe, with 100 men, and furniſh'd them with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and ammunition. Two hundred dragoons of d'Audigni's regiment were detach'd for ſecuring the lines of Bervliet; forty were ſent to Hulſt; and all the troops which were in Sluys march'd to Damme, except fifty men.

The French retreat privately from Braine la Leu.

The duke of Marlborough, who was yet in his camp, at Terbank, received advice, a day or two before the ſurprizing of Ghent, that the enemy had laden their heavy baggage; the fourth of July, about noon, he received farther intelligence, that a conſiderable detachment was march'd towards Tubize; and, in the night, that their whole army had followed, at nine in the evening. His grace, hereupon, gave immediate orders, for the confederate army to be in readineſs to march. Accordingly, about three in the morning, the fifth of July, they march'd from the camp at Terbank, paſs'd the canal, in four columns, and encamp'd, with the left at Anderlech, and the right at the mill of Tomberg. Here the duke got intelligence of the enemy's deſign on Ghent, and that the detachment they had made, for that end, was advanced as far as Aloſt, and had broken down the bridge there, over the Dender: he, thereupon, order'd major-general Bothmar, with four regiments of horſe and dragoons, to paſs over at Dendermond, in order to obſerve the enemy, and to prevent their deſign upon Ghent; but he came too late.

The confederates follow them.

The duke of Marlborough was too ſenſible of the importance it would be to recover Ghent and Bruges, not to be thoughtful of the ſpeedieſt methods to effect it; but none ſeem'd to him ſo conducive thereunto, as to bring the enemy to a battle, the happy ſucceſs of which muſt of courſe be attended with the recovery of thoſe places; he, therefore, directed all his meaſures to this end.

The two armies come very near together,

The ſame day, the French paſs'd the Senne, at Hall and Tubize, and were paſſing, at the mill of Goicke, till night, within a league of the right wing of the allies; which coming very late into its camp, and the army having made a very long march, thro' difficult ways, it was not thought practicable to attack the enemy

enemy that night. However, the greateſt part of the horſe and foot having been brought to the right, during the night, in order to engage the enemy, the whole army was formed, the next morning early, in order of battle: but their deſign was fruſtrated by the French, who were employed the whole night, with all poſſible expedition, in paſſing the Dender, thro' the town of Ninove, and over ſeveral bridges built near that place, for the ſame purpoſe: ſo that the detachment ſent to attack their rear-guard came too late to find any thing but their ſmall baggage, which was attended by a ſtrong guard. Theſe, major-general Schulemberg and ſir Richard Temple, with ten ſquadrons, and five battalions, ſupported by major-general de Veyne, with ten ſquadrons more, ſoon defeated, put them to the flight, and took a great deal of baggage. I do not find the particulars of it, in any account of ours; but French authors limit their loſs to 150 priſoners, beſides kill'd and wounded, and 30 or 40 laden mules. 1708.

The enemy retreats in the night over the Dender.

Their rear-guard defeated, and part of their baggage taken.

The confederate army encamp'd, the ſame night, at Aſche, where prince Eugene of Savoy, having made a quick march, from the Moſel, and left his cavalry at Maeſtricht, (reſolving to be preſent, as ſoon as poſſible, at whatever action might happen, tho' his troops ſhould not come up in time,) arriv'd that evening, with major-general Cadogan, whom the duke of Marlborough had ſent to attend him. The arrival of his highneſs, and the approach of his troops, not only revived the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, but was very acceptable to the generals themſelves, after the ungrateful news, they received, that very day, of the French having ſurprized Ghent.

Prince Eugene arrives in the confederate army.

The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, from the very moment they met, acted with ſuch unanimity, as if but one ſoul had inform'd both their bodies. The next day, a counſel of war was held, in which it was reſolved, to regulate the march of the army, according to the motions of the enemy, and pioneers were, thereupon, ſent, on every ſide, to make ways; the reſolution the duke of Marlborough had before taken, of bringing the enemy, if poſſible, to an engagement, being again confirmed: and ſo eager were the generals for it, that it was determined, if a fair opportunity offered, not to wait for the arrival of the Imperial troops. In the afternoon, prince Eugene went to Bruſſels, to pay a viſit to his mother, the counteſs of Soiſſons; and, the day following, the duke of Marlborough being much indiſpoſed and feveriſh, the orders were diſpenſed at monſ. d'Auverquerque's quarters; and, according to theſe orders, four battalions march'd, to re-inforce the garriſon of Bruſſels; and eight battalions were ordered, with major-general Cadogan, and the quarter-maſters, to make the ways.

Unanimity between the duke of Marlboro' and prince Eugene.

The duke of Marlboro' indiſpoſed.

1708. The ſmall advantage the enemy had in ſurprizing Ghent proved the occaſion of their own much greater loſs; and the governour of that caſtle not delivering it, till the eighth of July, had this good effect, that it amuſed the enemy two or three days, in their camp, from above Aloſt to Schilebille, on the Scheld. This delay was of moſt fatal conſequence to them; for the French generals receiving intelligence, that prince Eugene was bringing a re-inforcement, of about 30,000 men, with all expedition from Germany to Brabant, bethought themſelves of retiring towards their lines, and ſtrong towns, before the conjunction of the confederate troops; in hopes, that being re-inforced with a good body of troops, which were coming to join them from Alſace (tho' not with ſuch ſpeed as the Germans, who were remarkably expeditious on this occaſion, beyond their uſual cuſtom) under the command of the duke of Berwick, they might afterwards be a match for the confederates, or, at leaſt, might preſerve the conqueſts they had lately made with much eaſe. They were alſo, ſo vain, to imagine, that they might ſurprize or reduce Oudenarde, the only paſs the allies had left on the Scheld, ſince the taking of Ghent, before the allies could be in any readineſs to prevent it; and, to this end, count de Chemerault, having broke down all the bridges on the Scheld, and intimidated all the leſſer places, in thoſe parts, they cauſed the place to be inveſted, the ninth of July, early, and intended to have taken poſſeſſion of the advantageous camp of Leſſines.

The enemy's taking of Ghent, &c. proves diſadvantageous to them.

Their vanity.

They inveſt Oudenarde.

Monſ. de Sigterman, who commanded in Oudenarde, fearing the inhabitants might be treacherous, as it was ſuſpected they had been in other places, immediately called a council of war, to conſider of means how to keep them within the limits of their duty, if they ſhould be otherwiſe inclin'd. It was there reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and to declare to the townſmen, that it was hoped they would contribute all that lay in their power to that end; but that, if they offer'd to make the leaſt attempt towards ſurrendering the place, they would ſet fire to it, in every part, and reduce it to a heap of aſhes. The inhabitants made all poſſible proteſtations of their fidelity; and aſſiſted the governour in putting the town in the beſt poſture of defenſe.

Preparations made for its defenſe.

The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, having either information or ſuſpicion of the enemy's deſign, ordered brigadier Chanclos, to throw himſelf into Oudenarde, with 700 Men, detach'd from Aeth, Courtray, and Menin, and Walef's dragoons, which was performed accordingly. This proved a great diſappointment to the enemy; for if they could have ſecured this place, they would have cut off the communication of the allies, with Menin and Courtray.

A re-inforcement thrown into it.

The

The ſame day the confederate army march'd, in four columns, by the left; all the horſe of the right wing, in one column, on the right; the horſe of the left, in a column on the left; and the foot of both lines, breaking in the middle, in two columns, in the center; the earl of Albemarle being left, with all the grenadiers of the army, and thirty ſquadrons, to make the rear-guard, in caſe the enemy ſhould have made any motion towards Bruſſels. The ways being in good repair, the army march'd with exact order, tho' with the greateſt expedition; the head being paſs'd Herſelingen, above five leagues from Aſche, before eleven in the morning; and the lines perfectly cloſed up, without any ſtraggling, or any thing left behind. 1708. Extraordinary march of the confederate army.

The duke of Marlborough gave orders for the army to pitch their tents, juſt in their march, about Herſelingen, fronting towards the enemy; who, being far from expecting, that the confederate army could poſſibly make ſo ſwift a march, did not beat their general, till three in the afternoon, thinking themſelves ſecure of the camp of Leſſines, in order to cover the ſiege of Oudenarde, for which they had their artillery ready at Tournay. Prince Eugene having rejoined the army at Herſelingen, the duke of Marlborough detach'd major-general Cadogan, about four in the afternoon, with eight ſquadrons, and as many battalions, to take poſſeſſion of the camp of Leſſines; accordingly, 800 men, of this detachment, entered the town of that name, about midnight; and the reſt, having paſſed thro', at four in the morning, poſted themſelves on this ſide the river Dender. On the other hand, the retreat, which was the ſignal for ſtriking the tents, being beat at ſeven, the evening before, in the camp at Herſelingen, the whole army march'd immediately; and moving on all night, began, the tenth, about eleven in the morning, to paſs the Dender, over the bridges laid there by major-general Cadogan, and continued their march to the camp of Leſſines, on the other ſide; the chief ſtrength whereof conſiſts in the rivulet which falls below it into the Dender. The enemy perceiving themſelves diſappointed of this camp, left their route towards it, in which they had march'd ſeveral hours, and alter'd their march towards Gavre, in order to paſs the Scheld there. They poſſeſs themſelves of the camp of Leſſines. Diſappointment of the enemy.

The eleventh, in the morning, upon intelligence, that the enemy had quitted Oudenarde, and were purſued by brigadier Chanclos, with Walef's dragoons, major-general Cadogan was ſent with ſixteen battalions, and eight ſquadrons, to make the ways and bridges at Oudenarde. The army began to march, at eight o'clock by the left, ſtill in four columns, as they had encamp'd. And after the news came, that the enemy were ſtill paſſing at Gavre, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene reſolved to endeavour to bring them to an engagement. In order The confederates endevour to bring them to an engagement.

1708. to this, the army continued their march, with ſuch extraordinary ſpeed and diligence, that, at two, in the afternoon, the head was at the bridges, over which major-general Cadogan's ſixteen battalions were then paſſing.

Another incredible march of the confederates

Major general Rantzau, with the eight ſquadrons, and the quarter-maſters, being poſted on an eminence, behind a narrow, but marſhy rivulet, which runs into the Scheld, ſaw a great many French ſquadrons drawn up on the plain; on the other ſide of the rivulet; and the march of the French army being directed towards the right, they had thrown ſeven battalions into the village of Heynem, thro' which the highway runs along the Scheld. By theſe appearances they could not judge with any certainty, whether the true deſign of the enemy was to oppoſe the duke of Marlborough's paſſage over the Scheld, or to gain their own lines between Liſle and Tournay, which they might reaſonably think they had time enough to do; for they could hardly ſuppoſe, that ſuch a vaſt army could march five leagues, in a very cloſe country, have their ways made, paſs a great river, and give them any uneaſineſs, and that all within the compaſs of four and twenty hours! What followed this incredible march the reader will ſee in the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

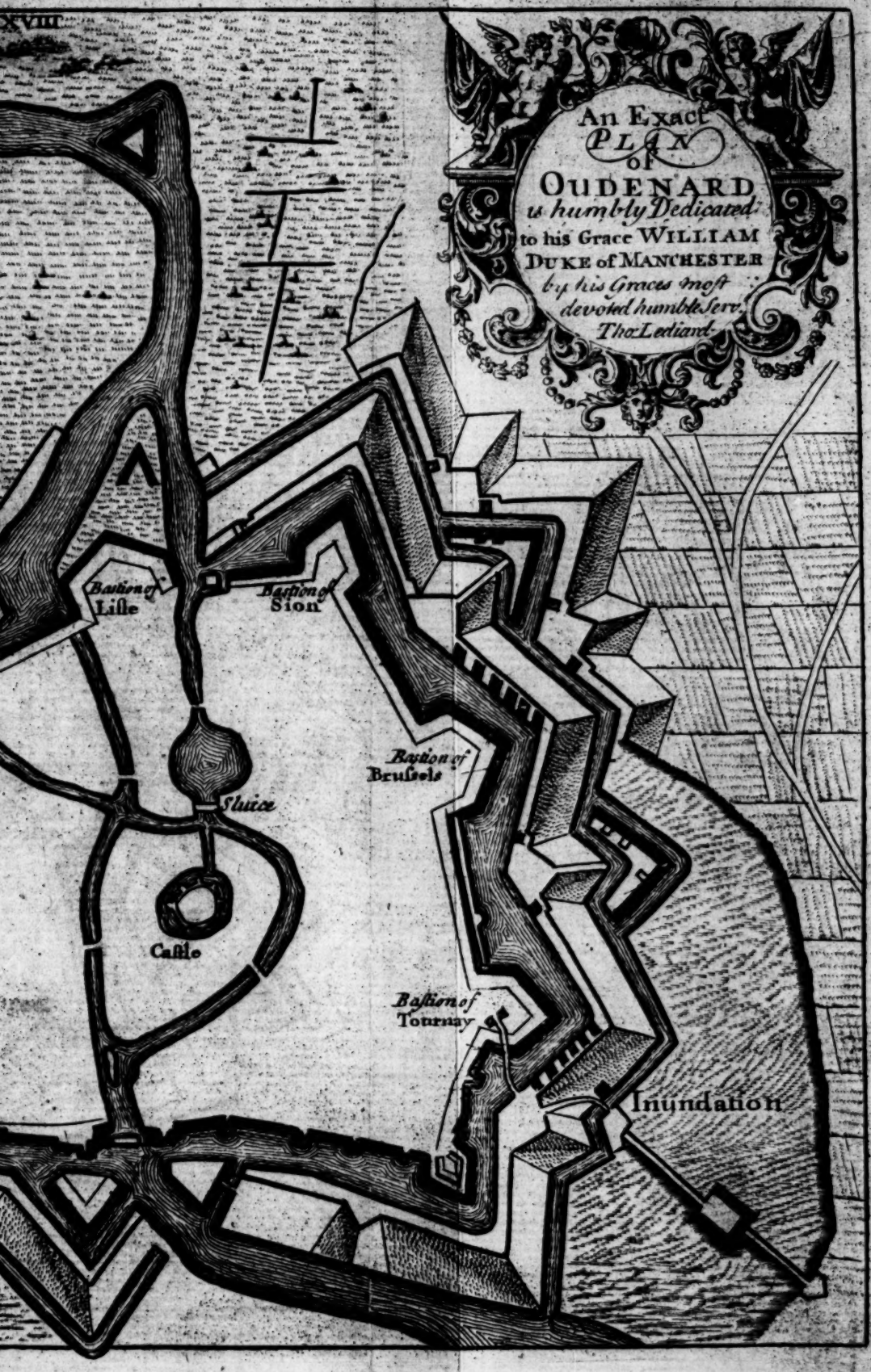
A particular account of the famous battle and victory of Oudenarde, *with the conſequences which immediately attended it.*

IN the foregoing chapter, we followed the confederates in their almoſt incredible march to the Scheld, in order to bring the enemy to an engagement; I ſhall now give the reader the moſt accurate account I have been able to procure, of the battle and victory which were the conſequences of it; but firſt I ſhall take notice of a miſ-conduct or two of the enemy, which contributed not a little to their defeat.

The deſign of the duke de Vendôme, in placing the ſeven battalions in the village of Heynem, and the ſquadrons, that the confederates had diſcover'd on the plain, which were to the number of twelve, was to have advanced towards the bridge, over which the allies were paſſing, to a certain diſtance, to have waited there till half their troops were paſs'd, and then to have attack'd them, with all the advantage, which his ſuperiority of number could have given him, not doubting but he ſhould eaſily have defeated them, before the other half of their army could come


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XVIII
Inundation
Bastion of Heine
Bastion of Ghent
Bastion of Courtray
A Scale of Fathams
50
100
150
200
Harris Sc.

XVIII.


An Exact
PLAN
of
OUDENARD
as humbly Dedicated
to his Grace WILLIAM
DUKE of MANCHESTER
by his Graces most
devoted humble Serv.
Tho: Lediard
Bastion of Lisle
Bastion of Sion
Bastion of Brussels
Sluice
Castle
Bastion of Tournay
Inundation


AN
Exact Plan of
the BATTLE of
OUDENARDE
Is humbly dedicated
to his Grace IOHN
DUKE of ARGYLE
and GREENWICH
by his Grace's most
devoted humble Serv.
Tho: Lediard.
Moorghem
Moorghem
Bevaren
OUDENARDE
the Fleuld
Lyssegem
Ch Bavaren
Wortgen
Wortgen
E'dalaer
A March of y Detachments.
B The Detachment in Order of Battle.
C Attack of y Detachment.
D March of our Army.
E Our Army in Order of Battle.
F The Attack of our Army.
G The Attack of y Prince of Orange with 20 Battalions
H The Cavalry supporting y
I Batteries of y Allies.
L Camp of y Allies after
M the Bridge where y Army
N March of y Enemy's Det
O March of y Enemy's Arm
Q Inclosure possess'd by y D
Supported by y Kings Mu



porting ỹ Infantry.
llies.
lies after ỹ Battle.
re ỹ Army of ỹ Allies pass'd.
emy's Detachments.
my's Army to range themselves in
G'd by ỹ Dragoons & Grenadiers
Kings Musketteers.

R The Enemy's Attack.
S The Enemy's Batteries.
T The Enemy's Retreat.
V The Bridge where ỹ Enemy pass'd ỹ Scheld.
W The place where ỹ Enemies were repuls'd, by Prince Eugene & attack'd by ỹ Prince of Orange, who ended the Battle.

come to their aſſiſtance. It was with that intent, theſe troops were advanc'd, and the duke would ſoon have follow'd with the whole army; but happily the duke of Burgundy did not approve of this project. He had all along ſhew'd an inclination to retire towards Ghent, and this propenſity appear'd now ſtronger than ever; he order'd the troops to ſtop ſhort in their march, at Gavre, in the greateſt perplexity, not knowing which way to move. He even recall'd the ſquadrons which were in the plain; and prepar'd to retire: and to this the French attribute their misfortune which enſued. 1708.

Miſ-conduct of the enemy before the battle. See letters H. and I. below.

It would have been an eaſy matter for the French, either to have cut off the detachment of the allies, which had advanced and laid bridges over the Scheld, or, at leaſt, to have deſtroyed thoſe bridges, before the whole confederate army could come up; and if then they had ſupported their left, at Heynem, poſted their horſe behind the caſtle of Beveren, towards the mill of Oycke, and placed their center on the height, between Wertigem and Heurne, they would undoubtedly have had all the advantage the moſt difficult ground could give them; and, perhaps, the choice would have been on their ſide, whether to engage in a general action or not? But the dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme, who had been at variance for ſome days before, what courſe they ſhould take, ſtill differed in their opinions, and were both yet ſtrangely at a loſs, what meaſures they ſhould reſolve upon, and what diſpoſitions to make. This irreſolution laſted till three in the afternoon, when moſt of the young commanders in the French army, who had more fire than prudence, and who, to make their court to the duke of Burgundy, thwarted all that was adviſed by the duke de Vendôme, declared loudly for an engagement, which in a great meaſure determined the duke of Burgundy, and the duke de Vendôme was obliged to ſubmit.

Diſſentions among their generals.

See letter I. below.

A deſcription of Oudenarde.

Oudenarde, (in Latin Aldenarda) from whence this famous battle and victory has its name, is a rich and very ſtrong town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the metroplis of the territory of Oudenarde; a biſhoprick under the archbiſhop of Cambray; drives a conſiderable trade, and is famous for a manufacture of tapiſtry. It ſtands on the river Scheld, 13 miles ſouth of Ghent, 13 north-weſt of Aeth, 36 weſt of Bruſſels, and 37 almoſt north of Mons.

The enemy prepare to begin the attack.

Major-general Grimaldi was, therefore, ordered, by the duke of Burgundy, with the horſe of the king's houſhold, to begin the attack, on the right, and diſlodge major general Rantzau, from the eminence, on which he was poſted; but when they came to the rivulet, and found it marſhy, they were diſcouraged from attempting the paſſage, and retired towards their own right, tho' their army had 12,000 men more in number, than the confederates, and ſeveral other advantages. This attack the duke

But are diſcouraged.

de

1708. de Vendôme diſapprov'd of; and, therefore, ſent monſ. Jennet, his aid de camp, to the left, to attack the allies, on that ſide. But the duke of Burgundy countermanded it, upon information, as it was ſaid, that there was an unpaſſable moraſs on that ſide; which, however, the duke de Vendôme had paſs'd over, but an hour before. The marquis de Quincy, to clear the duke of Burgundy from the imputation of this miſcarriage, pretends, that monſ. Jennet was kill'd going from the right to the left of their army; and that, therefore, the duke de Vendôme's orders not being delivered, could not be executed, which (continues he) gave the allies a great advantage. Upon this, major-general Cadogan, who had paſs'd the river, with twelve of his ſixteen battalions, between three and four o'clock, attack'd the village of Heynem, with ſuch reſolution (brigadier Sabine, with his brigade, being at the head) that they ſoon made themſelves maſters thereof, and found ſeven French battalions in it, three of which entire, and the greater part of the other four were taken priſoners. The French to palliate the loſs of theſe ſeven ſquadrons, tho' they allow that they were defeated, pretend the allies took only a few of them priſoners, and that the reſt retir'd.

See letter I. below.

Major-general Cadogan begins the attack.

See letter C. below.

The duke of Burgundy now plainly ſaw, that there was no poſſibility of retreating without the greateſt confuſion, with the allies at their very heels: a battle being, therefore, unavoidable, he put his troops in motion, for that end, and began to range them in proper order: but it was now too late.

And is ſeconded by major-general Rantzau.

Immediately after, major-general Rantzau, with the eight ſquadrons, and the quarter-maſters, paſs'd the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the French horſe had been drawn up, between the villages of Singhem and Mullen. Several of the ſquadrons of their rear-guard, (French authors ſay four) being ſtill paſſing thro' the plain, the eight ſquadrons, with the quarter-maſters, attack'd them with great vigour, and drove them into the cloſe ground, and the high-way, which led into the march of their own army.

Bravery of his preſent majeſty of Great Britain.

In this action, the electoral prince of Hannover, (his preſent majeſty of Great Britain,) who had joined the army, the twenty-ſecond of June, to ſerve as a volunteer, gave diſtinguiſhed proofs of his early courage and activity. He charg'd, ſword in hand, at the head of a ſquadron of Bulau's dragoons; his highneſs's horſe was ſhot under him, and colonel Luſchky, who commanded the ſquadron, was kill'd fighting bravely by him. Lieutenant-general Schulenburg, and ſeveral other volunteers, behaved with great reſolution, and led up the ſquadrons. Here the French regiment of La Breteche, and ſeveral other regiments, were entirely broken; and the colonel himſelf, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken, together with a great many other officers; and twelve ſtandards and kettle-drums.

Part of the French army defeated.

See letter C. below.

The

The confederate army continued, in the mean time, to paſs the bridges, with all imaginable diligence. The Pruſſian horſe formed themſelves upon the right, in the ſame plain, where the advanced guard was, and the reſt of the horſe, as they paſs'd, followed the Pruſſians, thro' the village of Heurne, into the plain; but the foot, becauſe of the length of the march, and the horſe having galloped a good part of the way, came later to the bridges; ſo that none but the above mentioned ſixteen battalions were there, till five o'clock. 1708.

All the confederate horſe paſs the Scheld.

The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, being at the head of the horſe, which were forming in the plain, and obſerving the great want there was of infantry, ſent orders to the foot, which had been employed in attacking the village, to leave their poſt there, and fling themſelves into the hedges, on the other ſide of the plain, whither the enemy ſeem'd to be marching, with great diligence. On that ſide of the plain were no more, than two battalions, of major-general Colliar's, and brigadier Grumkau's, and thoſe the enemy attack'd with great fury; but they maintained their poſt with equal bravery, till more foot came up to their aſſiſtance. The duke of Marlborough, hereupon, diſpatch'd orders after orders to the foot, to preſs their march, the enemy being then forming, and ready to attack the infantry which was already there, with very unequal numbers. In the interim, the duke of Argile arrived, with twenty battalions; which were hardly poſted, when the French attack'd them very briſkly, and drove ſome Pruſſian battalions from their poſt; but, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, about ſix, in the evening, they retook it again, ſword in hand. By this time, count Lottum was coming up, to ſuſtain this attack, with the remainder of the foot of the right; and the duke perceiving, that the great ſtreſs of the battle would ly on the right, ſent to the left for twenty battalions. The left wing arrived ſomething later than the right, and, having paſs'd their horſe through Oudenarde, and their foot on bridges below the town, had formed themſelves into two lines, with the village of Moreghem behind them.

The engagement continued.

The confederate infantry comes up.

The ſucceſs, which the confederates had already obtained, in the ſeveral engagements, near the villages of Heynem, Mullem and Heurne, made the French generals ſenſible they ſhould ſoon be attack'd on all ſides: they, therefore, found themſelves under a neceſſity of making a ſtand, to which end, they poſted their foot very advantageouſly, before the villages of Wanigen, Lede, and Huyze, having, in their front, ſeveral defilees, fenced with incloſures of hedges, ditches, or thickets, and placed moſt of their cavalry on their right, near the villages of Oycke and Wirtigem.

The enemy at a ſtand;

And ſeek ſhelter.

As

1708. As ſoon as the confederate foot arrived, they formed themſelves into two lines, before the horſe, and then attack'd, in very good order, the incloſures and villages, in their front, where the French were poſted; inſomuch that, about ſeven o'clock, the fire grew general, both on the right, and on the left; and tho' the enemy gave way, in moſt places, yet being ſuſtained with freſh troops, the action was maintained very obſtinately a good while after. All accounts do, indeed, agree, in this particular, that the action was very hot on both ſides; and that the French fought, for ſeveral hours, with great intrepidity; but then it was always with a conſideable loſs.

The attack general.

The fight very obſtinate.

Bravery of the prince of Orange-Naſſau.

There was, before the left, of the left wing, a kind of an opening, thro' which run a road, that led into the plain, on the top of the hill, and which the prince of Orange-Naſſau, at the head of the Dutch foot, cleared, with great vigour and reſolution. At the ſame time, the duke of Marlborough diſpatch'd orders to the velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, and the count de Tilly, who were on the top of the hill, near Oycke, to preſs the enemy, as much as poſſible, on that ſide. Theſe orders were punctually obeyed, and monſieur d'Auverquerque order'd major-general Weeck, to march, with the brigades of Waſſenaer and Oudenburgh, which being ſupported by count Tilly, with the Daniſh cavalry under his command, paſſed thro' a narrow defilee, into a field, where all the French houſhold were drawn up. The confederate troops no ſooner approach'd, than the French, who did not, in the leaſt, apprehend being attack'd on that ſide, retired, and endeavoured to ſhelter themſelves under the hedges, between Wirtigem, and the caſtle of Beveren, or Broan, towards the main body of their army, where the fire was very hot: but the prince of Orange-Naſſau, with count Oxenſtiern, coming up, with four brigades of infantry, led them on with great gallantry, paſs'd ſome defilees, attack'd the enemy in flank, and obliged them to give way. Thoſe who were thus retiring, being forced back, into the incloſures, in great diſorder; and it growing, beſides, dark, many battalions, and more ſquadrons, flung themſelves out, in a deſperate manner; ſome of them, piercing thro' others, were cut in pieces; others paſs'd thro' unperceiv'd, and again others deſired to capitulate.

The French houſhold retires.

See letter H. below.

And is drove to deſpair.

During theſe tranſactions, on the left, the duke of Marlborough, who, till then, had been the whole time in company with prince Eugene, viſiting the field of battle, leading on, poſting and ranging the reſpective bodies of troops, but thinking now it would be more advantageous to ſeparate, and direct in different places, arrived there; having left the care of the right to prince Eugene, who ſhewed great pleaſure and ſatisfaction, in leading on the Engliſh troops, whom he ſaw perform wonders; inſomuch that, at laſt, the enemy, finding themſelves charg'd, and born down,

The enemy's army retires, in the utmoſt confuſion.

down, on all ſides, by the confederate forces, retired, in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving great numbers of priſoners behind them. Their dragoons favour'd their retreat, and, to ſave the troops of the houſhold, received ſeveral diſcharges from the confederate infantry, and were moſt of them either kill'd or taken. 1708.

Their dragoons almoſt all cut off, or taken.

The night coming now on, and the fire being directed ſo many ſeveral ways at once, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh friends from foes, the confederate generals gave poſitive orders to their troops to give over firing, and to let the routed enemy eſcape, rather than to venture putting themſelves into diſorder. This put an end to the ſlaughter, and ſaved the remainder of the enemy's army: for had there been but two hours more of daylight, in all probability, their whole body of foot, and their right wing of horſe, would have been entirely cut off, they being ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide.

See letter H. below.

Night puts an end to the ſlaughter.

See letter C. below.

During this whole memorable action, the duke of Marlborough, and prince Eugene, diſpens'd their orders, with ſo much compoſedneſs of mind, and clearneſs of judgment, as ſeem'd peculiar alone to thoſe two heroes of the age. They expoſed their perſons to the greateſt dangers, when neceſſity required it; and yet had both the good fortune to come off unhurt: nor did the electoral prince of Hannover (now our moſt gracious ſovereign) come far ſhort of their glory, conſidering his youth. At the head of his father's cavalry, he charged the celebrated troops of the French king's houſhold, bearing down all that oppos'd his career of glory. Next to him, hiſtory muſt juſtly commemorate the due praiſe of the young prince of Orange-Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Friezeland, and father of the prince of Orange, now ſo nearly allied to the crown of Great Britain, by his marriage with our illuſtrious princeſs Ann, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf equally by his martial ardour, bravery, and conduct. The brave velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, tho' worn out with the fatigues of above thirty campaigns, and in a languiſhing condition, exerted his expiring vigour, and was on horſeback, at the head of his troops, in the hotteſt of the fire. Count Tilly, the prince of Wirtemberg, lieutenant-generals Rantzau, and Natzmer, major-generals Webb and Cadogan, brigadier Sabine, and, in ſhort, all the generals and officers animated the ſoldiers, every where, by their own brave example.

Juſt encomiums of the confederate generals,

Officers,

The different troops, of which the confederate army conſiſted, fought which ſuch an unparallel'd gallantry, and generous emulation of each other, that it was difficult to determine, which deſerved the greateſt applauſe; yet it was obſerved, that the Pruſſian gens d' armes ſignalized themſelves, in ſeveral vigorous charges, which they made and ſuſtain'd againſt the French cavalry, in which they loſt near half of their number.

And ſoldiers.

If

1708. If we may believe ſome of the French writers, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the Pretender, had a great ſhare in this battle; but if the Dutch accounts are to be credited, they, or, at leaſt, the two latter, only beheld the engagement from the ſteeple of an adjacent village; and conſulted betimes for their ſafety, by a retreat. As for the other generals of the enemy's army, they committed ſeveral egregious faults (ſome of which I have already obſerved) as well before as during the action, whether for want of unanimity or judgment, I ſhall not determine: but for their troops, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that, in general, they fought better, at this time, than they had done upon any other occaſion.

Behaviour of the French. See letter I. below.

The French endeavour'd, by their partial relations, to palliate their defeat, and make a drawn battle of it: for which they had the only one poor pretence, that of having ſaved their baggage, as well they might, ſince they left it behind them, as they did, likewiſe, their artillery, having only made uſe of four or five pieces of cannon, during the whole action: but the field where the battle was fought, of which the confederates remained maſters, with ſix or ſeven hundred of the enemy's officers, and about 6,000 (ſome accounts ſay 7,000) private ſoldiers, that were taken priſoners, together with ten kettle drums, and above 100 ſtandards and colours taken, were all evidences of an indiſputable victory, on the ſide of the great duke of Marlborough, and his companion in glory, prince Eugene.

The victory indiſputable on the ſide of the allies.

See letters G. H. and I. below.

This victory was the more glorious for the allies, becauſe it was gain'd over the duke of Burgundy, who had the chief command of the army of France, and had with him, as I have already obſerv'd, the duke of Berry, his brother, and the Pretender. But it has been ſaid, that this battle was quite againſt the opinion of the duke de Vendôme, whoſe advice was not regarded, and the cabals, which the duke of Burgundy gave into, hinder'd the deſigns of that general from being followed, and were the cauſe of the loſs of the battle.

The enemy retreat in the night.

The enemy retired, under favour of the night, by the road which leads thro' the village of Huyſe, from Oudenarde to Ghent. The duke de Vendôme propoſed to take advantage of the night, and halt, to bring his ſcatter'd army into ſome form, that they might make an orderly retreat; but he was not heard; the general officers were ſo terrified, that monſ. d' Avreux alone was of his opinion. Seeing, therefore, that all argument was loſt, on men who had given themſelves up to fear, monſ. de Vendôme conſented to a general retreat, and the word was no ſooner given, than every one, as well general and other officers, as common ſoldiers, took the road towards Ghent, and fled, with the utmoſt precipitation. All the general could do, was to keep together a body of 25 ſquadrons of his beſt troops, and a proportionable number of foot, to form a rear-guard.

The

The confederates, in the mean time, continued under arms, hoping to renew the engagement again the next morning; and impatient, in the mean time, for day, that they might have a true information, how far their victory had extended, of which the darkneſs of the night left them in ignorance. To this end, as ſoon as it was light, the duke of Marlborough order'd forty ſquadrons, from the right, commanded by the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley, with a conſiderable body of foot, to follow and attack the enemy's rear-guard, which they did with great vigour; but ſeveral companies of French grenadiers being advantageouſly poſted, along the highway leading to Ghent, kill'd and wounded ſeveral of the officers, and private men, of the confederates, eſpecially of the regiment of Pentz, and obliged them to leave off the purſuit; there being but one road, ſecured by hedges and ditches, lined with the enemy's grenadiers; but no place for the confederate cavalry to form themſelves in. On this occaſion, ſeveral officers of the grenadiers, commanded by major Erwing, were killed or wounded; and general Meredith was likewiſe ſlightly wounded; but the enemy, on their ſide, were much greater ſufferers. The regiment of Risbourg, which clos'd their rear, was entirely ruined, and two whole companies of it taken priſoners; as was likewiſe brigadier Pourienne, who commanded the hindermoſt brigade, with ſeveral other officers. 1708.

Their rear-guard attack'd the next morning;

But without great ſucceſs.

As to the killed and wounded, on either ſide, the allies reckoned among the firſt, major-general Berenſdorf, the colonels Adercaſz and Bolzen, count Rantzau, and ſir John Matthews, with captain Dean of the Britiſh guards, and about 800 private men; and among the wounded, lieutenant-general Natzmer, major-generals Gaudecker and Berner; the colonels Groves, Penny-father, and four others, 160 other officers, and about 2000 private ſoldiers: which loſs was abundantly repair'd, by deſerters and priſoners, Germans, Switzers, and Savoyards, who liſted themſelves voluntarily in the ſervice of the allies. The French endeavour'd to conceal their loſs, with all poſſible induſtry; but that it was infinitely greater than that of the allies is evident from the ſeveral pieces annex'd, to which I refer for the particulars; and ſhall only obſerve here, in general; that (according to moſt accounts) the number of priſoners taken from the enemy amounted to 7000 men, among whom were two lieutenant-generals, two major-generals, five brigadiers, about thirty colonels, above 100 officers of the ſtate-major, and 400 ſubalterns; together with 70 or 80 ſtandards or colours. The largeſt liſt, I have ſeen, on our ſide, makes their loſs to be 9800 priſoners, officers included; 4,200 killed and wounded; 2,400 deſerted, together, 19,400. Taken, beſides, 10 pieces of cannon, 56 pair of colours, 52 ſtandards, 8 pair of kettle-drums,

Loſs on both ſides. See letters E. G. H. and I. below.

See lettter K. below.

1708. drums, and 4,500 horſes: On the other hand, the loweſt computation I have ſeen, amounts together, to 14,700 killed, wounded and priſoners, without mentioning deſerters; and the loweſt calculations, given by the French themſelves, allows their loſs to have been above 10,000 men.

The French intrench themſelves at Lovendeghem. See letter I. below.

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry, with the Pretender, reach'd Ghent, the morning after this memorable battle, by five o'clock: and, about nine, the duke de Vendôme, who brought up the rear, arrived there alſo. As they were apprehenſive of being purſued, by the whole confederate army, the duke immediately commanded his ſhatter'd troops, to march thro' Ghent to Lovendeghem, on the canal not far from that city; where, for their greater ſecurity, they caſt up retrenchments, and planted upon them their artillery, which they had left at Gavre, with their heavy baggage. In this ſtrong camp they recovered, in ſome meaſure, the fright and terror of the late engagement; but, as it uſually happens in diſaſters, the former animoſities and differences revived and encreaſed among their generals, who laid the fault one upon the other; eſpecially between the dukes of Burgundy and de Vendôme, who, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the court, could never be brought to a reconciliation.

Differences between their generals revived. See letter I. below.

Character of the duke of Marlborough by the biſhop of St. Aſaph.

In a thankſgiving ſermon preach'd, on occaſion of this victory, before the queen, at St. Paul's, by the lord biſhop of St. Aſaph, afterwards of Ely, his lordſhip takes notice, "That our forces "were led by a commander whom they loved to follow, and "hazarded every thing to preſerve a life, with which each ſol-"dier of the army thinks his own faſt bound; by a princely cap-"tain, whom both in giving orders, and in heat of battle, they "might not unhappily miſtake for their own, ſo that they ſeem-"ed to have their general always in ſight, becauſe he was "commonly in every place of danger; by a moſt valiant, wiſe, "and fortunate commander, crowned with freſh laurels every "other year, becauſe it ſeems they wither faſter in our unkindly "climate than elſewhere."

Several medals were ſtruck on account of this victory, of which the following are the moſt remarkable:

I.

AT LONDON.

Medals ſtruck on this occaſion

On the face; the queen's buſto, with her title, as uſual.

On the reverſe, a monumental pillar, on the top of which ſtands Victory, adorn'd with trophies of the ſtandards and colours of France, and two captives, with this legend: GALLIS. AD. ALDENARD. VICTIS. That is, *Gallis ad Aldenardam victis*. In Engliſh; *the* French *vanquiſh'd at* Oudenarde.

In


ANNA·DEI·GRATI·MAG·BRITAN·FRA·ET·HIB·REGINA.


GALLIS·AD·ALDENARD·VICTIS·
XXX·IVNII·
MDCCVIII·

B. Cole Sculp.



BRITISH
17 AP 66
MUSEUM

In the exergue, xxx Junii MDCCVIII. That is, *the* 30*th of June* 1708. 1708.

There appear'd, on this occaſion, in Holland, two medals.

I.

The firſt repreſents the town of Oudenarde, on an eminency, and, at the foot of it, the French cavalry retreating before prince Eugene, with the inſcription:

VANDOMUS, IN FLANDRIA, SICUT IN ITALIA, VICTUS, VICTOREM AGNOSCIT EUGENIUM.

The duke of Vendôme, *being conquer'd, in* Flanders, *as he was in* Italy, *acknowledges prince* Eugene *to be his conqueror.*

In the exergue, are the following words:

MULTORUM MILLIUM GALLORUM CLADES AD ALDENARDAM, DIE XI. JULII, 1708.

The defeat of many thouſands of French *at* Oudenarde, July, 11, 1708.

On the reverſe is repreſented prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, on horſeback, by the emblem of Caſtor and Pollux, each with a ſtar over his head, and the inſcription:

SALUTARIUM SIDERUM APPARITIO.

The appearance of the two auſpicious ſtars.

This emblem is applied, in the exergue, in the following words:

EUGENII ET MARLBOROUGH FELIX CONJUNCTIO.

The happy junction of Eugene *and* Marlborough.

II.

The ſecond repreſents our two generals, each treading a vanquiſh'd enemy under his feet, and congratulating one another, in the following words:

JUSTITIAQUE FATUM DOMITAS SIC PLECTERE GENTES.

This is the fate of nations when overcome by the force of juſt arms:

1708.

And, in the exergue:

STRAGES GALLORUM PROPE ALDENARDAM, II. JULII, 1708.

The ſlaughter of the French, *near* Oudenarde, July, 11. 1708.

On the reverſe is Victory winged, pointing to a pile of trophies, raiſed of the ſpoil of the enemy; with the following diſtich round it, and continued in the exergue:

HORRIDA QUÆ FUERANT INVICTI FULMINA MARTIS,
VICTORIS QUIS NUNC ESSE TROPÆA PUTET?

Who would think that theſe ſpoils, which were the thunder of the invincible Mars, *ſhould now be the trophies of his conqueror?*

Several Letters and other Pieces, relating to the Battle of Oudenarde.

A.

The duke of Marlborough's *letter to the* States General.

A letter from the duke of Marlborough to the States-General.

High and mighty Lords,

"I Give myſelf the honour of congratulating your High Mightineſſes upon the good ſucceſs, with which it hath pleaſed the good God to bleſs the arms of the high allies. The lords, the deputies, and the field-marſhal, will impart to your High Mightineſſes all the particulars, that are at preſent, known. The purſuit of the enemy being not yet over, we cannot give an exact liſt of the priſoners, whoſe number is very great, nor of the loſs on our ſide. I am with true affection, and reſpect,

From the camp,
at Oudenarde,
July 12. 1708.

Your High Mightineſſes
very humble, and
very obedient ſervant,

The prince and duke of Marlborough.

B.

Their High Mightineſſes anſwer.

Their anſwer.

SIR,

"THE compleat victory obtain'd near Oudenarde, by the army of the high allies, under the wiſe and brave conduct of your highneſs, has fill'd us with joy. Victory, which


MVLT · MILL · GALLORVM
CLADES AD ALDENAR
MDCCIIX
D XI IVL


SALVTARIVM SIDERVM APPARITIO
EVGENII ET MARLBOR
OVGH FELIX COM
IVNCTIO.

275


DOMITAS SIC FLECTERE GENTES
GALLORVM
PROPE ALDENARDAM
M DCC IX


VICTORIS QUIS INVECTUS
TROPHEA FUTET



BRITISH
17 AP 66
MUSEUM

" which is us'd to attend upon you, has not fail'd to follow 1708.
" you on this great occaſion, and has plac'd new laurels on your
" head, which will be no leſs bright than the former. We
" bleſs God, from the bottom of our hearts, for ſo great and
" happy a ſucceſs, and hope, thro' his mercy and aſſiſtance,
" that the ſame will be attended with advantageous conſe-
" quences. We thank your highneſs for having imparted the
" ſame to us, in your letter of the 12th inſtant. Our depu-
" ties, and our velt-marſhal, have acquainted us with the cir-
" cumſtances thereof, and it is with a moſt particular ſatisfac-
" tion, that we congratulate you on the new glory you have
" gained, in that memorable day, which encreaſes the ſatisfac-
" tion we receive from that victory itſelf. We pray God to
" bleſs, more and more, your deſigns, and are, and always
" will be, with the greateſt eſteem and truly, *&c.*

Hague, July 14. 1708.

Letter of the Field-deputies of the States.

High and mighty Lords,

" BY reaſon of the ſhortneſs of time, we could only let The Field-deputies letter to the States-General.
" your High Mightineſſes know yeſterday, that we en-
" gag'd the enemy about four in the afternoon. Wherefore we
" give our ſelves the honour, of ſending your High Mighti-
" neſſes farther advice; that our army, having march'd on Sun-
" day night, from Aſhe, took the rout of Leſſines, in order to
" paſs the Dender at that place, without oppoſition from the
" enemy, whom we had prevented, by a ſudden march; and
" arriving there, on Tueſday evening, we underſtood, that the
" enemy were march'd from Aloſt towards Gavre, where they
" cauſed bridges to be made, in order to paſs the Scheld, which
" made us believe they deſign'd to poſt themſelves upon the
" height of Oudenarde, and hinder us from paſſing the Scheld;
" and tho' our army was very much fatigued, by the foregoing
" march, yet we reſolved to proceed on our march yeſterday,
" and if poſſible to prevent the enemy. We detach'd, there-
" fore, 16 battalions, in the night, to take poſt on the other
" ſide of the Scheld, near Oudenarde, and to lay the bridges
" neceſſary for our paſſage. Yeſterday morning, about 9, we
" received advice, that the enemy had paſs'd the Scheld, and
" were marching towards Oudenarde, which made us haſten our
" march, as much as poſſible, for fear our detachment, that
" was ſent over, ſhould be defeated, and our ſelves prevented,
" in our deſign of paſſing the Scheld: but, by that time the
" enemy were come near Oudenarde, they ſaw we had already

1708. " taken poſt over the Scheld, which made them reſolve to ſtrike
" off to the right; but to cover their march againſt ours, they
" thought fit to throw troops into the hedges, and into a village
" upon the Scheld, below Oudenarde. About three in the af-
" ternoon, as ſoon as our foot begun to come up, it was judg'd
" adviſable to attack the village, and thereby oblige the enemy
" to go no further, but ſtop their march. This attack was
" made with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the enemy were
" immediately driven out of the village, our men falling upon
" them with their bayonets in the muzzles of their muſkets,
" and not firing a piece; ſo that they preſently threw down
" their arms, and a whole brigade, together with a brigadier,
" ſurrender'd priſoners. The few horſe that had paſs'd with
" the detachment, attack'd likewiſe the French ſquadrons poſted
" behind the village, with ſo much ſucceſs, that they were put
" into diſorder and puſh'd, our men taking from them 8 or
" 10 ſtandards, and ſome horſes. Hereupon, the enemy were
" forced to face about to us, and form themſelves, about four
" o'clock; when moſt of our foot being over, and form'd, the
" general engagement began, firſt on the right, and afterwards
" on the left wing. The fight was properly between the foot,
" and was obſtinate; but our men got ground, and drove the
" enemy from one hedge to another, till night put an end to the
" combat. The horſe, who, by reaſon of the broken ground,
" could not act, were detach'd to the right and the left wing,
" and advanc'd ſo far, that they attack'd the enemy in flank
" and rear, which when they perceiv'd, they fell, in the night,
" into the utmoſt confuſion; and part of them retir'd, with
" their baggage and artillery, towards Ghent and Deynſe; an-
" other part towards the road of Courtray, and, according to
" computation, 6 or 7000 ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners, with
" 3 or 400 officers at their head; among whom are ſeveral
" dukes and general-officers. Had not the night come to their
" aſſiſtance, we believe they would have ſav'd very little of their
" army; we therefore congratulate your High Mightineſſes up-
" on this compleat victory, which God Almighty has ſo gi ci-
" ouſly vouchſafed, and which gives us an opportunity, with
" this victorious army, and that of prince Eugene, who was
" preſent at this action, to extend the frontiers farther, and
" bring the enemy to reaſon. Each general made ſo good a
" diſpoſition, and every regiment attack'd the enemy ſo well,
" and with ſo much intrepidity, that it was impoſſible for any
" one to diſtinguiſh themſelves in a particular manner. Our
" loſs, God be thanked, is ſo ſmall, that there is not, as we
" know of, one regiment out of a condition to make the reſt of
" the campaign. Among the horſe, our loſs is nothing at all.

" Not

" Nor do we yet know that we have loſt any head officer of the " State. With which, 1708.

Oudenarde, July 12, 1708. High and mighty lords, *&c.*

Sign'd,

Ferd. van Collen.
G. van Roſſum tot Hardenbroock.
S. van Goſlinga.
Count of Rechteren.
B. van Welvelde.
Adr. van Borſelle tot Geldermalſen.

P. S. " We thought, conſidering the importance of this af- " fair, we ſhould not do amiſs, in ſending this to your " High Mightineſſes, by the head-officer Cock, who may " have the honour of informing your High Mightineſſes " of more particulars.

D.

Monſ. d' Auverquerque's *letter to the lord-regiſter* Fagel.

Monſ. d' Auverquerque's letter to Monſ. Fagel.

" ON monday laſt, at 7 o'clock, we broke up (as I have " already had the honour to acquaint your lordſhip) with " the army, from Herfelinghen, near Enghien. We march'd " the whole night, and, the next day, paſs'd the Dender, at " and above Leſſines. Yeſterday morning, we march'd again, " from Leſſines towards Oudenarde, where we arrived about " noon. We had received intelligence, that the enemy broke " up on Tueſday, from the neighbourhood of Aloſt, and were en- " camped at Gavre, and that they, alſo, paſs'd the Scheld, " yeſterday at that place; which, indeed, we found to be true, " perceiving, upon our arrival at Oudenarde, the enemy upon a " full march, towards Tournay. We laid the bridges over the " Scheld in their ſight, and our troops paſs'd the river, with an " unſpeakable ſpeed and courage. About two o'clock, the " greateſt part of our army had paſs'd, with which the duke of " Marlborough and prince Eugene form'd the right wing near " Broan caſtle, about half a league from the town, and began " to engage the enemy in a battle.

" In the mean time, I march'd, likewiſe, with the troops of " the States, which compos'd the left wing, in order to attack " the enemy, which I did, about five o'clock, having been " obliged to make a great round to come at them, and God " has been pleaſed ſo to bleſs the arms of the high allies, that

1708. " we have entirely beaten the enemy, and forced them to re-
" tire, in great confuſion; ſome towards Courtray, and others
" towards Ghent.

" I give myſelf the honour to congratulate their High Mighti-
" neſſes, upon this important victory. We ſhall endeavour,
" all we can, to make our advantage of it; the enemy will
" have much to ado to bring their army into the field again,
" this year, in a good condition. The loſs of the ſlain on their
" ſide is very conſiderable, beſides a good number of officers,
" (ſome of whom of diſtinction) and common ſoldiers, priſoners.
" We have alſo taken ſeveral ſtandards and colours, of which
" I will ſend their High Mightineſſes a liſt by the next cou-
" rier.

" The bravery and wiſe conduct of the duke of Marlborough
" and prince Eugene can ot be enough commended, nor the
" zeal and courage of the other generals of the States, who did
" all which their duty and regard for the ſervice requir'd of
" them. All the officers and troops, without diſtinction, did
" all that could be expected from brave men, and good ſol-
" diers. We ſent out a body of horſe and foot this morning,
" to purſue the run-away enemy, and ſcatter them yet more,
" but they were got too far off by the favour of the night. I
" remain

Your lordſhip's humble
and obedient ſervant.
Sign'd,
AUVERQUERQUE.

From the camp of Oudenarde, July 12, 1708.

Of the ſame date, we find a letter, giving an account of this action, from mr. Cardonnel, the duke of Marlborough's ſecretary, to mr. Cole at Venice.

Camp at Oudenarde, July 12 1708.

SIR,

" AS ſoon as the enemy had an account, that our army had
" paſs'd the Dender, at Leſſines, they recall'd their troops,
" that were come to inveſt Oudenarde, and march'd with their
" whole army to Gavre, where they began to paſs the Scheld
" yeſterday morning, and continued paſſing till about four in
" the afternoon; and as my lord duke was reſolv'd to purſue
" them, in order to engage them to a battle, major-general Ca-
" dogan was ſent away very early with a ſtrong detachment, to
" paſs the ſame river, thro' this town, and to make bridges
" for the whole army, which followed with all poſſible dili-
" gence, to prevent the enemy's paſſing the Lys, or their re-
" treat towards the lines. Accordingly, about three in the af-
" ternoon, the detachment, with the head of our army, began

" to

" to attack the enemy, in their march; and in a little time, 1708.
" brigadier Sabine, at the head of his brigade, beat ſeven of
" the enemy's battalions, of whom he kill'd a great number,
" and took moſt of the reſt priſoners. The enemy then form'd
" their line, and the battle began about five; and laſted with
" great firmneſs, till near ten at night, it being chiefly the foot
" that were engaged, the enemy ſtill retiring; ſo that, beſides a
" great ſlaughter, we made a great number of priſoners. We
" cannot yet give the particulars of this great victory; but
" ſome thouſands of priſoners, and, among them, ſome general
" officers, are already brought into town. Forty ſquadrons of
" horſe, with twenty battalions of foot, are in purſuit of the
" reſt of their army, which is retiring towards Ghent. My lord
" duke, with the prince of Savoy, and Monſ. d'Auverquer-
" que, continued on horſe-back the whole night, to animate
" our troops, and to give the neceſſary orders for the purſuit.
" I am, &c.

A. CARDONNEL.

P. S. " Since the writing of this, we have an account of
" about 6000 priſoners brought into town, beſides near 500
" officers, of which ſeveral are of note. I heartily congratulate
" with you, on this great and glorious victory, &c.

E.

An exact Liſt of all the Slain and the Wounded on the Side of the Allies.

	Britains.	Danes.	Pruſſians.	Hannoverians.	Dutch.	Total.
Private Men wounded,	104	346	106	310	1006	1872
Private Men kill'd,	43	201	50	105	350	749
Sergeants wounded,	7	26	12	19	38	102
Sergeants kill'd,	1			9	13	23
Sub. Officers wounded,	5	18	5	11	62	101
Sub. Officers kill'd,	4	4		1	24	33
Captains wounded,	6	5	2	1	34	48
Captains kill'd		1	1	4	9	15
Majors wounded,		2	1	3	3	9
Majors kill'd,			1			1
Lieut. Col. wounded,		1	1	2	5	9
Lieut. Col. kill'd,	1				1	2
Colonels wounded,	2	1		1	2	6
Colonels kill'd,		1			1	2

Total { Killed, - - 825 / Wounded, 2147 } in all, 2972.

G.

A Liſt of the Kettle-Drums, Standards, and Colours, taken by the Left Wing; and the Regiments Names that took them.

A liſt of the ſtandards, colours, &c. taken.

" THE Huſſars, one pair of kettle-drums, 3 ſtandards; " Athlone, a pair of kettle-drums, 2 ſtandards; prince " d'Auvergne's 1 colours; Smith's Swiſſers, 1 colours; Guard's " dragoons, 1 kettle drum, 2 ſtandards; Sgravemoer, 2 ſtand- " ards, 2 colours; horſe-guards, 5 ſtandards; Feniger, 3 " ſtandards, 9 colours; Dopff's dragoons, 4 colours; prince " of Wirtemberg, 2 ſtandards, 1 colours; Eaſt-Frizeland, 1 " ſtandard, 1 colours; Heſſe Homburg, 1 pair of kettle-drums; " Dompre, 1 pair of kettle drums, 2 ſtandards; Baldwin, 1 " ſtandard; Naſſau Woudenburg, 1 colours; Eck, 3 ſtandards, " 3 colours; Hebrun, 1 colours; Prince Royal, 1 ſtandard; " Oyen, 1 pair of kettle-drums, 1 ſtandard; Orange life-guards, " 1 colours; Fagel, 2 ſtandards, 1 colours; Vander Beeck, " 1 ſtandard; Wittinghof, 1 ſtandard; May, 1 ſtandard, 1 co- " lours; Tilly, 1 ſtandard, 1 colours. In all, 5 pair and one " ſingle kettle-drum; 34 ſtandards, and 25 colours.

Theſe were taken by the left wing only.

H.

Extract of an intercepted letter, written by a French officer, who was in the battle.

A letter written by a French officer.

" I Can only ſend you an unwelcome relation of the particulars " of the battle, which happened yeſterday, about two in " the afternoon, near Oudenarde. 'Twill prove a great blow to " France; for without exaggerating the matter, we had above " 10,000 men kill'd, wounded, or taken. The action was very " ill managed on our ſide; for, inſtead of attacking the enemy, " when they began to paſs the Scheld, near Oudenarde, at 11 " in the morning, we let them come over the river quietly, " which they would never have adventured to do, had we, in " any tolerable manner, offered to diſpute their paſſage; but " ſeeing us ſtand ſtill, they were encouraged to proſecute their " firſt deſign, and begun to paſs over two bridges, which they " had laid. As faſt as their horſe and foot came over, they " rang'd themſelves in order of battle againſt us; and while " our generals were in ſuſpenſe, what reſolution to take, whe- " ther to venture an engagement or not, the enemy's army " continued coming over the river, and ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves

" of ſome villages and hedges; ſo that, at laſt, our generals 1708.
" were compelled to endeavour to diſlodge them. Accordingly,
" our infantry advanc'd, and the ground was diſputed two or
" three hours, with a terrible fire, and great obſtinacy on both
" ſides; but our foot being tir'd with charging the enemy, five
" or ſix times, and being diſheartened to ſee themſelves not ſup-
" ported by our horſe (who could not act, becauſe the ground
" was full of encloſures) and preſſed hard by the enemy, were,
" at length, forced to retire, and quit the ground to them. We
" dragoons were obliged to endure the continual fire of the ene-
" my's foot and cannon, without daring to ſtir, becauſe we
" were on the right of the king's houſhold, who ſuffered as much
" as we; towards the evening, we were fallen upon by a great
" number of the enemy's horſe, to hinder us from ſuccouring
" the reſt, who were put to the rout, and of ſeven regiments
" of dragoons we have loſt above half. At laſt, we had no other
" expedient left, than to force our way thro' the enemy; but
" firſt we ſent to ſee whether we could be aſſiſted in that deſign,
" by any of our forces: in the mean time, night came on apace,
" and we were informed, that the king's houſhold (whoſe retreat
" was covered in ſome meaſure by us) were at too great a diſ-
" tance. Things ſtanding thus, our reſolution of breaking thro'
" the enemy ſunk, and ſome of the enemy's adjutants ſummon-
" ing us to yield ourſelves priſoners of war, we ſubmitted to it,
" ſeeing no other way to ſave our lives. At leaſt forty of our
" regiments are reduced to a wretched condition, the greateſt
" part of them being kill'd or taken; ſo that it will be long
" before they can be re-eſtabliſhed, Of four regiments of the
" King's houſhold, at leaſt half are taken priſoners, and among
" them are ſeveral perſons of note. The chevalier de Longville,
" and fifteen other officers were mortally wounded, and two of
" them are dead ſince the battle. The regiments of Pfiffer and Vil-
" lars are quite ruin'd, and almoſt all their officers are taken,
" with all their baggage, &c. Amongſt the priſoners, were a-
" bove 700 officers, viz. a lieutenant-general, 4 major-generals,
" 5 brigadiers, 14 colonels, 8 lieutenant colonels, 9 majors,
" 206 captains, 147 lieutenants, 96 cornets, 186 gens d'armes,
" chevaux legers, or life guards; and 47 quarter-maſters:
" The marquis de Ximenes, colonel of the regiment of Royal
" Rouſſillon, and the ſieur de la Bretêche, colonel of horſe,
" with a great number of other officers, were killed.

1708.

I.

A letter written by one of the duke de Vendôme's *confidents, ſuppoſed to be monſieur* Capiſtron, *the duke's ſecretary.*

A letter ſuppoſed to be from the duke de Vendôme's ſecretary.

"AWAY with your conſternation, ſir, and do not betray, "in yourſelf, the weakneſs common to your nation, who "never light of a misfortune, but preſently all's loſt. I tell "you, in the firſt place, that the reports you hinted to me are "falſe, and the duke de Vendôme laughs at them. As for the "three marches, which he ſuffered to be ſtoln from him, and "his not guarding the Dender, every body knows, the duke de "Vendôme was for diſputing the paſſage of that river; and that, "after three days conteſt, he was forced to ſubmit to the ſenti- "ments of thoſe, who, to avoid an engagement, voted for "paſſing the Scheld. However, it was then, that they were "obliged to own, what that duke had foretold them, viz. *That "whenever prince Eugene underſtood they had a mind to avoid "fighting, he would force them to it, whether they would or no.*

"As to what they ſay, that the duke de Vendôme ought to "have attacked the van of the enemy's army, in their paſſing "the Scheld; he knew better things: For, as ſoon as he receiv'd "advice from the marquis de Biron, that part of the enemy's "army was over, he was for attacking it, while he ſaw the "duſt made by the columns of that army, on the other ſide "of the river, about half a league from Oudenarde; but he "was ſingle in his opinion, and conſequently not hearkened to: "This was at ten in the morning. At four, in the afternoon, "major-general Grimaldi was ordered, without the duke de "Vendôme's knowledge, to begin the attack; which, however, "when he ſaw, he was for continuing it. Accordingly he ſent "monſieur Jenet, his aid de camp, to the left, with orders for "them to engage; but he was kill'd in his return. Thoſe or- "ders were not executed, ſome officers inſinuating *mal a propos*, "to the duke of Burgundy, that there was a quagmire, and an "impracticable moraſs; whereas the duke de Vendôme, and "the count d'Evreux had paſs'd, an hour before.

"As to the retreat, the duke de Vendôme was not for it; but, "as he was back'd in his opinion by the count d'Evreux only, "he was again obliged to ſubmit. No ſooner, therefore, had "he given the word, for the army to retreat, but all got on "horſeback, and with aſtoniſhing precipitation fled to Ghent; "and there were not wanting thoſe who adviſed the princes to "ſet out poſt from thence for Ypres.

"The duke de Vendôme, who was obliged, for a good part of "the time, to make the rear-guard with his aids de camp, did

"not


Cain
Inundation
Redout
Pont Durmi
Port of Fountains
Gate of Lile
Suburb of Orc
Gate of S. Martin
A Scale of Yards
50 100 200 300 400 500 600


AN
Exact Plan
of
TOURNAY,
Humbly Dedicated
to y^e Right Honble
AUVERQUERQUE
EARL of GRANTHAM.
by his Lordships most
Obedient Servt
Tho: Lediard.
Gate of Mannie
Minor Jesuites
Soldiers Parade
Clocke
Church
Parade
Port
Hotel de Ville
Minor Jesuites
R. Schelt
Gate of Valenciennes
the Plain or place of Arms to the Cittadell
THE CITTADEL
Gate of S. Martin
Gate of Relief
Harris Sculp.
Explanation.
1 Kings Bastion.
2 Queens Bast:
3 Dauphins Bast:
4 Bast: of Anjou.
5 Bast: of Orleans.
6 Chapel.
7 Wells.

" not reach Ghent, till almoſt nine in the morning, when he 1708.
" made a firm reſolution to poſt the army behind the canal,
" which goes from that place to Bruges; tho' againſt the advice
" of all the general officers, who threaten'd, for three days to-
" gether, to abandon him; and ſaid, they ought to endeavour
" to join the duke of Berwick. *That firmneſs ſaved the king's*
" *army, and France itſelf*; for the fright the army was in,
" would have cauſed a greater diſgrace, than that of Ramellies.
" Whereas the duke de Vendôme, by poſting himſelf behind
" the canal, has covered Ghent and Bruges, which is the eſſen-
" tial point, and thereby revived, and put courage into the
" troops, and given the officers time to recollect themſelves, and
" to know the country. In a word, he has thrown the enemy
" out of action, and if they attack any of our ſtrong places, as
" Ypres, Liſle, Mons, or Tournay, the duke de Vendôme
" will take Oudenarde, make himſelf maſter of the Scheld, and
" ſo puzzle them. This, ſir, is the very Truth, and the ſame
" the duke de Vendôme has ſent to the king, &c.

K.

The duke of Marlborough wrote likewiſe the following letter,

To the earl of Mancheſter.

Camp at Werwick, July 15, 1708.

My lord,

" I Return your lordſhip many thanks, for the favour of your
" letter of the 22d of laſt month, and am glad to ſee your
" lordſhip was like ſoon to have juſt ſatisfaction from the re-
" publick of Venice; you need not doubt then, but the queen
" will readily grant your deſire of returning home. We are
" in great expectation of ſir John Leake's being ſailed for Cata-
" lonia, where the ſuccours from Italy will have been very much
" wanted. We hear the duke of Orleans perſiſted in the ſiege of
" Tortoſa, notwithſtanding the loſs of his proviſion-ſhips taken
" by our fleet. Your lordſhip will have heard with concern, the
" enemies taking the city of Ghent, by the treachery of ſome
" of the inhabitants; but the good news that will ſoon have
" followed, of our defeating, on Wedneſday laſt, part of their
" army near Oudenarde, and obliging them to retire behind the
" canal, betwen Ghent and Bruges, will have made ſome amends.
" We took between 6 and 7000 priſoners, beſides about 700
" officers, of which ſeveral are of note, and a great number of
" ſtandards and colours. Our army lay on their arms that
" night, and, on Thurſday, encamped on the field of battle;
" on Friday we reſted, the troops having need of ſome eaſe, af-

A letter from the duke of Marlboro- to the earl of Man- cheſter.

1708. " ter their great fatigue; and, about midnight, we detach'd " forty ſquadrons, and 30 battalions, towards the enemy's lines, " between Warneton and Ypres; the whole army follow'd by " break of day, and encamp'd at Helchin, whence we pur- " ſued our march, to-day, to this camp, cloſe to the lines, " which we found our detachment had forc'd, and taken 500 " priſoners, the only guard the enemy had left for their ſecurity. " We do not think that their army is march'd from behind the " canal, which, with their poſſeſſing of Ghent, will be a great " obſtruction to our bringing up our heavy cannon and other " artillery; ſo that I fear we ſhall be oblig'd to retake that " place, before we can make any further progreſs.

I am,

MARLBOROUGH.

On Occaſion of this Victory, the following Lines appear'd:

On the Battle of OUDENARDE.

Verſes on the Battle of Oudenarde.

Purſue, purſue, follow the glorious Blow,
Leave no Remainder of the haughty Foe;
Lewis, with Pride, and Wealth, and Power, made great,
Muſt fully all his Glories by Retreat.
Bacchus with Tygers ſwift to India rode,
And 'twas purſuit of Conqueſt made the God:
Thus diſtant Regions echo ANNA's Name,
Convey'd by the progreſſive Voice of Fame;
Whilſt ANNA's Sword is lodg'd in Marlbro's Hand,
'Tis Vict'ry to obey, and Empire to command.
See how the ſcatter'd Troops extend their Flight,
And bleſs the Sable Covert of the Night!

The ingenious Mr. Euſden of Trinity-College, Cambridge, likewiſe obliged the learned World, on this Occaſion, with an excellent Copy of Verſes, of which the following Lines, may ſerve as a Specimen:

Verſes by Mr. Euſden, on the Battle of Oudenarde.

As in a ſtarry Night, the lonely Swain,
Watching his Flock, on the Sicilian Plain,
Upwards oft caſts his Eyes; the Heav'nly Fires
Around he ſees, and all he ſees admires:
So I, amaz'd, Great Man, thy Acts ſurvey,
And ſtill from Glories, to new Glories ſtray:
Loſt in the ſweet Variety of Light,
I find none brighter in a Train ſo bright,

And

1708.

And doubt, which firſt the grateful Muſe ſhould tell;
For ſhe, on each, could pleas'd for ever dwell.
But hear! loud Pæans, from the Belgick Strand,
Reſound thy Triumphs, and our Thanks demand!
Thou art afreſh the Burden of each Song,
The darling Subject of the tuneful Throng.
In vain, alas! they ſtring the ſprightly Lyre;
In vain great Actions can great Thoughts inſpire:
Apollo's Sons, when all their Wit is ſhewn,
Reach not thy Merit, but exalt their own.
Thus num'rous Streams into the Ocean flow,
New Honours they receive, but none beſtow;
Nor raiſe the Ocean's Height, while they immortal grow.

Say, Wond'rous Man! by what myſterious Charms,
Thou bind'ſt th' inconſtant Goddeſs to thy Arms!
Why thus her Love ſhe partially diſplays?
Obey'd by others, Fortune thee obeys.
Fly ſwift, yet Conqueſt ſwifter flies before;
So flaſh the Light'nings, e'er the Thunders roar.
Uncommon Paths thy wary March proclaim,
For ev'ry Path, with thee, can lead to Fame, &c.

What Senſe the Queen had of the Succeſſes of this Campaign, and of the great Services perform'd by the Duke of Marlborough, will be ſeen by her Letter to him, on Occaſion of the Victory of Oudenarde, dated

Windſor, July 6, 1708.

A Letter from the Queen to the Duke of Marlboro'.

"I Want Words to expreſs the Joy I have that you are well, "after your glorious Succeſs; for which, next to GOD "ALMIGHTY, my Thanks are due to you. And indeed I "can never ſay enough, for all the great and faithful Services "you have ever done me: But be ſo juſt as to believe, I am as "truly ſenſible of them as a grateful Heart can be, and ſhall be "ready to ſhew it on all Occaſions. I hope you cannot doubt "of my Eſteem and Friendſhip for you, nor think that tho' I "differ from you in ſome Things, it is for Want of either; no, "I do aſſure you. If you were here, I am ſure you would not "think me ſo much in the wrong, in ſome Things, as I fear "you do now. I am afraid my Letter ſhould come too late to "London, and therefore dare ſay no more, but that I pray "GOD ALMIGHTY to continue his Protection over you, and "ſend you ſafe home again. And be aſſured, I ſhall ever be "ſincerely your

Humble Servant.

To

To this the Duke answered:

July, 23, 1708.

Madam,

The Duke's Answer. "I Have the Honour of your Majesty's Letter of the 6th, and am very thankful for all your Goodness to me: And I am sure it will always be my Intention, as well as Duty, to be ready to venture my Life for your Service.

"I have formerly told your Majesty that I am desirous to serve you in the Army, but not as a Minister, I am every day more and more confirm'd in that Opinion: And I think my self obliged, upon all Accounts, on this Occasion, to speak my Mind freely to you. The Circumstances, in this last Battle, I think, shew the Hand of GOD; for we were oblig'd not only to march five Leagues that Morning, but to pass a River before the Enemy, and to engage them before the whole Army was passed, which was a visible Mark of the Favour of Heaven to you and your Arms.

"Your Majesty shall be convinced from this Time, that I have no Ambition, or any Thing to ask, for myself or Family: But I will end the few Years which I have to live, in endeavouring to serve you, and to give GOD ALMIGHTY Thanks for his infinite Goodness to me: But as I have taken this Resolution to myself, give me Leave to say, that I think you are obliged, in Conscience, and as a good Christian, to forgive, and to have no more Resentments to any particular Person or Party; but to make Use of such as will carry on this just War with Vigour, which is the only Way to preserve our Religion and Liberties, and the Crown on your Head. Which that you may long enjoy, and be a Blessing to your People, shall be the constant Wish and Prayer of him, that is, with the greatest Truth and Duty,

Madam, &c.

Soon after, the Duke received another Letter from the Queen, dated July 22. 1708. on a quite different Subject, of which I shall give the Reader a Copy below, without previously saying any thing farther of the Nature and Circumstances of the Incident which occasion'd it, that being sufficiently expressed in the Letter itself, but barely to shew, that the Queen yet placed a great Confidence in the Duke, in a Matter which seem'd to affect her very nearly.

Part of a Letter from the Queen to the Duke of Marlborough. "——— I cannot end this without giving you an Account, in short, of a Visit I had from Lord Haversham. He told me his Business was to let me know, there was certainly a Design laying

" laying between the Whigs and ſome Great men, to have an 1708.
" Addreſs made, in the next Seſſions of Parliament, for inviting
" the Electoral Prince over to ſettle here, and that he would
" certainly come, to make a Viſit, as ſoon as the Campaign was
" over, and that there was nothing for me to do, to prevent my
" being forced to do this (as I certainly would) but ſhewing
" myſelf to be Queen, and making it my own Act. I told him,
" if this Matter ſhould be brought into Parliament, whoever
" propoſed it, whether Whig or Tory, I ſhould look upon nei-
" ther of them as my Friends, nor would ever make any Invita-
" tion, neither to the young Man nor his Father, nor his Grand-
" mother.

" ——— What I have to ſay upon this Subject, at this
" Time, is to beg you will find, whether there is any Deſign,
" where you are, that the young Man ſhould make a Viſit in the
" Winter, and contrive ſome Way to put any ſuch Thought out
" of their Head, that the Difficulty may not be brought upon
" me of refuſing him Leave to come, if he ſhould aſk for it, or
" forbidding him to come, if he ſhould attempt it: For one of
" theſe two Things I muſt do, if either he or his Father ſhould
" have any Deſires to have him ſee this Country, it being a
" Thing I cannot bear, to have my Succeſſor here, tho' but for
" a Week: And therefore, I ſhall depend upon you, to do
" every Thing on the other Side of the Water, to prevent the
" Mortification from coming on her, that is, and ever will be,
" moſt ſincerely, &c.

But to return to our Affairs abroad.

Expeditious March of the Troops under Prince Eugene.

Prince Eugene (who had left his Cavalry at Maeſtricht, as I have ſaid above) having, by his wiſe Directions, and exemplary Activity, quickened the natural Slowneſs of the Germans, the Troops he was bringing up from the Rhine, and the Moſel, made ſuch an expeditious March, as was no ſmall Surpriſe to the French. His Highneſs having removed the Difficulties which retarded the March of the Palatine Troops, by giving the Elector poſitive Aſſurances from Vienna, that the Upper Palatinate would be reſtored to his Houſe, with the Title and Rank, which had been veſted in the Houſe of Bavaria, by the Treaty of Munſter; thoſe Forces, to the Number of 10,000 Men, paſſed the Moſel, near Coblentz, the eight and twentieth of June, N. S. and, the thirtieth, encamp'd at Sinzig, above Bonn, where prince Eugene put himſelf at the Head of them. The Saxons, Heſſians, and other Troops, which were quartered in the Honſdrug, paſſed the Moſel, the nine and twentieth and thirtieth, at Alchen, above Coblentz; took their March thro' the Meyerfeldt, and the Palatines advancing, at the ſame Time, they joined together, the fourth of July, N. S. near Dueren, in the Country of Juliers, from whence Prince Eugene ſet out,

1708. out, the fifth, from Maeſtricht, under the Guard of 100 Horſe. His Cavalry arrived, the ſame Day, at Hertogenrade, but the Foot continued near Dueren, both to expect ſome Battalions which were left behind, and to keep up the Enemy's Jealouſy, on that ſide. Prince Eugene arrived at Maeſtricht, the fifth, went, the next Day, thro' Bruſſels, and, in the Evening, join'd the Duke of Marlborough at Aſche, (as we have ſeen above) whilſt his Cavalry, advancing by ſpeedy Marches, paſſed the Maeſe, the ſixth and ſeventh, and encamp'd, the eleventh, at Vilvoerde, where the Infantry came up a few days after. On the other hand, the French Forces, who obſerved Prince Eugene's Motions, under the Command of the Duke of Berwick, having paſſed the Moſel, at Remick, their Van-guard arrived, the fourth of July, at Luxemburg, where the Duke of Berwick came the next Day, and then continued his March towards the Maeſe, tho' with no great Expedition, upon a falſe Apprehenſion, that Prince Eugene's March was but a Stratagem, to cover ſome other Deſign, which hindered the French from coming time enough to Flanders, to ſecure their Lines there.

The Duke of Berwick obſerves their Motions.

As great as the Victory gained at Oudenarde, by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, was in itſelf, it was yet greater in its conſequences: For while the French Generals were entrenching themſelves, behind the Canal, between Ghent and Bruges, in great Perplexity and Conſternation, and in ſullen Diſcontent one with another, the Confederate Generals, and the Deputies of the States, having debated, in a Council of War, how they might beſt improve their late Succeſs, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That the Duke of Marlborough's Army, "after having reſted two Days, on the Field of Battle, ſhould "immediately march towards Menin, paſs the Lys, level the "French Lines between Warneton and Ypres, and hinder any "Detachment from getting into the latter, or the French Army "from retiring that Way; and that Prince Eugene, with a De"tachment of the grand Army, ſhould march, at the ſame "time, towards Bruſſels, to aſſemble his Forces, obſerve the "Motions of the Duke of Berwick, and hinder, likewiſe, the "Enemy's Army near Ghent, from retreating thro' Brabant, the "ſame way they came.

Reſolutions of the Confederate Generals.

Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, Count de Lottum, General of the Pruſſians, with the Lieutenant Generals Fagel and Dopf, march'd, the thirteenth at Night, with thirty Battalions, fifty Squadrons, and ſome Field-Cannon, towards Old Helchin, and, the next Day, advancing to the French Lines, the Enemy abandon'd the Fort of Port Rouge, without any Reſiſtance. The fifteenth, in the Afternoon, Warneton, Comines, and Werwick, with about 500 Men, and ſeveral Officers, among whom Lieutenant-Colonel Bourg, with 12 other commiſſion'd Officers, which defended

The French Lines taken & deſtroy'd.

defended them, ſurrendered at Diſcretion; and, the ſame Day, the Duke of Marlborough's Army, which had encamp'd between Bellengen and Hauterive, march'd in two Columns, towards Menin, paſs'd the Lys, on two Bridges, near that Place, and encamp'd between that and Werwick. 1708.

Contributions raiſed in Artois, &c.

One Detachment of the Confederate Army being employed in levelling the Enemy's Lines, between Ypres and the Lys, another was ſent to raiſe Contributions as far as Arras; but the Deputies of that Country not agreeing to the Sum demanded, the Generals of the Allies had recourſe to Military Execution, and ſent out Parties, who ſet two of the Suburbs of Arras on Fire. Another Party was about to do the ſame at Lens; but the Inhabitants had ſo much Prudence to give Hoſtages for the Sums required.

A large Train of Artillery ordered to the Camp.

As long as the Enemy were poſted between Ghent and Bruges, the Confederate Generals, and the Deputies of the States, conſidered, that it was impoſſible for the Allies to receive their heavy Cannon for a Siege; Orders were, therefore, ſent, to the Governour of Sas van Ghent, to ſend the Boats, in which they were laden, and had been, for ſome Time, at that Place, to Antwerp, from whence that Train was carried to Bruſſels, by means of the Canals; and, at the ſame Time, a new Train of twenty battering Pieces was ordered from Maeſtricht, to the ſame Place. The Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel was ordered, in the mean Time, to continue there, with the Saxon and Heſſian Cavalry, for the Security of the Tranſport of the Artillery; and Prince Eugene, with the reſt of his Forces, encamp'd ſome Days at Enghien.

Motions of the Grand Army.

The grand Army made a Motion, the twenty-firſt of July, and Count Lottum's Detachment being returned to the Camp, the Left reach'd to the Red Bridge, between the Deule and the Lys, and the Right between Werwick and Menin; a convenient Place being left on the Right, for the Imperial Troops which were to join the Duke of Marlborough. The ſame Morning, upon Information, that the French were preparing a Convoy in Tournay, for their Army near Ghent, ten Squadrons, under Brigadier Chanclos, were detach'd towards Oudenarde, to prevent that Supply from reaching the Enemy's Camp; and the Prince d'Auvergne, and Count Maurice of Naſſau, were detach'd with 500 Horſe, towards Rouſſelaer, to cut off the Convoys of Proviſions, which the Enemy might expect by the Way of Ypres. All other poſſible Precautions were taken to ſtreighten the Enemy, and oblige them to quit the Camp, which they could not well do, without the Hazard of another Battle; among others, the Governour of Oſtend endeavour'd to deprive the Enemy of the Communication between Bruges and Newport, by putting a good Part of the Country under Water.

1708. The twenty-third of July, the Duke of Marlborough detach'd, by Break of Day, 2,000 Horſe, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Dompre, and Major-General Schulemburg, to meet and ſecure the heavy Baggage, which was left, the Beginning of that Month, at Bruſſels. The Evening of the Day following, upon Information being brought, that the Duke of Berwick was march'd from Douay to Tournay, with three and twenty ſquadrons, and the Cavalry of the Garriſon of Liſle, with a Deſign, as it was believed, to Attack the Baggage of the Allies, in their March from Aeth, the Duke of Marlborough immediately detach'd ſix Squadrons from the Right, under the Command of Major-General Bauditz, to re-inforce Lieutenant-General Dompre; upon which, the Baggage arrived, the five and twentieth, without any Oppoſition, in the Camp.

The heavy Baggage arrives in the Camp.

Contributions raiſed in Artois and Picardy. The ſame Day, and the next, fifty Squadrons, twelve Battalions, and 1000 Grenadiers, commanded by Count Tilly, the Lieutenant-Generals Earl of Orkney, Rantzau and Hompeſch, and the Major-Generals Webb, Rantzau, and Count d' Erpach, were detach'd, with Orders to march into Artois, the Infantry to take Poſt at La Baſſe, and the Cavalry to penetrate into the French Territories, as far as Picardy, to lay that Country either under Contribution or Military Execution. The ſix and twentieth, Count Tilly met with 800 of the Enemy's Horſe, being a Detachment of the Duke of Berwick's Army, of which he kill'd a good Number, and took a Colonel, a Major, three Captains, and about 200 Troopers Priſoners. He purſued the reſt to the very Gates of Lens, in which the Enemy having poſted 1400 Foot, they abandoned the Place, on the firſt Approach of the Confederate Infantry.

Lens abandon'd by the French.

Count Tilly, having taken Poſſeſſion of Lens, and put five Battalions into it, detach'd ſeveral Parties, who advanc'd as far as Picardy; and the Duke of Marlborough having Advice, that forty Squadrons, and twenty Battalions, march'd from the Duke of Burgundy's Army, to Newport, the twenty-third of July, N. S. and afterwards advanc'd between Bourbourg and St. Omers, in order to join the Duke of Berwick, his Grace ſent the Lieutenant-Generals Dedem and Prince of Eaſt-Frieſland, with twenty Battalions, and fifteen Squadrons, with Orders to poſt themſelves at Armentiers, and ly ready to re-inforce Count Tilly. That General, being thus re-inforced, advanced nearer the Scarpe, whereupon, the Deputies of Artois having come to an Agreement with him for Contributions, and, at the ſame Time, the Detachments ſent towards Picardy having burnt the Suburbs of Dourlens, and brought off ſeveral Hoſtages, he was ordered, the third of Auguſt, to return to the Grand Confederate Army.

The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme, on the other hand, being ſomewhat recover'd out of their late Conſternation and Diſorder,

Diſorder, and having, in ſome meaſure, raiſed the Spirits of their Soldiers again, by taking of the Fort of the Red-Houſe, provided for the Subſiſtence of their Army, by carrying off all the Corn they could find in the Country of Waes, and as far as Aloſt; and to be reveng'd for what Count Tilly was doing in Artois and Picardy, they detach'd 10,000 Men, commanded by the Chevalier du Rozel, to make an Irruption into Dutch Flanders. General Fagel, and Major-General Murray, having but three Battalions, and a Regiment of Dragoons, with them in thoſe Parts, thought it not adviſeable to expoſe that Handful of Men, and, therefore, quitted the Lines, from Birvliet, thro' Fort Philippine, and Iſſendike, to Sluys, and retired, with their Troops, into this laſt Place. The Enemy, hereupon, entered the Iſland of Cadſandt, plundered and burnt about 100 Houſes, and, having level'd Part of the Lines, taken a conſiderable Number of Horſes and Cattle, with other rich Booty, returned, with ſeveral Hoſtages, for Contribution, to their Camp at Lovendeghem. 1708.

The French make an Irruption into Dutch Flanders;

And Cadſandt.

The States General were very uneaſy at this Invaſion of Dutch Flanders; (tho' the Succeſs of it was infinitely ſhort of that of the Allies, in Artois and Picardy.) But neither that Expedition of the Enemy, nor their Threats of what they intended to do farther, made any Alterations in the Meaſures which had been concerted for a conſiderable Siege. In order to this, a great Train of Artillery, and a vaſt Number of Waggons, laden with Warlike Stores, had been provided, with all poſſible Expedition, at Bruſſels. The farther Operations of the Campaign depending, in a great Meaſure, on the ſafe Arrival of this Convoy at the Camp, and there being Reaſon to judge, by ſeveral Motions of the Enemy, that they had Thoughts of attacking it, the Confederate Generals made ſeveral Detachments, to cover that March; and the fourth of Auguſt, Prince Eugene himſelf ſet out, with General Dopf, to put himſelf at the Head of his Army, for the ſame End. The eighth, in the Morning, the Duke of Marlborough having received Intelligence, that the Enemy had reinforced the Troops, which they had poſted at Melle, between Ghent and the County of Aloſt, to the Number of about 30,000 Men, and that the Duke of Burgundy was gone thither, in Perſon, to head them, his Grace ſent Advice thereof to Prince Eugene, that he might take proper Meaſures for the ſecuring of Bruſſels; but the Prince had, in the mean Time, upon the like Information, already ſent a ſtrong Detachment of Horſe and Foot, to obſerve the Enemy. He himſelf advanced to Soignies, and, near that Place, joined the Artillery, which, by the prudent Conduct of the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, was got thither, without the leaſt Annoyance from the Enemy; and, on the ninth, in the Evening, was ſafely conducted to Aeth.

The Artillery convoy'd in Safety to the Confederate Camp.

1708. The March of this Train of Artillery, with Prince Eugene's Advancing to Soignies, put the Enemy under great Apprehenſions for Mons. Upon which the Duke of Berwick threw ſeven Battalions, two Squadrons of Horſe, and one of Dragoons, into that Place: But the Confederates, being reſolved to go upon ſome Undertaking of the higheſt Importance, agreed at length upon the Siege of Liſle; rightly judging, that they could not attack the Enemy in a more ſenſible Part. The Inveſting and Beſieging of this important Place ſhall be the Subject of the next Chapter, and I ſhall, in the mean time, conclude this with the following Letter from the Duke of Marlborough.

The Siege of Liſle reſolved upon.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

Camp at Helchin, Aug. 15, 1708.

My Lord,

A Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to the Earl of Manchester.

"I Have receiv'd the Honour of your Excellency's Letter of "the 27th of July, and return you my Thanks for your "obliging Congratulations on our late Victory; which we are "endeavouring to improve, in ſuch a Manner, that all Europe "may reap the Benefit of it, in an honourable and laſting "Peace. I hope it will have an immediate Influence in your "Parts, where the Spirits are chiefly govern'd by Succeſs. Mr. "Cardonnel tells us you have a conſtant Account of our Mo- "tions, for which I muſt ſtill pray leave to refer you to him; "and am, &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

CHAP. IX.

The Siege of Liſle, *before the Battle of* Wynendale.

Importance of the City of Liſle.

THE City of Liſle, which the Confederate Generals had reſolved to beſiege, is a large, rich and well fortified Place, with a very ſtrong Citadel, the Capital of French Flanders, the Staple of all the Trade between the Netherlands and France, and, next to Paris, was reckon'd the Chief Place of His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Dominions. It is ſituate among Pools and Marſhes, about 15 Miles Weſt of Tournay, 28 North of Douay, 36 South-Weſt of Ghent, 37 South-Eaſt of Dunkirk, and 38 almoſt Weſt of Mons. The Merchants of that Place were of conſiderable


CITA
DELL
Deule R.
Fort Chamberlain
Ca. of S. Mark
A. The Gate of St. Maurice
B. The Gate of Fives
C. Gate of the Sick
D. Gate of our Lady
E. Gate of Barr
F. Gate of Relief
G. Port St. Andrew
H. Gate of Magdalen


An Exact
PLAN of LISLE,
Is humbly dedicated to
His Grace SCROOP EGGERTON
DUKE of BRIDGWATER
by his Graces most
devoted humble Serv.t
Thomas Lediard.
EXPLICATION
1 St. Stephens
2 St. Peters
3 St. Catherine
4 The Cordeliers
5 St. Saviour
6 St. Maurice
7 The Exchange
8 The Town Hall
9 The Hospitall of St. Saviour
10 Hospitall of St. John
11 Hospitall of St. Nicasen
12 Fort St. Saviour
13 The Dominicans
H
A
B
C
D
the Suburb of Fives
Lime Kills
A Scale of Fathoms
50 100 200 300 500 600

1708.

conſiderable Service to the Grand Monarch, and a great Annoyance to his Enemies, eſpecially the Maritime Powers, as they were the principal Owners of the Dunkirk Privateers, which, without their Aſſiſtance, could not have been fitted out, in near ſo great Numbers. As they were rich, they generally ſupplied the Wants of the French King's Armies, and the Cuſtoms they paid him were a conſiderable Part of his Revenue. Liſle was the firſt and faireſt of all Lewis XIV's Conqueſts, and one of the principal Keys of France; and as his Majeſty always expreſs'd a more than ordinary Value for this Place, the famous Engineer, Monſ. de Vauban, had exerted his utmoſt Skill in the Fortifications of it, and, at an immenſe Charge, rendered it almoſt impregnable. The Reduction of a Place every Way ſo important could not but redound very much to the Honour, as well as the Advantage, of the Confederates; and, on the other hand, this great Importance of it made the French uſe all human Means for its Preſervation. Beſides the Preſence of the Marſhal de Bouflers, Governour of all French Flanders, the Lieutenant-Generals de Surville, Lee, and other Officers of Diſtinction, they threw into the Place one and twenty Battalions, of the beſt Troops of France, beſides ſix Squadrons of Dragoons, 140 Horſe, and 7 or 800 Invalids, who were yet in a Condition to ſerve; a little Army rather than a Garriſon.

Great Preparations of France to defend it.

Notwithſtanding the Difficulties, which could not but attend the Siege of a Place ſo ſtrong, and ſo well provided, not to mention thoſe occaſioned by the Confederates being cut off from their Magazines in Antwerp and Sas van Ghent; all which made the Duke de Vendôme (when he was firſt inform'd of the Deſign of the Allies) ſay; *He did not think ſo wiſe a Commander as Prince Eugene, would venture upon ſo raſh an Enterprize*; and the French, in general, boaſted, *that without ſtriking a Blow, they would oblige the Allies to abandon the Siege*: Notwithſtanding all this, I ſay, nothing was able to deter the Confederate Generals from their Reſolutions. The Artillery being, therefore, arriv'd at Pottes, and all other Neceſſaries provided, the twelfth of Auguſt, the Prince of Orange-Naſſau was detach'd, with one and thirty Battalions, to take Poſt at Marquette, on the Lower Deule, within half a League of Liſle, and Lieutenant-General Wood, with four and thirty Squadrons, march'd to Potteghem. The ſame Day, the Army march'd from Werwick to Helchin; and, the next, Prince Eugene, having paſs'd the Marque at Pont à Treſin, inveſted the Town of Liſle, between that Place and the Upper Deule; while the Prince of Orange-Naſſau did the like, with his Detachment, between the Upper and Lower Deule. The Duke of Marlborough lay, in the mean Time, with the main Army at a convenient Diſtance, to cover the Siege.

Firmneſs of the Confederates in their Reſolutions.

Liſle inveſted.

1708. Prince Eugene of Savoy, who as Field-Marſhal of the Empire, was to command at this memorable Siege, had under him, as Generals, the Prince of Orange-Naſſau, Count Schlick, the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, the Prince of Wirtemberg, Count Naſſau-Weilburgh, and Spiegel; Lieutenant-Generals, Count de Fels, Falckenſtein, Efferen, Wood, Arnam, Peitendorff, Spar, Prince of Holſtein-Beck, and Wilke: Major-Generals, Leiſins, Count Bethlem, Count Wittenſtein, De Vennes, the Prince d'Auvergne, Weiſſenfeld, Vickenbach, Volckerſhoven, Sobel, Collier, Zoutland and Sacken; Brigadiers and Majors of Brigade, Keppenbeck junior, Poferen, Kellim, Hagedorn, Kallenſtein, Waſſenaer, Keppel, Boiſſet, Sir Richard Temple, Du Trouſſel, Mymer, Stapel and Whitney; and the Chief Engineers Des Roques, and Du Mey, each of whom was to have the Direction of a ſeparate Attack.

General-Officers who ſerv'd at this Siege.

The Prince of Orange-Naſſau in great Danger.

The ſame Day, that the Town was inveſted, Prince Eugene had a long Conference with the Prince of Orange-Naſſau, in which the Diſpoſition of the Quarters was ſettled; and, the next Morning, the Lines of Circumvallation were mark'd out, and Pioneers were ſet to work on them. The ſeventeenth, the greateſt Part of the Artillery arrived in the Camp, from Menin. The eighteenth, in the Morning, the Prince of Orange's Chief Valet de Chambre had his Head ſhot off, by a Cannon-Ball, while he was dreſſing his Highneſs, which paſs'd over the Prince's Shoulder, and within ſix Inches of his Face, who had his Clothes and Face all beſmear'd with his Blood and Brains. As the Village of Lamberſard, in which the Prince's Quarters then were, was within a ſmall Cannon-Shot of the Town, and ſeveral Balls had before pierced the very Houſe he was in, near his Chamber, his Highneſs was, hereupon, perſuaded to remove his Quarters farther from the Town, to the Caſtle of Holbeck, behind the Abby of Marquette; Prince Eugene having fix'd his at the Abby of Loos.

Troops appointed for the Siege.

The Troops appointed to carry on this famous Siege were fifty Battalions, viz. ſix Imperialiſts, nine Palatines, five Heſſians, and thirty from the Grand Army; and to prevent all Miſtakes, Prince Eugene cauſed, the twentieth of Auguſt, a Memorial to be drawn up, of ſuch Orders and Methods, as were to be obſerved, in relieving the Trenches, and carrying on the Attacks, by the Generals and Officers, of the Troops of the ſeveral Nations, which were under his Command.

King Auguſtus, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, viſit the Duke of Marlborough.

The ſame Day, King Auguſtus of Poland, and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, drawn by the Fame of the Siege of Liſle, being on their Way from Aeth to the Confederate Army, then encamp'd at Helchin, the Duke of Marlborough met them, at their paſſing the Scheld, at Pottes, and conducted them to Dinner, to his Quarters, where his Majeſty was lodg'd, the Landgrave

rave taking his Lodging with his Son, Prince William, Major-General in the Service of the States; beſides whom, his Highneſs had two other Sons employ'd at this Siege, and the Prince of Orange, who was then deſign'd for, and ſoon after became, his Son-in-law. The next Day, his Grace entertained them, with the Review of the firſt Line of the Army, after which they dined with the Earl of Albemarle; and the twentieth, in the Morning, they both went to the Camp before Liſle, where they were received and entertained by Prince Engene, with all the Reſpect due to their Rank. 1708.

And come to the Camp before Liſle.

The ſame Afternoon, the Directors, Engineers, and chief Officers of the Artillery, went, by the Road, from Werwick to Liſle, to view the Ground near the Place, which they found very fit for their Batteries, on the Side of St. Magdalen's Gate; but as they advanced very near the Works, the Enemy ſallied out, with three Squadrons, and a Detachment of Foot, and appear'd on the other Side of the Deule, upon which the Engineers retired to their Camp. Prince Eugene, however, found a Stratagem to procure them a nearer View of the Enemy's Works; which was as follows: A great Number of Ladies having deſired Paſſes to go out of the Town, his Highneſs made no Difficulty of granting their Requeſt; but, at the ſame Time, he cauſed ſome Engineers to be dreſs'd in the Habit of common Soldiers, and to march with the Detachment, which was appointed to receive the Ladies at the Barriers of the Place, and conduct them thro' the Camp.

A Stratagem of Prince Eugene's.

The Magiſtrates of Liſle having, with the Marſhal de Boufflers's Leave, ſent two Deputies to Prince Eugene, as well to compliment him, as to deſire his Favour to the Burghers, they offered him, at the ſame Time, ſome Preſents of Refreſhments: But he told them, "That a beſieged Town ought to be kept very cloſe; "ſo that he could not yet admit of their Civilities; but when "he ſhould be Maſter of the Place, the Burghers might be aſ"ſured of his Protection, provided he ſhould be ſatisfied, that "they had endeavoured to deſerve it, by their impartial Car"riage during the Siege." The twenty-firſt, the Enemy, with ſix Squadrons, and 7 or 800 Foot, came out, on the Side which the chief Engineers obſerved the Day before; upon which the Prince of Orange-Naſſau cauſed ſeven Squadrons, and ſix Battalions, to advance and repulſe the Enemy, who retired immediately, having only ſet Fire to two Houſes, and cut down about 200 Trees. The Confederate Troops took Poſt in a Place call'd Magdalen-Hole, on the Banks of the Deule, where they left 500 Men; and poſted another Detachment in a Mill, near the Chapel of St. Magdalen, which was fortified; and the ſame Day, likewiſe, the Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation were finiſhed.

His Anſwer to the Deputies of Liſle.

1708. The French Court, which was not a little ſurprized to find Liſle inveſted, ſent poſitive Orders to the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme to run all Hazards, to raiſe the Siege of ſo important a Place; and, to this End, the Duke of Berwick was, at the ſame Time, ordered to augment his flying Camp, with the Garriſons of Namur, Mons, Charleroy, Valenciennes and other Places, and to join the Dukes.

The Duke of Marlborough makes a Motion with the Army.

The Duke of Marlborough, having received repeated Advice of this Deſign, ordered the Cavalry of his Left to march, the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, towards the Scheld, and encamp near the Right, between the Villages of Pottes and St. Vernoux, to be nearer at hand to paſs the Scheld, and form the Vanguard of the Army, which was to march by the Left. The twenty-third, at Break of Day, 1500 Horſe, commanded by the Count d'Erbach, Major-General, and Brigadier Groveſtein, were detach'd, with the Quarter-Maſters-General, to mark out a Camp on the other Side of the Scheld; and, about ſeven, the whole Army march'd, in two Columns, by the Left, paſſed the Scheld, near Pottes, on four Bridges, and encamp'd, with the Right, to that River, near Eſcanaffe, and the Left, to Annieres, the Duke of Marlborough taking his Quarters at Amongies, and Veldt Marſhal d'Auverquerque his, at Vaudipront.

Advantages which aroſe from this Motion.

This Motion prevented the Enemy's joining between the Scheld and the Dender, and rendered it more difficult in Brabant; and beſides, his Grace was now nearer at hand to oppoſe any Attempt they might offer to make, on that Side; where, it was reaſonable to believe, they had laid the Scheme of a powerful Diverſion, during the Siege. His Grace likewiſe ordered the Bridges to be continued on the Scheld, with a Guard of ſix Regiments of Foot, leſt the Enemy ſhould make any Motion between that River and the Lys.

The Trenches open'd before the Town of Liſle.

Every Thing being now in a Readineſs for the Siege, the Trenches were open'd, the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, N. S. between ſeven and eight in the Evening, within 500 Toiſes of the Counterſcarp, on the Right and Left of the Lower Deule, the former againſt the Gate of St. Andrews, under the Direction of Monſ. Des Roques, and the other againſt the Gate of St. Magdalen, under the Care of Monſ. Du Mey. Four thouſand Workmen were appointed for this Service, cover'd by ten Battalions of the Imperial, Palatine and Heſſian Troops, commanded by Lieutenant-General Wilke, and Major-General Volckerſhoven; and ten Battalions more, with 600 Horſe, were ready to ſuſtain them. But the Trenches were carried on with ſo much Secrecy, as well as good Succeſs, that the Allies had above two Hours Time to cover themſelves, before they were perceived by the Enemy; who, thereupon, made a terrible Fire from the Town; tho' with ſo little

little Effect, that the Confederates had not above three or four Men killed, and about fifteen wounded, 1708.

To enter into a particular Relation of all that happen'd, Day by Day, at this famous Siege, would carry me far beyond the Limits I have preſcrib'd my ſelf in this Work. I ſhall, therefore, only take Notice of ſome of the moſt remarkable Events, which attended it, intermix'd with ſuch Tranſactions as paſs'd under the immediate Direction of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

The twenty-third, Lieutenant-General Pettendorf, going from one Attack to the other, and miſſing his Way, was taken Priſoner, and carried into the Town. The four and twentieth, the Beſiegers took the fortified Chapel of St. Magdalen, on the Left, the Beſieged, who poſſeſs'd that Poſt, being all either killed or taken Priſoners. The Chapel of St. Magdalen taken.

The ſix and twentieth, Prince Eugene was in Danger of being poiſon'd, by a baſe Contrivance of the Enemy, the Circumſtances of which, as it was a remarkable Incident, I ſhall relate: The Poſt-Houſe being about two Leagues diſtant, the Commiſſary wrote a Letter to General Dopf's Secretary, by a Servant that Gentleman had ſent him, in the Morning, to fetch his Letters, deſiring him to deliver the two inclos'd to his Highneſs, Prince Eugene of Savoy, becauſe he had no Poſtilion, at hand, to ſend them by. General Dopf being then at the Prince's Quarters, the Secretary gave thoſe two Letters to his Adjutant, who gave them to Prince Eugene. One of the Letters came from the Hague, and the other the Commiſſary imagin'd to be come from the ſame place, tho' he could not be poſitive of it. The Prince, opening one of them, found nothing but a greazy Paper in it, and not knowing what it might be, threw it careleſsly to the Ground, without any Shew of Surprize. The Prince's Adjutant taking it up, and, ſmelling to it, was immediately ſeized with a Giddineſs, and taken ſo ill, that he was perſuaded to take an Antidote, and happy for him he did: for the Poiſon it contained was ſo exquiſite, that the Paper only, being, for an Experiment, tied about a Dog's Neck, he died in four and twenty Hours, notwithſtanding a Counterpoiſon was given him. General Dopf, with ſome others, who were about the Prince, appearing ſurprized, at this execrable Piece of Villany, and expreſſing their Concern, for the Hazard the Prince had run, his Highneſs ſaid to them; *You need not, Gentlemen, wonder at it; for this is not the firſt Letter of this Nature I have receiv'd.* Prince Eugene in Danger of being poiſon'd.

The ſame Evening, the Beſieged made a vigorous Sally, and ſurpriſing the Chapel of St. Magdalen, retook it; but the Prince of Orange-Naſſau, who was at that Time in the Trenches, no ſooner got Intelligence of it, than he order'd two Battalions to come out of the Trenches, on the Right and the Left of the Chapel, The Chapel of St. Magdalen retaken by the Enemy.

1708. Chapel, and attack'd the Enemy with ſuch Fury, that they were immediately oblig'd to abandon it, and retire, with great Precipitation, into the Cover'd Way of the Town. Thus the Prince had the Honour to take this Poſt twice, and afterwards to keep it, very much to the Diſſatisfaction, as well as Prejudice of the Enemy, to whom it had been of ſingular Service.

But ſoon abandon'd again.

The ſame Day, the Duke of Marlborough wrote the following Letter;

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

Camp at Amongies, Auguſt 26, 1708.

My Lord,

A Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to the Earl of Manchester.

"I Have received the Honour of your Excellency's Letter of "the third Inſtant, and do not much wonder, that the "French Miniſter ſhould be inſtructed to uſe the ſame Artifice "with you they have ſo long practiſed in other Parts. I hope "the Succeſs of the Siege we have ſince undertaken, will, in a "little Time, farther convince your Senate how much they "were at firſt impoſed upon. The Trenches were opened be"fore Liſle the 22d, and Mr. Cardonnel will inform you of the "Progreſs that has been made ſince.

I am, *&c.*

MARLBOROUGH.

Continuation of the Siege.

The ſeven and twentieth, the Beſiegers began to play from four Batteries on the Town, one of four and forty Cannon, another of thirteen, a third of eleven, and a fourth of twelve Mortars, and eight Hawbitzers. The eight and twentieth, the Beſiegers took a Mill on the Right, in which they made ſome Priſoners; but were oblig'd, the ſame Night, to quit that Poſt again. The nine and twentieth, the Beſieged ſet Fire to the Mill, and abandon'd that Poſt; and the ſame Night the Beſiegers began to play from another Battery of four Guns. The thirtieth, another Battery of eight Guns was raiſed, and in all this Time, the Saps and Trenches were advanced, with all the Succeſs, the Beſiegers could expect or wiſh. The thirty-firſt, Colonel Rechteren was killed in the Trenches. Between the firſt and the ſeventh of September, N. S. every Thing went very much in Favour of the Beſiegers; and Deſerters, in this Time, reported, that the Breach was very wide, that the Ditch was almoſt fill'd with the Ruins of the Wall, and that the Marſhal de Boufflers perceiving, that the Town would ſoon fall into the Hands of the Confederates, had ordered a good Part of his beſt

Cannon to be removed into the Citadel. Upon this Advice, Prince Eugene cauſed the neceſſary Preparations to be made, for attacking the Counterſcarp, the ſeventh: But before I give an Account of that Action, it will not be improper to relate what was doing, in the mean time, with the Grand Army, under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough, and with that of the Enemy, under the Dukes of Burgundy, Berwick, and de Vendôme. 1708.

Motions of the Enemy's Army.

The latter did all they could to make, at leaſt, a Shew of attempting to raiſe the Siege. To this End, the Duke of Berwick march'd, the five and twentieth of Auguſt, N. S. with all his Forces, from Mortagne to Boſſu, between Condé and Mons, where he halted till the eight and twentieth; and that Morning march'd by Mons, towards Soignies. On the other hand, the Duke of Burgundy, having left five Battalions, and three Squadrons, in Bruges, and twelve Battalions, with ſeven Squadrons, in Ghent, under the Command of the Count de la Motte, paſs'd the Scheld, the ſeven and twentieth, at five in the Morning, near Ghent, march'd in three Columns towards the Dender, encamp'd to Pottelburg, and, the eight and twentieth, march'd to Ninove.

And of the Confederates under the Duke of Marlborough.

The Duke of Marlborough, who continued encamp'd at Amongies, having Intelligence of theſe Motions of the Enemy, gave Orders, the eight and twentieth, that his Army ſhould be ready to march, upon the firing of three Pieces of Cannon; and, in the mean Time, detach'd the Earl of Athlone, with 1500 Horſe, to obſerve the Enemy. That General advancing towards Leuſe, his Vanguard fell in with 100 Horſe, detach'd from the Duke of Berwick's Army, whom they defeated, and took thirty Priſoners; this did not, however, hinder the Duke of Berwick from advancing to Enghien. The Enemy's Forces being thus ready to join, on either Side the Dender, the Duke of Marlborough ſent a Re-inforcement of 600 Men to Aeth; and, as a Convoy of about 700 Waggons, laden with Proviſions and Ammunition, were about ſetting out from thence, for the Army and the Siege, Lieutenant General Roſs was ordered, the nine and twentieth, in the Evening, with 2500 Horſe, to cover their March to the Camp, where they arrived, in Safety, the thirtieth, in the Morning.

The Duke of Marlborough returns to Helchin.

The Duke having, at the ſame Time, Advice, that the Enemy's Army would certainly join, between the Dender and the Scheld, by which, they ſhew'd their Intentions were not to act in Brabant; his Grace, thereupon, ordered the Confederate Army to decamp from Amongies, which being done accordingly, they repaſs'd the Scheld, at Pottes, and Eſcanaffe, and came to their old Camp, at Helchin, with the Right near Pont d'Eſpiere, and the Left at Avelgheme. They were ſcarce arrived in this Camp,

1708. Camp, when his Grace receiv'd farther Intelligence, that the Duke of Berwick paſs'd the Dender, that Morning, at Ninove, and having joined the Duke of Burgundy, all their Forces, to the Number, as it was reported, of 208 Squadrons, and 126 Battalions, marched together, to Leſſines, in the Way to Tournay.

The French Armies join.

Further Motions of both Armies.

By all Circumſtances of theſe Marches, it was pretty apparent, that the Deſign of the Enemy was to attempt the raiſing of the Siege; the Duke of Marlborough, therefore, conſidering that his Army was now much inferiour to that of the Enemy, diſpatch'd ſeaſonable Orders to General Fagel, to make all poſſible Expedition to join him, with what Forces could be ſpared out of Dutch Flanders and Brabant; and, upon Advice, that the Enemy was advanced, between Antoin and Tournay, the Duke march'd the thirty-firſt, in the Afternoon, to Templeuve, and encamp'd, with the Right to Willem, and the Left to Pont à Chin. The firſt of September, the Duke continued his March, and having paſs'd the Marque, at Pont à Treſin, encamp'd, with the Right, at Antreulle, the Left, at Anſtain, and the Head Quarters, at Peronne, in the Plains of Liſle.

The Confederate Army encamps in the Plains of Liſle.

The Troops were no ſooner come into this Camp, than the Duke of Marlborough went to Prince Eugene's Quarters, before Liſle, and, having dined with his Highneſs and the other Generals, returned, in the Evening, to the Camp. The next Morning, Prince Eugene came to Peronne, and rode out, with the Lord Duke, Monſ. d'Auverquerque, and other Generals, to the Right of the Line, to view the Ground about Phalempin, and to mark out a Line for the Army to form in Battle, and expect the Enemy, in Caſe they ſhould think fit to hazard an Engagement, in order to relieve the City of Liſle. At two in the Afternoon, they return'd to the Duke's Quarters, where King Auguſtus, and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, were arrived, ſome Time before, from the Siege. All theſe Princes, together with the Deputies of the States, the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, and ſeveral other General Officers, having been entertained by the Duke, at Dinner, they returned, in the Evening, to the Camp before Liſle.

The Duke of Marlborough confers with Prince Eugene.

The Enemy approach the Confederate Army.

The ſame Morning, the Enemy's whole Army paſs'd the Scheld, in five Columns, above and below Tournay, and encamp'd, with the Right, at Blandain, and the Left, at Villemau, from whence the Duke of Burgundy ſent a Spy, to endeavour to get into Liſle, and inform the Marſhal de Boufleurs, that their Army being on this Side Tournay, he might depend upon being relieved; but he fell into the Hands of the Confederates. The next Day, the Enemy moved towards Orchies, and the Source of the Marque, lay that Night on their Arms, and the fourth, continued their March towards

towards Mont en Peville, and the Overture into the Plains of Liſle, between the Marque and Phalempin. 1708.

The Duke of Marlborough, hereupon, in Hopes, as well as Expectation, of an Engagement, ordered the Confederate Army to march to the Ground mark'd out for them, and there to form in Battle, between Noyelles and Peronne, where they continued till Noon, and then encamp'd, in the ſame Ground, the Baggage being removed, in the mean Time, to the Camp before Liſle. Towards Evening, the French advanced nearer to the Confederate Camp; and having ſpread a Report, that they would immediately attempt the raiſing of the Siege, the Duke of Marlborough drew up his Army again, the fifth, at Break of Day, in order to give them Battle, having been joined, the Evening before, by Prince Eugene, with ſeventy-two (ſome Accounts ſay ſeventy-ſix) Squadrons, and ſix and twenty Battalions, from the Siege, with which King Auguſtus, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, came, as Volunteers. Theſe Troops, which were brought by Prince Eugene, were poſted on the Right of the Line, with the Pruſſians; the Engliſh and Danes on the Left, and the Dutch and Hannoverians in the Centre. All the Cavalry was drawn up in two Lines; and the Infantry formed a third Line, behind the Horſe, which Diſpoſition was judg'd the moſt proper, as they were in a Plain. To cover the Flank of the Army, twenty Battalions were poſted on each Wing, and behind them, as many Squadrons as a Body of Reſerve. If we may believe the *Memoirs du Prince Eugene*, the Confederate Army then conſiſted of 236 Squadrons, and 112 Battalions; and the Enemy's Army was ſtronger by fourteen Battalions and two Squadrons; but other Accounts make the Superiority of the Enemy much larger. Count Naſſau-Woudenburg, with his Brigade, was poſted, in the Village of Entiers (or Anties) which was at the Head of the Army, by which the Enemy muſt paſs; and the Artillery was placed in the moſt convenient Places, and thoſe which were moſt expos'd, in the Front. The Generals repair'd to their reſpective Poſts, in eager Expectation of receiving the Enemy; and Lieutenant General Fagel, having march'd with incredible Speed, with ſeven Battalions, and as many Squadrons, joined the Confederate Army, the ſame Morning. They had the more Reaſon to believe the Deſign of the Enemy was to give them Battle becauſe they had got Intelligence, that the Duke de Vendôme, who was advanced, the Night before, with his Vanguard, to Phalampin, but a League from the Confederate Army, had received thirty Pieces of heavy Cannon, from Douay, beſides the Field-Pieces he had before. They were ſo near, the next Morning, that their Drums were heard, and they made ſeveral Motions, which heighten'd the Expectation of the Allies.

The Duke of Marlborough prepares to receive them.

Prince Eugene joins the Duke with ſome Troops.

Diſpoſition of the Confederate Army.

The

1708. The Confederate Army continued, in Order of Battle, till ten o'Clock, and never did Troops ſhew a greater Eagerneſs to engage; but the Enemy, notwithſtanding all their Boaſting, and their great Superiority, did not think fit to appear; tho' the Confederate Generals had deſignedly left all the Paſſes, thro' which they were to come, and form'd themſelves open and unguarded, as it were to dare them to the Fight. If it had been the real Deſign of the Enemy to hazard a Battle, for the Relief of Liſle, they could not have wiſh'd for a better Opportunity; but it now plainly appear'd, that they were reſolv'd to run no Riſk, and that all their Motions were only intended to diſturb the Allies, and retard the Siege, by keeping them in continual Alarm. The Tents were, therefore, order'd to be pitch'd again, and Prince Eugene's Detachment returned to the Camp before Liſle, ſome Imperial and Heſſian Horſe, only excepted. The Prince himſelf, after having dined with the Duke of Marlborough, in Company with King Auguſtus, and the Landgrave, return'd, in the Evening, to the Siege.

The Enemy, tho' dared to it, decline fighting.

The Duke of Marlborough judging now rightly, that the Enemy (as I have obſerv'd above) never in Earneſt deſign'd to hazard an Engagement; but that their whole Intention was no more, than to fatigue the Confederate Troops by continual Motions, to ſtreighten them in Forrage and, by theſe Means, to lengthen out the Siege, his Grace ordered 100 Men, out of each Battalion, to be employed in throwing up an Intrenchment in the Front of his Army, from the Mill of Noyelles, to that of Fretin; where the Infantry was rang'd in two Lines, and the Cavalry on the Wings, in two Lines, the Village of Seclin lying before the Line. This Work was finiſhed, the eighth of September, N. S. and not only ſecured the Duke of Marlborough's Army from any ſudden Surprize, but left the Beſiegers at Liberty to carry on their Attacks without Interruption.

The Duke of Marlborough entrenches his Army.

Two Days before, the Enemy made a great Forrage, and their Workmen were employ'd in making Openings, and enlarging the Roads about their Army, which continued encamp'd between Mont en Peville and Megrignie, from whence, on the ſeventh, they detach'd thirty Squadrons, which march'd by Tournay, with Deſign to intercept a Convoy coming from Bruſſels, guarded by a Body of Troops, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Paſcal. The Duke of Marlborough, hereupon, detach'd, the ſame Evening, thirty Squadrons, under the Command of the Earl of Albemarle, Major-General Wittinghof, and three Brigadiers, with Orders to advance as far as Gramont, to meet the Convoy, which was brought, in Safety, to Menin, four Days after.

The Enemy attempt, in vain, to intercept a Convoy.

" Arnold Jooſt van Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, was a Gen-
" tleman of a good Family in Guelderland. At the Revolution,
" he came over with King William as Page only, and was ſome-
" times

Character of the Earl of Albemarle.

" times employ'd in Copying Letters; but the Lord Portland, 1708.
" who had then, as it was thought, too great a Share in the
" King's Favour; and being thereby become obnoxious to ma-
" ny at Court, eſpecially when the Parliament thought it neceſſary
" to interpoſe and put a Stop to the exorbitant Grants of Lands
" beſtowed upon him, a Reſolution was form'd, if poſſible, to
" ſupplant him, and Keppel, on whom the King likewiſe look'd
" with a favourable Eye, was thought the propereſt Perſon to ef-
" fect it. In this, he was greatly ſupported by the Lord Sun-
" derland and Mrs. Villiers, and being a conſtant Companion in
" all his Majeſty's Diverſions and Pleaſures, he ſoon ſucceeded,
" and became the Chief Favourite. He was ſucceſſively created
" a Peer of Great Britain, made Maſter of the Robes, and a
" Companion in the Noble Order of the Garter. He was ad-
" vanced to be General of the Swiſs, in Holland, and had a
" Command in the Guards beſtow'd upon him here. He was
" employ'd by the King in Affairs of the greateſt Conſequence,
" and by Degrees gain'd a great Influence over him. After the
" King's Death, he was continued in his Command of the
" Guards, and of the Swiſs in Holland. He was agreeable in
" his Perſon, and render'd himſelf more ſo, by being of a free
" and open Converſation, and liberal in his Expences and Man-
" ner of Living.

Their Forragers driven back to their Camp.

The eighth, the Enemy advanced, with their Forragers, ſuſtained by ſeveral Regiments, within a Quarter of a League of Fretin, where the Duke of Marlborough had his Quarters. The Duke was at Dinner, when the News was brought, upon which, Lieutenant General Wood, who happen'd to be at the Table, expreſs'd an earneſt Deſire to drive them to their Camp, deſiring only, for that Purpoſe, two Engliſh Battalions. His Grace granted his Requeſt, and ordered the Regiments of How and Sir William Temple, to attend him for that Purpoſe. They march'd immediately, and being animated by the Duke of Argile, the Earl of Stairs, and Major-General Webb, who went with them, as Volunteers, fell upon the Enemy, and drove them as far as Ennevelin, where they had poſted ſome Infantry, in a Caſtle, which was encompaſſed with two Ditches. The Engliſh attempted to diſlodge them from thence, and, to that End, attack'd the Enemy with a great deal of Bravery; but the Duke de Vendôme giving Orders to all his Grenadiers, and the Piquet of ſix Brigades, which were encamp'd in the Front of his Army, near Pont à Marque, to ſupport his Troops in the Caſtle, the two Britiſh Battalions were oblig'd to retire, before ſo very ſuperiour a Force, with the Loſs of about 200 Men, and ſix or ſeven Officers, kill'd and wounded: Having, however, firſt gained their Point, in diſturbing the Enemy's Forragers, and driving them back

1708. back to their Camp. I ſhall now leave the Duke of Marlborough, in his Intrenchments, and return to the Siege.

Diſpoſitions for Storming the Counterſcarp of Liſle.

Preparations having been made, as I ſaid above, to ſtorm the Counterſcarp, the ſeventh, in the Evening, the Trenches were relieved by Lieutenant-General Wilke, with two Major-Generals, and ten Imperial and Palatine Battalions; upon which, the following Diſpoſitions were made for that Attack. Eight hundred Grenadiers, ſupported by the ſame Number of Fuſiliers, with 2000 Workmen, and 30 Carpenters, deſigned for cutting down the Palliſadoes, were commanded for the Attack on the Right, between the Lower Deule, and the Gate of St. Andrew, under the Direction of Monſ. des Roques; 1600 Grenadiers, ſupported by the like Number of Fuſiliers, 2000 Workmen, and thirty Carpenters, were ordered, for the Left, between the Deule and St. Magdalen's Gate, under the Direction of Monſ. du Mey; and, beſides the Troops in the Trenches, 2000 Men more employed in the Attack, being detach'd for that End, from the Grand Army, under the Command of Brigadier Sabine.

The Attack made.

Every Thing being ready, a moſt terrible Fire was made from the Batteries; and, about eight o'Clock, the Signal being given, a general Diſcharge was made; whereupon, the Troops deſign'd for the Attack on the Left march'd out of the Trenches, with great Intrepidity, and admirable Order; they went directly up to the Palliſadoes, from whence they beat the Enemy, and ſeveral of them, leaping into the Covered Way, put to the Sword all the French they found there, excepting four Officers, and a very few Soldiers, who were taken Priſoners. While they were making their Lodgment, near the Palliſadoes, the Enemy made a terrible Fire upon them, and ſprung three Mines, which did conſiderable Execution. The Beſiegers lodg'd themſelves, however, on the Saliant Angle of the Counterſcarp of the Horn-work, and on the Angle of the Tenaille. The Troops who were commanded on the Right attack'd the Enemy, with the ſame Courage and Succeſs, and lodg'd themſelves, likewiſe, on the Saliant Angle of the Counterſcarp of the Horn-work, and on the Top of the Ditch of the Tenailles, on the Banks of the Lower Deule, between the two Attacks; and, beſides all this, the Communications towards the Breaches were conſiderably advanced. The Loſs of the Allies, in this Action, was conſiderable, as the Reader will ſee by the following Letter from the Chief Engineer des Roques.

Succeſs of it.

From the Camp before Liſle, Sept. 10. *N. S.*

Monſ. des Roques's Account.

" ON Friday the ſeventh Inſtant, we made an Aſſault on the Counterſcarp, about half an Hour paſt ſeven, in the " Evening. 2400 Grenadiers, and as many Fuſiliers, ſuſtained " by

" by twelve Battalions, being commanded to make the Lodgment 1708.
" on the Glacis, we attack'd the whole Front, reaching from the
" Horn-work, before Magdalen's Gate, along the Ravelin and
" Tenailles, as far as the Horn-work, on the Right of the Lower
" Deule. After an obſtinate Fight, of about half an Hour, during
" which, the Enemy ſprung four great Mines, which deſtroyed
" abundance of our Men, we obliged them to retire into their Ca-
" pital Works, from whence they made a terrible Fire, for ſome
" Hours. But, as we had the Misfortune, upon the advancing
" towards the Enemy, out of the Trenches, to loſe the ſix En-
" gineers, who were to direct the Workmen, appointed to make
" the Lodgment on the Ravelins, and before the Breaches, the
" ſaid Workmen, by the Favour of the Night, diſperſed them-
" ſelves; ſo that we could not maintain ourſelves, but only on
" the Angles of the Glacis of the two Horn-works, and of the
" Tenaille. This unhappy Accident retards the Taking of the
" Town, which may yet hold out eight or ten Days. We had,
" in that Attack, 2000 Men either kill'd or wounded, amongſt
" whom are ſixteen Engineers, either in Ordinary or Extraordi-
" nary. We have raiſed two Batteries on the Glacis of the Horn-
" work, on the Right, and of the Tenaille; and, in a Day or
" two we ſhall erect another, in order to ruin the Foot of the
" Breach, which the Enemy repair every Night. Yeſterday in
" the Afternoon, the Enemy made a Sally, in order to ruin a
" ſort of Gallery, which we are drawing from the Angle of the
" Horn-work, at Magdalen's Gate, directly to the Breach, that
" we may not be obliged to make a ſecond Aſſault upon the
" Out-works; but our Regiments in the Trenches repuls'd
" the Enemy with great Vigour, killing abundance of their Men.
" We expect, with Impatience, a Convoy of Ammunition,
" which is coming from Bruſſels, very à propos; for we are in
" great Want of it. Laſt Night we lodg'd ourſelves in the Co-
" ver'd Way; and this Night we ſhall work on a Battery of
" thirty Pieces of Cannon, in order to widen the Breach. The
" Battery of eighteen Guns having fired this Day, with Succeſs, we
" may, this Evening, make an Attack upon one of the Hornworks.

The Marſhal de Bouflers, in the Account he gave the King, his Maſter, of this Action, pretends, that the Allies had actually above 2000 Men kill'd in this Attack, and that, according to the common Way of Computation, they muſt conſequently have had double the Number wounded; and we find the ſame Account in the Marquis de Quincy's Relation: But that theſe Computations are largely made, is beyond all Contradiction. French Account of the Loſs of the Allies.

King Auguſtus of Poland, Prince Eugene, the Prince of Orange, and the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe, were in the Trenches, during the whole Action, and were Eye-Witneſſes of the Intrepidity, with which the Attack was carried on.

1708. About this Time, a Miſunderſtanding aroſe between the two Directors of the Attacks, which, with the Want of Ammunition, and the vigorous Defence made by the Beſieged, did not a little retard the Progreſs of the Siege: However, it was carried on, with ſome Succeſs daily.

Diſagreement between the chief Engineers.

The tenth, the Duke of Marlborough went to the Camp before Liſle, and having viewed the Approaches, and dined with Prince Eugene, returned to his Quarters at Fretin; and, the ſame Day, Monſieur de Chamillard, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Prime Miniſter, came to the Enemy's Army.

The Duke of Marlborough views the Approaches.

The Occaſion of his Journey was variouſly reported; ſome would have it, that it was to compoſe certain Differences, ſaid to have ariſen between the Dukes de Vendôme and Berwick; others, that it was only to communicate to them the French King's laſt Inſtructions, concerning the Relief of Liſle. The latter Conjecture ſeems to have been the moſt probable; for, after they had held a Council of War, the next Morning, their Troops began to be in Motion, and, about two in the Afternoon, advanc'd to the Village of Entiers, in the Center of the Confederate Army, deſigning to make themſelves Maſters of that Poſt: but the Duke of Marlborough, having foreſeen their Deſign, had, in Time, placed two Brigades of Foot there, under the Command of the Brigadiers Evans and Wertmuller, and cauſed ſome Works to be thrown up about that Village.

The French make a Shew of Attacking the Confederates

Upon the Enemy's advancing, in the moſt exact Order, towards the Intrenchments of the Allies, it was not at all queſtion'd but they were reſolutely bent upon a general Attack; the Duke of Marlborough, therefore, immediately ordered his Troops to their Arms, and the Regiments were commanded to their reſpective Poſts behind the Intrenchments. Prince Eugene, having, likewiſe, Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions, join'd the Duke, with about the ſame Number of Squadrons and Battalions, as he had done before. Orders were ſent, at the ſame Time, to the Earl of Albemarle, who was then between Oudenarde and Menin, with the Convoy, to return to the Camp, with all Expedition. About four in the Afternoon, the Enemy began to cannonade the Confederate Camp, with great Fury, from forty Pieces of Cannon, directing their Fire chiefly againſt the Village of Entiers, and were anſwered by the Artillery planted on the Intrenchments, which continued till it was dark.

But venture no farther than Cannonading.

The Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and Monſ. d'Auverquerque continued in the Field all Night, and the Troops, which lay upon their Arms, were, the next Morning, formed again in Order of Battle. About ſeven, the Enemy renewed their Cannonading, with thirty or forty Pieces, moſt four and twenty-Pounders, and the Allies did the like, with almoſt equal Execution, on both Sides. About Noon, the Earl of Albemarle joined

The Cannonading continued on both Sides.

joined the Army, with his Detachment; and, by all Circumſtances, the Confederate Generals yet thought the Enemy intended the Attack, in Earneſt; but finding the contrary, at length, towards Evening, the Troops were ordered to encamp, in ſuch Manner, that they might be immediately in a Readineſs to receive the Enemy, ſhould they have attempted any thing farther: And, in the Night, the Works, about the Village of Entiers, were repaired and augmented, for the better Security of that Poſt. 1708.

Farther Motions of both Armies.

The Enemy made a Motion, the ſame Night, extending their Left to Seclin, and placing their Right to the Marque; and the Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene, now plainly perceiving, that the Deſigns of the Enemy extended no farther, than, by frequent Alarms, to delay the Storming of the Outworks of Liſle, and conſidering that the Duke's Camp was of ſufficient Force, his Highneſs return'd, the thirteenth, with his Troops to the Siege. The two Armies continued, the fourteenth, in the ſame Situation; but the French Generals, having held a Council of War, in which they conſidered, how impracticable it was, to attack the Confederates, with any Appearance of Succeſs, reſolved to cut off their Communication with Aeth and Bruſſels, by making themſelves Maſters of all the Paſſes on the Scheld.

A Conſpiracy to deliver up Aeth, diſcover'd.

A Conſpiracy (which was to have favoured this Project) to deliver Aeth to Lieutenant-General Alvelda, was, about this Time, diſcovered. The chief Contriver and Promoter of this Plot was, Monſieur Le Grand, Comptroller of the Fortifications, who, upon the Diſcovery, fled to Mons; but his Wife and Servants were apprehended. The Enemy hop'd, and, indeed, not without any Appearance of Reaſon, ſo to diſtreſs the Confederate Army, by this new Project, that Prince Eugene would be obliged to raiſe the Siege; and, purſuant thereunto, they began to move, the fifteenth, by Break of Day, without Beat of Drum; their Right extending to Orchies, and their Left to Ribancourt. Upon Notice hereof, the Duke of Marlborough ordered the Army under his Command to be ready to march, the ſixteenth, in order to obſerve the Enemy, who having, that Day, put ſeveral Battalions into Douay, continued their March, in four Columns, by Mouchin and Bachy, directly towards Tournay. The Duke, hereupon, made a ſmall Motion, placing his Right at Peronne, his Left at Forêt, on the Marque, and his Head Quarters at Sainghin. Here he had Intelligence, that the Day before, a Convoy of 100 Waggons, laden with Cannon-Ball, for the Siege, arrived at Oudenarde, from Aeth, under the Guard of 1200 Foot, commanded by Colonel Freke, notwithſtanding the Enemy's Endeavours to intercept it.

At

1708. At the ſame Time, Brigadier Chanclos march'd with ten Squadrons of Horſe to Oudenarde, where he was to be joined by the like Detachment from Prince Eugene's Army, there being already ſix Battalions in that Town; and, upon Intelligence that Count de la Motte, with all the Troops he could get together in Flanders, was march'd from Ghent towards Ninove, the Duke of Marlborough ſent Orders to Major-General Murray, to march, with moſt of the Troops in Dutch Flanders, to Bruſſels, for the Security of that Place. The Enemy encamp'd, the ſixteenth, in the Evening, with their Right to the Rivulet Le Chin, and their Left extending towards Froimont; and, the next Morning, paſs'd the Scheld, over ſeveral Bridges they had above and below Tournay, and continued, the eighteenth, in their Camp along that River, from the Mount of the Trinity, beyond Pottes.

Marches of the Enemy's Army,

And of the Confederates

The ſame Day, the Duke of Marlborough's Army decamp'd from Sainghin, and having repaſs'd the Marque, at Pont à Treſin and Forêt, encamp'd with the Right at Willem, the Left at Pas à Vaſne, a Rivulet which runs into the Scheld, and the Head Quarters at Templeuve. Upon the March, his Grace received Intelligence, that the Enemy had laid Bridges over the Scheld, between Warcoin and Pecq, and were fortifying thoſe Villages, in order to keep a Communication with the other Side of that River, and diſturb the Confederate Convoys between Oudenarde and Courtray, he, therefore, ordered Lieutenant-General Dedem, to march, the nineteenth, at Break of Day, with all the Grenadiers of the Army, and ſix and thirty Field-Pieces, to diſlodge them; and, upon the firſt Appearance of their advanc'd Guard, they abandon'd thoſe two Villages, retir'd to the other Side of the Scheld, and took up their Bridges. The twentieth, the Allies made a ſmall Motion, encamping, with the Right, at Hem and Forêt, near the Marque; the Left at Leers, and the Head-Quarters at Lannoy: And the Enemy, having ſent ſome Brigades to take Poſt between Oudenarde and Ghent, took all poſſible Care to ſecure the Paſſes on the Scheld, caſting up Intrenchments, and erecting Batteries, in ſeveral Places; and caſting up a Line from the Hill near Oudenarde to Ename; by which that Place was entirely clos'd in on that Side the Scheld; and not only the Communication between Bruſſels and the Confederate Armies quite cut off; but the Army ſeparated from all Intercourſe with Holland. Theſe Lines were about ſeventy Miles long, and, in ſome Places, near Oudenarde, they had more the Appearance of the Ramparts of a Fortreſs, than ordinary Lines.

The Enemy fortify the Paſſes on the Scheld.

Continuation of the Siege of Liſle.

The Siege of Liſle was, in the mean Time, carried on, tho' but ſlowly, yet with Reſolution, Courage, and indefatigable Diligence, and the Continuation of fair Weather made amends for many other Difficulties the Allies had to ſtruggle with. The twelfth, about nine in the Morning, while the Enemy was cannonading

nonading the Confederate Army, under the Duke of Marlborough, as we have ſeen above, the Beſieged came out of the Town, in great Numbers, with four Colours, and attack'd the Trenches, on the Left, in ſix different Places, having, beſides, another Body of Troops, in the Cover'd Way, ready to ſuſtain them; but before they could do any Damage, except the Deſtroying of a few Gabions, they were engag'd, by the neareſt Battalions in the Trenches, and obliged to retreat in great Diſorder. 1708. A Sally of the Enemy's unſucceſsful.

The Duke of Burgundy being, in the mean Time, uneaſy, to know in what Condition the Place and Garriſon was in, for a farther Defence, employ'd one Dubois, a Captain in the Regiment of Beauvaſis, who undertook to get into the Town, and bring the Prince the Account he was ſo deſirous of. This Officer, being got undiſcover'd to the Place where he propos'd to make his Attempt, ſtrip'd himſelf ſtark naked, and having hid his Cloaths, ſwam over ſeven Canals and Ditches, and got, in that Manner, into the Town. He return'd the ſame Way, and, finding his Cloaths again, brought the Duke of Burgundy a Letter from the Marſhal, which was ſo contriv'd, that he carried it in his Mouth, ſecure from being damag'd by Moiſture. Bold Attempt of a French Officer.

Every thing being in great Readineſs, by the nineteenth, Prince Eugene gave Orders to make the neceſſary Preparations for Storming the Out-works, that is, "From the Right Attack, "the Horn-work of the Gate of St. Andrews, that Part of the "Tenaille which lay next that Attack, the Cover'd Way in the "Front of the Breach, and the Place of Arms before the Ravelin and the Horn-work; and from the Left Attack, that Part "of the Tenaille on that Side, and the Counterſcarp to the Ravelin, from the Gate of St. Magdalen to the Deule." And a Diſpoſition for this Storm was made accordingly. A Storm of the Out-works reſolv'd on,

Purſuant to this Diſpoſition, every thing was got ready for the Aſſault, the twentieth in the Evening; but the Enemy having found Means to burn Part of the Galleries and Bridges, which the Beſiegers were to make uſe of, it was put off, till the twenty-firſt, about half an Hour paſt ſix in the Evening, when the Trenches were relieved by Lieutenant-General Wilke, Major-General Sacken, and Sir Richard Temple, with the uſual Number of Battalions. The Signal being given, by a general Diſcharge from the Batteries, as well of all the Mortars as the Cannon, the Mines, both on the Right and the Left, were ſprung with good Succeſs, and the Grenadiers thereupon mounting the Breach of the Tenaille, or Counter-Guard, on the Right, obliged the Enemy to retire into the Retrenchment of that Work, and made a good Lodgment on the Breach. On the Left, the Beſiegers made themſelves Maſters of a Place of Arms, on the Counterſcarp of the Counter-Guard, where they kept their And put in Execution. Succeſs of the Attack.

1708. Ground without any Diſturbance; and they likewiſe beat the Enemy out of the Counterſcarp, before the Grand Breach; but a great Number of freſh Troops coming out upon them, and the Officer, who commanded the Men appointed to ſuſtain the Confederates, on that Side, being kill'd, they were obliged to quit two Lodgments they had made there.

Prince Eugene wounded.

Prince Eugene, who thought his Preſence abſolutely neceſſary, to encourage the Soldiers, and to prevent the ſame Misfortune which had happened in the Attack of the Counterſcarp, the ſeventh, ſeeing the Grenadiers repulſed, (if we may give Credit to the French Accounts, three ſeveral Times) rallied them himſelf, and led them on again to the Charge. In this Action, his Highneſs received a Wound by a Muſquet-Ball, which grazing on his Forehead, above his Left Eye, made no Fracture, and only beat off his Hat. The Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who happened to be near him, put his own Hat, (which had, likewiſe, been ſhot thro' by a Muſket-Ball) on the Prince's Head, who was prevailed upon to retire to his Quarters, and have his Wound dreſs'd. This Action, having been very obſtinate and bloody, coſt the Confederates little leſs than 1000 Men, either killed or wounded, which the French, in their Accounts, and particularly the Marquis de Quincy, exaggerate to 5000 Men, render'd incapable of farther Service. To ſupply this Loſs, the Duke of Marlborough ſent, the next Day, a Re-inforcement of 400 Britiſh and Pruſſian Grenadiers to the Siege.

The ſame Morning, the Duke went to viſit Prince Eugene, and finding him ready to mount on Horſe-back, his Grace, and King Auguſtus, perſuaded his Highneſs to keep his Chamber a few Days, till his Wound was heal'd up. During which Time, the Duke of Marlborough ſuſtained the Weight of the Command, both of the Siege, and of his own Army. The States General were ſo ſenſible of the Loſs the Confederacy would ſuſtain by the Death of Prince Eugene, that they order'd their Deputies to conjure him, not to be free in expoſing his Perſon for the future; and not only they, but even ſome of the Generals, adviſ'd the raiſing of the Siege; but his Highneſs rejected theſe Overtures, and perſiſted in carrying on the Siege, tho' he ſhould be obliged to do it with his own Troops, as long as he had a Man left.

Is adviſed to raiſe the Siege;

But refuſes to comply.

The Britiſh Forces, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Erle land at Oſtend.

The greateſt Difficulty the Confederates met with, in this Siege, was occaſioned by the Want of Ammunition, and all the Paſſages to Bruſſels being wholly obſtructed, the Duke of Marlborough had prudently bethought himſelf (in order to open a new Communication with Oſtend) to ſend for the Britiſh Battalions, which had been employed in Alarming the Coaſt of France, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Erle. Theſe Forces arrived at Oſtend, the twenty-firſt of September, N. S. And upon Intelligence thereof, the Count de la Motte, who was advanced with

a

a conſiderable Force, towards Bruſſels, with Deſign to ſurprize that Place, returned immediately to Bruges, and commanded 300 of his Men to cut the Dykes of Leſſinghen, in order to lay the Country, between Oſtend and Newport, under Water, and thereby prevent General Erle's Communication with the Duke of Marlborough; but, notwithſtanding this, Part of theſe Britiſh Forces, with ſome Dutch that were in Garriſon in Oſtend, took Poſt at the Village of Leſſinghen, and began to entrench themſelves there, expecting Orders from the Duke of Marlborough, what farther Service they ſhould go upon. 1708.

The twenty-third, an Attack was made on the Tenaille, on the Left; (that on the Right having been taken the twenty-firſt;) for this Attack, 300 Grenadiers of the Grand Army, ſupported by 120 others, and 270 Fuſiliers, were commanded for the Attack on the Right; and the other 100 Grenadiers from the Grand Army, ſupported by 280 others, and 270 Fuſileers, for the Attack on the Left. All things being in a Readineſs, the Duke of Marlborough, who was himſelf in the Trenches, cauſed a ſignal to be made for the Attack, which was carried on with all imaginable Vigour and Succeſs: For having beaten the Enemy from their Poſt, they made a great Lodgment therein, and enlarg'd their Lodgments along the Cover'd Way, without any conſiderable Loſs; tho' the French pretend it amounted to near 1000 Men. The ſame Night, the Duke of Marlborough return'd to his Camp, but came again, the next Morning, to the Siege. An Attack made, with Succeſs, under Command of the Duke of Marlborough.

Notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes, the Beſiegers met with ſo many Difficulties, that the Siege was protracted to an unuſual Length; the Garriſon on the other hand, having ſuſtained ſeveral Attacks, and made all the while a prodigious Fire, began to be in Want of Ammunition. The Marſhal de Bouflers found Means, at length, to inform the Duke de Vendôme, that he had ſcarce Ammunition left for four Days; which preſſing Neceſſity oblig'd the Enemy to hazard a bold Attempt to ſupply the Place. In order thereunto, the Duke de Vendôme detach'd the Chevalier de Luxembourg, Major-General, and Monſ. de Tournefort, with about 2000 Carabineers, Horſe and Dragoons, who, beſides their Arms, carried each a Fuſee, and a Bag of ſixty Pound Weight of Powder, which they took up at Douay. They put Green Boughs in their Hats (the uſual Token of the Confederate Troops) and advanced along the Cauſey, which leads from Douay to Liſle; they were met by the Out-Guards of a Detachment of 100 Horſe, which General Schlick, who was encamp'd at Pont à Treſin, with thirty Squadrons, ſince the Duke of Marlborough came to Lannoy, had poſted there. Theſe Guards challenging them, they pretended to be Germans, of the Duke of Marlborough's Army, carrying ſome Priſoners to the A deſperate Attempt of the Enemies Unſucceſsful;

1708. Camp: But a ſubaltern Officer having ſome Diſtruſt, and advancing to examine them, they rode full Gallop along the Cauſey, and got into the Line of Circumvallation. The Centinels and Guards having fired at them, the Confederate Troops took the Alarm, and run to their Arms; the Palatine Dragoons of Witgenſtein, getting firſt on Horſeback, with incredible Speed, fell on the Enemy, and purſued them to the Barrier of the Town, which the Beſieged were, at firſt, backward of opening, and ſo left their Men expoſed to the Fire of the Confederate Infantry, which ſetting Fire to ſome of the Bags of Powder, about ſixty of the Enemy, with their Horſes, were blown up. We have the following Account of this Action, in a Letter from the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel to the States General, which carrying an inconteſtable Authority with it, I ſhall inſert at large.

The Prince of Heſſe's Letter to the States about it.

High and Mighty Lords,

" THE ſeven and twentieth Inſtant, I did myſelf the Ho-
" nour to acquaint your High Mightineſſes, how far the
" Works againſt this City were advanced; there has been no
" Alteration ſince: Our Men continue working to perfect the
" Mines in the Tenailles, and to carry on the Saps to the Co-
" ver'd Way.

" Yeſterday, towards the Evening, we heard a great Blow,
" which we ſuppoſed to be a Mine; half an Hour after another
" Crack was heard; and at Midnight, ſuch a Blaſt, that the
" Ground ſhook with it. This alarmed the whole Army; I
" went to the Right, from whence the Noiſe came (having firſt
" given Order to all the Cavalry, under my Command, to
" ſaddle and mount) and found, that a great Detachment of
" the Enemy (as your High Mightineſſes may ſee by the ſub-
" joined Liſt,) coming from Douay, had endeavoured to break
" thro', at the Aperture of the Line of Circumvallation, on the
" Highway between Douay and Liſle, where the Palatine
" Horſe are encamp'd. Part of them having paſs'd, and our
" Men putting themſelves in a Poſture to oppoſe them, the Bags
" of Powder, which moſt of the French Horſe and Dragoons had
" behind them, of about fifty Pound Weight each, took Fire,
" which made a terrible Noiſe among them. The foremoſt of
" them, upon this Accident, rode full Gallop towards the
" Town; nevertheleſs, before they could reach it, the ſame
" Diſaſter befell them a ſecond Time, juſt as they came up to the
" Barrier, which might, in all Probability, be occaſion'd by the
" Horſes Shoes ſtriking upon the Pavement, or by the Sparks of
" the firſt Fire that fell upon their Men, who were not aware of
" it. *(Other Accounts explain this, by ſaying, that ſome of the Bags*
" *untying, the Powder was ſcattered on the Ground, and took Fire*
" *by the Horſes of thoſe who purſued ſtriking on the Pavement.)*

" 'Tis

" 'Tis ſaid, that, at leaſt, 100 Men periſh'd, in this manner, 1708.
" near the Gate; and, it is likely, this was the laſt Noiſe we
" heard. Between fifty and ſixty Troopers were kill'd upon the
" Place where they paſs'd the Line; and it was a dreadful Spec-
" tacle to ſee the Way ſtrewed with dead Carcaſſes, Horſes,
" Heads, Arms and Legs, half burnt. The others, who were
" behind, retired as faſt as they could. I cauſed them to be
" purſued; but it was impoſſible to overtake them. The Troops
" found, however, upon the Road, for two Leagues beyond the
" Camp, Sacks of Powder, Swords, Piſtols, and looſe Powder,
" which ſhews the Precipitation with which they made their Re-
" treat. Our Heſſian Huſſars ſet Fire to a great many Sacks
" which they found in the Road, as they came back from the
" Purſuit. We reckon that about 300 (ſome Accounts make
" them 1200, and Father Daniel pretends they were 1800) Men
" got into the Town, but carried too little Powder with them,
" to balance their Loſs. On the other hand, 'tis plain, that
" Ammunition, which is ſo neceſſary for their Defence, begins to
" fall ſhort in the Place.

" Your High Mightineſſes will, no doubt, have had direct
" Advice, of the Advantage, which the Troops, lately arrived
" from England, ſuſtained by thoſe Monſ. Cadogan carried with
" him from the Army, have obtain'd near the Canal that goes
" from Oſtend to Newport, over the Duke of Berwick's Troops
" which attack'd them. The great Convoy is arrived at Menin.
" I congratulate your High Mightineſſes, on both theſe Accounts,
" and am, with much Reſpect, &c.

Sign'd,

From the Camp before
Liſle, Sept. 29. 1708. Frederick, Prince of HESSE.

P. S. " The Troops, which endeavoured to throw themſelves
" into Liſle, in the Night between the eight and twentieth, and
" nine and twentieth, were the Chevalier de Luxembourg, and,
" under him, Monſ. de Tournefort; 400 Horſe, for the Van;
" 252 Horſe-Grenadiers; two Squadrons of Dragoons, two of
" Burgundy, one of St. Aignan, two of Morteville, two of La
" Fontaine, one of Bretêche, two of Ternau, two of For-
" ceaque.

N. B. " We have taken ſome Officers, with about five and
" twenty Troopers; and had not one Man, either killed or
" wounded on our Side.

The Marquis de Quincy, in his Account of this Action, makes the Number of Troops, which enter'd the Town, to have been, as Father Daniel ſays, 1800, but adds, that they carried into the Place with them, 80,000 *lb.* of Powder, and 1,200 Muſkets.

1708. Be this as it will, the Attempt was bold, and well conducted; and the Chevalier de Luxembourg was rewarded for it, by the French King, with the Employ of Lieutenant-General. Among the Officers taken Priſoners were the Marquis de Bethune, a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, a Captain and two Subalterns; ſo that they paid very dear for the ſmall Supply of Ammunition they threw into the Town; which was very far from counterbalancing their Loſs: And it was thought, that it would have been difficult, if not impoſſible, for any of them to have paſs'd the Aperture of the Line of Circumvallation, had not ſome Officer on Duty been corrupted.

The Advantage mention'd by the Prince, to be gained by ſome of the Britiſh Troops, is what I ſhall now give the Reader an Account of.

The Duke of Marlborough ſends ſeveral Detachments to cover the great Convoy from Oſtend.

The ſame Day the French ſet out from Douay, to attempt the throwing Ammunition into Liſle, the Confederates brought their great Convoy of Warlike Stores, and other Neceſſaries, ſafe to Rouſſelaer, after one of the moſt glorious, and moſt memorable Actions recorded in Hiſtory. The Confederate Generals having received Advice, that the Britiſh Troops were arrived at Oſtend, conceived ſome Hopes of opening a Communication with that Town; which had been cut off by Monſ. de la Motte's piercing the Dykes at Leſſinghen, and thereby laying a good Part of the Country, between Oſtend and Newport, under Water, on purpoſe to prevent this Communication; as I have ſaid above: A Council of War was thereupon held, in which it was reſolv'd to proſecute the Siege; Prince Eugene having declared, *That he would be reſponſible for the Succeſs, provided he were ſupported with Ammunition.* The Duke of Marlborough, hereupon, ſent 700 Waggons, under a ſtrong Guard to Oſtend; where the Dutch Commiſſary, not having the Quantity of Ammunition which was required, borrowed ſome hundred Barrels of General Erle. On the other hand, his Grace (who returned, the five and twentieth of September, to the Camp at Lanoy) having received Advice, that upon the Britiſh Troops, which were landed at Oſtend, taking Poſt at Leſſinghen, Count de la Motte (whoſe firſt Deſign was to ſurprize Bruſſels) had been re-inforced with ſeveral Brigades of Horſe, and Foot, to intercept the Convoy; his Grace rightly foreſaw, that the ſix Battalions, and 800 Horſe, detach'd under Brigadier Landſberg, with ten Squadrons more, under Brigadier Starkenberg, and ſix Battalions under General Els, would not be ſufficient to oppoſe the Enemy. Major-General Webb, with Brigadier Count Naſſau-Woudenburg, Son to the Velt-Marſhal d'Auverquerque, were ordered to march the ſix and twentieth, by Break of Day, with twelve Battalions more, to join the above-mentioned Detachments, on the Road between Menin and Oſtend, with Directions to march as far as Ichtegem, in

in the Country called the Franc of Bruges, about four Leagues from Leſſinghen; and, at the ſame Time, Major-General Cadogan march'd with another Detachment of Horſe and Foot, to meet the Convoy, upon their paſſing the Canal of Bruges. On the other hand, Lieutenant-General Erle (who had brought the Britiſh Forces, which were, at firſt, deſign'd for a Deſcent on the Coaſt of France, to Oſtend) was not idle; for being join'd by a Detachment, he drained the Water between Oſtend and Newport, and built a Bridge over the Canal at Leſſinghen; by which Means, he open'd a Communication with the Grand Army, towards which the Grand Convoy began their March, the ſix and twentieth, in the Evening, and continued paſſing the Canal the next Morning. A conſiderable Party of the Enemy's Forces advanc'd hereupon, to poſt themſelves at Oudenburg; but found that Place poſſeſs'd by a ſtrong Detachment, whom they attack'd. Being repulſed with great Loſs, and conſequently diſappointed, in this Attempt, they retired to a conſiderable Body of their Troops, under the Command of Count de la Motte, who march'd from Bruges, with a Deſign to intercept the Confederate Convoy. This brought on the famous Battle and Victory of Wynendale, of which I ſhall give the Reader an Account, as written by Major-General Webb himſelf; interſperſing, however, in Parentheſes, and adding at the Concluſion of it, ſome other Circumſtances, and Obſervations, as I ſhall find elſewhere.

1708.

The French repuls'd at Oudenburg.

CHAP. X.

The Battle of Wynendale.

BEfore I proceed to give this Account, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Prince of Heſſe, in his Letter, which I have given above, to the States General, aſcribes the whole Honour of this glorious Action to Major-General Cadogan, without ſo much as mentioning Major-General Webb; and the London Gazette, of the twentieth, and twenty-third of September, O. S. by wrong Information, has the ſame Miſtake. This induced Major-General Webb, to come over to England, to ſet this Matter in a clear Light; and, the 6th of October, he had the Honour to preſent to her Majeſty the Relation, I am now about to give, which was afterwards publiſh'd, by Authority, in the Gazette. Reflections were, on this account, caſt on a Great Man, who was eſteemed a Friend and Patron of Major-General Cadogan, as if done deſignedly to advance his Glory and Reputation, by eclipſing that of his Competitor; but this Report ſeems to have been more the Effect of Malice and Envy, than grounded

Some Reflections on the Battle of Wynendale.

1708. grounded on any reaſonable Foundation. Wynendale, which gave Name to this remarkable Action, is an inconſiderable Place in Spaniſh Flanders, adjoining to a Wood, call'd the Wood of Wynendale, hardly worthy of Notice, but on account of this memorable Battle. It is eleven Miles South-weſt of Bruges, and 28 North of Liſle.

A Relation of the Battle of Wynendale, *written by Major-General* WEBB.

An Account of that Battle and Victory.

" AFTER that the Detachments, which were ſent to cover " the March of the Waggons from Oſtend to the Siege of " Liſle, had joined at Turout, the ſeven and twentieth of Sep- " tember, General Webb (who, as eldeſt Major-General, com- " manded in chief) received Advice, that Major Savary, of the " Regiment of Gethem, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Poſt at " Oudenburg; whereupon he ſent 600 Grenadiers, under the " Command of Colonel Preſton, a Battalion of Orkney's, under " the Command of Colonel Hamilton, with that of Fune, com- " manded by Colonel Vogt, the whole under the Command of " Brigadier Landſberg, to re-inforce that Poſt. The eight and " twentieth, at eight in the Morning, all the Horſe (under Ma- " jor-General Cadogan) were ordered to Hoglede, to wait the " Arrival of the Convoy there, except 150 Horſe, which were " ſent, the Night before, under the Command of Count Lot- " tum, to Oudenburgh, to carry Orders to the two Battalions, " and 600 Grenadiers, to guard the Convoy to Cocklaer, and " afterwards to rejoin the Foot at Turout. About Noon, " Count Lottum returned to Turout, with Advice, that, in his " Way to Ichtegem, he met with an advanced Guard of the " Enemy, which he puſhed into the Plain, where he obſerved " ſixteen Squadrons, mounting in great Haſte, on the Alarm, " which their advanced Guard gave them; whereupon he " thought it neceſſary to return, in all Haſte, to give the Gene- " ral an Account of it.

" On this Advice, all the Foot, conſiſting of two and twenty " Battalions, Count Lottum, with his 150 Horſe, making the " advanced Guard, with the Quarter-maſters, and Grenadiers " that were not detach'd, were ordered to march immediately, " to gain the Village of Ichtegem, by the Way of Wynendale. " As ſoon as the advanced Guard got to Wynendale, they per- " ceived the Enemy in the Opening of the Plain; whereupon, " the Quarter-maſters, and Grenadiers were drawn up in Order " of Battle. Major-general Webb, and Count Naſſau Wouden- " burg, at the Head of the 150 Horſe, advanced to reconnoitre " the Enemy, giving Orders, at the ſame time, to the Foot, to " advance, and form themſelves, as faſt as poſſible, in the Plain.

" The

" The 150 Horſe were left, at the Opening of the Plain, under " the Command of Count Lottum, to amuſe the Enemy; and, " to embarraſs them the more, the Quarter-maſters and Gre- " nadiers were poſted in a low Coppice, on that Side of the " Plain where the Enemy were expected to paſs. 1708.

" As ſoon as our Troops paſs'd out of the Defilee, into the " Plain, Major-General Webb drew them up in Battle, poſting " them in the Opening, between the Wood of Wynendale, and " the Coppice, on the other Side, where the Quarter-maſters " and Grenadiers were poſted. We had ſcarce got ſix Battalions " into the Opening, when the Enemy began to cannonade us, " with forty Pieces of Cannon, whereof ten were of three Bores." *(A Relation printed at the Hague, by the Printer in ordinary to the States, from which Monſ. Rouſſet has likewiſe copied, ſays only nineteen Pieces, nine whereof were of a triple Bore.)* " But " notwithſtanding the great Fire of the Enemy, the 150 Horſe " kept their Ground, which produced the deſired Effect, in " giving the General Time, to form his Foot, in two Lines. " The left Wing was extended beyond the low Coppice, as well " to prevent the Enemy from paſſing that Way, as to cover " our Flank. On our Right Flank was poſted, in the Wood of " Wynendale, the Regiment of Heukelum; and, on our Flank, " on the Left, the Regiment of the hereditary Prince of Pruſſia, " commanded by Colonel Rhader, with Orders not to diſcover " themſelves, nor fire, till they could take the Enemy in Flank. " Some Platoons of Grenadiers were advanced forty Paces upon " the Right and Left, with the ſame Orders; and the Quarter- " maſters were alſo poſted in a Road, on the Left, that croſſed " thro' the aforementioned low Coppice.

" The Enemy, after three Hours cannonading, advanced to- " wards us, on the Plain, in twelve Lines, ſix whereof were " Foot, and ſix Horſe." *(The Hague Relation, which I have mentioned above, ſays only four Lines of Foot, and as many of Horſe.)*. " Count Lottum was, hereupon, ordered to retire, " and poſt himſelf 300 Paces behind the Foot, which he did in " very good Order. The French continued to march ſtraight " up to us, with forty Battalions, and ſixty Squadrons;" *(The Hague Relation ſays only eight and forty Squadrons.)* " But the " General perceiving they extended themſelves to the Right, in " the Coppice, he ſent Count Naſſau to obſerve their Motion, " who immediately ordered thither the Regiment of Grum- " kau, commanded by Colonel Beſchefer; and Brigadier Eltz, " being come up, with the laſt Regiment, was poſted, on the " Right, in the Wood of Wynendale.

" About half a Quarter of an Hour before the Engagement " began, Brigadier Landſberg, with the two Battalions, and " 600 Grenadiers that had been detach'd, having Advice, that

" the

1708. " the Enemy advanced to attack us, rejoined us juſt Time enough " to form a third Line. Some Minutes after, the Enemy began " the Attack, marching within 150 Paces *(The Hague Relation ſays fifteen)* of our Flank, on the Right, where the Battalions " who hid themſelves, *(Another Account ſays they lay flat on the Ground)* according to the General's Order, and who were not " to fire till the French Flank came oppoſite to them, gave " them ſuch a warm Welcome, that their Left Wing gave into " their Center; and the Regiment of the hereditary Prince, " which was poſted on the Flank, on our Left, much about the " ſame Diſtance, did not miſs the Opportunity of their Diſorder, " to give them a very vigorous Diſcharge, which put their " whole Line in Confuſion. Nevertheleſs, the Enemy puſh'd " on, and put two of our Battalions in Diſorder; but the Swiſs " Regiment of Albemarle, under the Command of Colonel " Hirtzell, advancing upon their Horſe, that were endeavouring " to penetrate, engaged them long enough to give Time to " the General, and Count Naſſau, to bring up the Regiments of " Bernſdorf, Gauvain, and Lindeboom," *(the Hague Relation does not mention Gauvain's Regiment)* " to ſupply the Room of " thoſe that were preſſed, which was done in a Moment. How- " ever, the Enemy, ſupported by ſo many Lines, made another " Attempt to penetrate; but our Battalions rather advanced " than gave Way; tho' the General gave Orders againſt ad- " vancing, fearing leſt that might render the Fire of our Flanks " uſeleſs. This Precaution had all the deſired Succeſs; the Re- " giments and Grenadiers making ſuch a continual Fire, as " forced their two Wings upon their Center, and obliged the " whole to retire, in the greateſt Confuſion, notwithſtanding all " the Efforts their Officers could make, by Encouragement or " Violence, to keep them up; ſo that they only fired, at a great " Diſtance, on our Lines, which ours returned, advancing by " Platoons, as at their Exerciſe, with all the Order imaginable.

" Major-General Cadogan, who came up, ſome Time after " the Action began, offered to charge the Enemy, in their Diſ- " order, with two Squadrons of Horſe, the other four, which " he had ſent for, not being arrived till near ſeven at Night; " but it was not thought adviſable, to expoſe ſo ſmall a Number " to charge the Enemy, who had brought up all their Horſe, to " favour their Retreat. The Battle laſted two Hours, and was " very hot, in which we had 912 Officers and Soldiers kill'd or " wounded." *(According to a Liſt ſent to the States-General, the Allies had three Colonels, and two Lieutenant-Colonels wounded; two Majors kill'd, and one wounded; four Captains killed, and eighteen wounded; four Lieutenants killed, and eight and thirty wounded; 111 private Men killed, and 680 wounded.)* " The " Enemy, as we were aſſured, by Letters from Ghent and Bruges,

1708.

" and by Report of Priſoners and Deſerters, loſt between 6 and " 7000 Men." (*The Hague Account ſays only* 3 *or* 4000.) " They " made their Retreat in ſo great a Confuſion, that they left moſt " of their Cannon in a Wood, which they did not carry off till " next Day at eleven o'Clock, after hearing that our Convoy " had paſs'd Rouſſelaer. We remained on the Field of Battle, " till two o'Clock next Morning, having firſt carried off all our " wounded, and ſeveral of the Enemy. This Victory is the " more ſurprizing, that, by reaſon of ſeveral Detachments, " we had not above 6000 Men in the Action, and the Enemy, " by their own Accounts, had 24000." (*The Hague Account ſays between* 6 *and* 7000, *and the Enemy between* 23 *and* 24000.)

The Spaniſh Troops were the greateſt Sufferers in this Action; and they made terrible Complaints of the French, who form'd the left Wing of the Enemy's Detachment, for not having ſupported them, as they might, or ought to have done; but the French, on their Side, were as forward of complaining of the Spaniards, and laid the ill Succeſs of this Enterprize on their Want of Courage and Conduct.

The French and Spaniards lay the Blame on each other.

The Marquis de Quincy, who allows the French Detachment to have been far ſuperior to that of the Allies, and gives General Webb the Honour of the Victory, pretends this Misfortune was owing to the Orders given by Monſ. de la Motte not having been duly executed: and leſſens the Number of the killed and wounded, on their Side, to about 2500 Men; but even this Account, partial as it is, does great Honour to our brave Britiſh Officers, and the Troops under their Command.

Notwithſtanding this great Superiority of the Enemy, Major-General Webb made this bold and noble Stand, with ſo much Preſence of Mind, poſted his Men ſo advantageouſly, aſk'd the Advice of the Officers under him, with ſuch Modeſty, (*a rare and commendable Virtue in ſo young a Commander!*) and ſuſtained the Enemy's repeated Efforts with ſo much Bravery, Reſolution and Conduct, as will tend to his immortal Honour: And, as this critical Victory, which prevented the raiſing of the Siege of Liſle, was owing chiefly to his prudent Management, and other military Abilities; ſo that eminent Service was afterwards deſervedly acknowledged, not only by the unanimous Thanks of the Commons of Great Britain, but alſo, in a diſtinguiſhing Manner, by the King of Pruſſia, who beſtowed upon him the *Order of Generoſity*. To give this brave and prudent Commander the Honour juſtly due to him; tho' he could not venture, being ſo inferior in Number, to leave the advantageous Ground he was in, to purſue the Enemy, which, in the Conſternation they were in, might probably have ended in the total Deſtruction of their whole Detachment; yet ſo unequal an Action, and ſo ſhameful

Major-Gen. Webb's juſt Praiſe.

His eminent Service publickly acknowledg'd.

1708. shameful a Flight of the Enemy, with such a considerable Loss, was look'd upon as one of the most extraordinary Things which had happened during the whole War.

The Convoy under his Command arrives safe in the Army

Whilst Major-General Webb engaged the Enemy, with so unequal Force, at Wynendale, the Convoy march'd undisturb'd, arrived that Night in Safety at Rousselaer, the next Day at Menin, and on the last of September, N. S. pass'd thro' the Duke of Marlborough's Army, (which the Day before, moved from Lannoy to Roncq, with the right at Pont à Marque, and the left at Menin) in its Way to the Camp before Lisle.

CHAP. XI.

Continuation of the Siege of the Town and Citadel of Lisle.

Continuation of the Siege of Lisle.

THE same Day that the grand Convoy arrived at the Camp before Lisle, Prince Eugene, being almost recovered of his Wound, began to go abroad, and appear again to his Troops, both which combined to raise their Spirits, which began to sink, by the Length and Difficulties of the Siege. The third of October, Lieutenant-General Wilke, being in the Trenches, the Duke of Marlborough went to the Camp before Lisle, where the Disposition was made for attacking the Ravelin on the Right; for which Purpose, 300 Grenadiers were detach'd from the Army under his Grace's Command, to join the Troops of the Siege ordered for that Service. The Attack began about Noon, and succeeded so well, that by half an Hour after One, the Besiegers made a very good Lodgment on the Ravelin, and oblig'd such of the Enemy's Troops, as were behind the Traverses, to leap into the Water, where the greater Part of them were either killed or drowned; by which the Confederates made themselves entire Masters of the two Counter-guards and Ravelin, in which they took two Pieces of Cannon. The Besieged, who had Notice of the Preparations making for this Attack, did not expect it till the Evening, and, therefore, were not so well provided for it, as otherwise they might have been.

The Besiegers make themselves Masters of the Ravelin and Counter-guards.

Preparations made for a general Storm.

From this Time, to the twentieth, the Besiegers gain'd some Advantage, every Night, made several new Lodgments, and carried on their Saps, Mines, and other necessary Preparations for a general Storm, the Besieged seeming resolute to dispute the Passage of the Ditch, with all their Might. They continued to drain and fill the Ditch, to make Apertures in the Walls, work on the Galleries, perfect their Lodgments and Places of Arms, and to finish their Batteries, which now consisted of five and forty

Pieces

Pieces of Cannon, and five and forty Mortars and Hawbitzers, to ſupply which, a new Convoy of 200,000 Weight of Powder, with a great Number of Bombs, Cannon-Balls, and Hand-Grenadoes, arrived at the Siege, from Oſtend. Thus employed, I ſhall leave the Beſiegers, to return to the Confederate, and the Enemy's Armies. 1708.

Animoſities between the French and Spaniards.

The late Victory of Wynendale not only broke the Heart of the French Troops, but raiſed great Animoſities between them and the Spaniards. The latter, as I have ſaid above, complained they were not well ſeconded, and the former pretended they ſhould have had the Poſt of Honour, which the Count de Bergheyck would not allow them. The Duke de Vendôme, enraged at the Count de la Motte's ſhameful Retreat, march'd, in Perſon, towards Bruges, with a ſtrong Detachment, paſs'd thro' Ghent, the fifth of October, N. S. and came, the next Day, to Oudenburg. As he was very ſenſible of what Importance it would be, to cut off the Communication between the Duke of Marlborough's Army and Oſtend, he attempted to effect it, in the following Manner: He drew together a Body of about 30,000 Men, from the Garriſons of Bruges, Ypres, and Dixmuyde, and other Troops: With theſe, he took Poſt all along the other Side of the Canal, between Plaſſendahl and Newport; he then cauſed the Dykes to be cut in ſeveral Places, which laid a great Tract of Land under Water, and re-inforced the Garriſon of Newport, with a conſiderable Number of Horſe and Foot, which he deſign'd ſhould diſlodge the Allies from Leffinghen, and other Poſts, on this Side of the Canal.

The Duke de Vendôme endeavours to cut off the Communication between Oſtend, and the Duke of Marlboro's Army.

General Erle, in the mean Time, was vigilant in obſerving all the Enemy's Motions, and made ſuch a Diſpoſition of his Body of Troops, which were encamp'd at Raverſein, as he thought would be moſt proper, in order to maintain his ſeveral Poſts, and to give the Enemy a warm Reception, if they ſhould offer to make any Attack. The ſeventh, in the Night, the Duke de Vendôme cauſed a Bridge to be laid over the Canal, between Plaſſendahl and Oſtend; and the Enemy, having burnt their Camp, made a Motion, as if they would paſs over to the other Side. A Detachment went over accordingly, and advanced as far as Bredenen; which gave the Confederates Apprehenſion, that their Intent was to burn the Tranſports in the Harbour of Oſtend, and all neceſſary Precaution was uſed to prevent it; but, the next Morning, that Detachment repaſs'd the Canal, and their Army encamp'd between Snareſkirch and Ghiſtel, having left ſome Men, in divers Poſts, along the Canal.

Motions of the Duke of Marlboro's Army thereupon.

The Duke of Marlborough receiving Intelligence of the Duke de Vendôme's Motions, and the Report being, that this Army conſiſted of ſixty Battalions, and ſeventy or eighty Squadrons, his

1708. his Grace gave Orders, the ſixth of October, that the greateſt Part of his Army ſhould decamp in the Night, and, marching by the Left, paſs the Lys at Menin. To prevent Confuſion, the Duke, likewiſe, order'd, that the Troops of different Nations ſhould march an Hour, one after another, without Beat of Drum, or Sound of Trumpet. Accordingly, his Grace march'd early, the ſeventh, with ſixty Battalions, and a Hundred and thirty Squadrons, to the Camp at Rouſſelaer, placing his Right to Rombecq, and his Left to Hoglede. In the Camp at Roncq, he left twenty Squadrons, under the Command of Major-General La Leck, and the ſame Number of Battalions, under Major-General Hohndorff, with Directions to obey Prince Eugene's Orders, and, in caſe of Neceſſity, to march into the Line of Circumvallation. The Duke, upon his Arrival at Rouſſelaer, received Advice, that the Duke de Vendôme was ſtill encamp'd at Oudenburg; upon which, his Grace reſolv'd to march with all poſſible Speed, deſigning to engage the Enemy, or oblige them to quit that Poſt. King Auguſtus, and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, repaired, likewiſe, to his Grace's Army, in Hopes of an Action, which was the rather expected, becauſe they had certain Intelligence, of the Duke de Vendôme's having written to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, *That he engaged his Honour, the Allies ſhould have no farther Communication with Oſtend.* The ſame Night, the Quarter-maſters of the Army ſet out from Rouſſelaer, under a Guard of eight Battalions, to ſecure ſuch Poſts as they ſhould think convenient, to facilitate the March of the Army.

The Enemy retreats with Precipitation.

The eighth, by Break of Day, they moved by the Left, and advanced to the Heath of Wynendale, where they halted for ſome Time, till the Duke had a Confirmation of the Intelligence he received the ſame Morning, that the Duke de Vendôme, being advis'd of the March of the Confederates, decamp'd before Break of Day, with the greateſt Precipitation imaginable, from Oudenburg, and paſs'd the Canal of Bruges near that City, having firſt given Orders for piercing the Dykes, in ſeveral Places. The Duke, hereupon, thought it to no Purpoſe, to march farther, and therefore, gave Orders for the Army to encamp, with the Right at Turout, and the Left at Ichtegem; ſending, at the ſame Time, Part of the Cavalry back to Rouſſelaer, to be nearer the Siege.

The Duke encamps again at Rouſſelaer.

The ninth, in the Morning, his Grace returned, with the reſt of the Troops, to Rouſſelaer, where the Army encamp'd, in the ſame Manner, as it had done two Days before; but all the Infantry of the ſecond Line, commanded by Count Lottum, General of the Pruſſians, march'd to Morſelle, to be near the Siege.

The tenth, upon Advice, that the Enemy were drawing more of their Troops from the Scheld, towards Ghent and Bruges, the Duke of Marlborough ſent Orders to Count Lottum, to re-

join the Army, with the Troops under his Command, which he did, the eleventh, accordingly. That Morning, his Grace went to Menin, where he met Prince Eugene, with whom, together with the Field-Deputies of the States, he held a long Conference, and then returned, in the Evening to Rouſſelaer. 1708.

The Duke of Marlboro' confers with Pr. Eugene.

The twelfth, upon Advice, that a large Convoy of Ammunition and Proviſions was lately arrived at Oſtend, from Great Britain and Holland, and ready to ſet out for the Army, the Duke of Marlborough ſent Major-General Cadogan, with eight Battalions, and nine Squadrons, to Cocklaer, for the Security of its March, and to aſſiſt in getting it over the Inundation. At the ſame Time, Brigadier Grumkau, with five Battalions more, was ordered to Cortemarque, to be at hand to join him, if neceſſary. As the Enemy had drowned the Country, on the other Side of the Canal of Newport, it was with great Hazard and Difficulty, that they carried about 500 Barrels of Powder, over the Inundation, in Boats provided for that Purpoſe at Oſtend, to Places where the Waggons from the Army waited to tranſport it to the Camp. The fourteenth, this Convoy paſſed by Rouſſelaer, in its Way to Menin and Liſle; and, the next Day, Major-General Cadogan ſent an Officer to acquaint the Duke of Marlborough, that he had taken Poſt with his Detachment at Cocklaer, expecting a new Supply of Ammunition over the drown'd Country. Upon this, his Grace immediately ordered Lieutenant-General Fagel, with twelve Battalions and twenty Squadrons, to poſt themſelves at Cortemarque, to ſuſtain Major-General Cadogan; and being, at the ſame Time, informed, that the Duke de Vendôme intended to intercept that Convoy, he ordered his Army to be ready to march, at an Hour's Warning.

Major-Gen. Cadogan convoys Ammunition and Proviſions over the Inundations.

The ſixteenth, ſome Tranſports arrived at Oſtend, from Great Britain, having on Board the Regiments of Hill and Mackartney, with about 400 Soldiers belonging to other Regiments; and, upon Advice, that the Enemy made ſome Motions, which look'd as if they intended to attack either the Troops of the Allies at Leſſinghen, or the Camp at Raverſein, General Erle ſent a Reinforcement to Leſſinghen, and, removing his Forces nearer Fort Albert, poſted ſome of his Men in the Downs, that the Enemy might not ſend ſome Men, at Low Water, to attack him in the Rear, while the Infantry ſhould attack him in Front. The French, on the other hand, taking into Conſideration the Importance it was of, entirely to cut off all Communication between Oſtend and the Siege, ſent ſix Half Gallies, from Newport, on the Canal of that Name; by which Means, they erected a Battery, on an Iſland, formed by the Breaking down of the Dyke, from whence they cannonaded as well a Redoubt, which the Confederates had caſt up at Leſſinghen, as the Boats employed to carry over Ammunition and Proviſions. This did not, however,

Tranſports arrive at Oſtend from England.

Motions of the Troops under Lieutenant-Gen. Erle;

And of the French.

1708. however, hinder Major-General Cadogan, from getting a farther Supply of near 1600 Barrels of Powder, and a great Quantity of Brandy, Salt, and other Proviſions for the Sutlers of the Army, over the Inundation, of which he himſelf gave an Account to the Duke of Marlborough, the nineteenth. He acquainted his Grace, at the ſame Time, that the Communication with Leſſinghen and Oſtend, would be, for the future, more difficult, if not entirely loſt, as well on account of the Waters being riſen much higher by the Spring-tides, as of the Precautions taken by the Enemy.

More Ammunition and Proviſions carried over the Inundations.

Death of Monſ. d'Auverquerque.

The Day before, the Duke of Marlborough went to Menin, to confer with Prince Eugene, and the Field-Deputies of the States; and, during this Interview, Velt-Marſhal d'Auverquerque expired, in his Quarters at Rouſſelaer, in the ſixty-ſeventh Year of his Age, worn out with his former Fatigues, and his late Indiſpoſition, being very much lamented, by every one, on account of his great Abilities, extraordinary Zeal for the Intereſt of his Country, his Generoſity and Diſintereſtedneſs. By his Death, the Command of the Dutch Troops fell of Courſe, proviſionally, on the Count de Tilly, as eldeſt General in the Service of their High Mightineſſes.

Count Tilly takes the Command of the Dutch Troops.

The Village of Leſſinghen bravely defended againſt the French.

It was with no ſmall Mortification the Duke de Vendôme obſerved, that, notwithſtanding the great Inundation he had cauſed, Major-General Cadogan, by Favour of the Troops at Leſſinghen, found Means to convey great Quantities of Ammunition and Proviſions to the Army; he, therefore, reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of that Village, at any Rate; to which End, he formally inveſted, and laid Siege to it. To give a particular Account of this Siege in Miniature, would be as ridiculous, as it was inglorious in the French, to make an Attack in Form, on ſo defenceleſs a Poſt, while the Siege of the moſt important of all their Frontiers was carrying on, without their daring ſo much as to attempt the Relief of it: And yet the Marquis de Quincy gives as formal an Account of this mighty Siege, and extols the Valour and Conduct of his Countrymen in the ſeveral Attacks of it, as if it had been a Place of the greateſt Importance. I ſhall, however, only obſerve, that, tho' it was allowed, at all hands, not to be tenable againſt a vigorous Attack, Lieutenant-Colonel Rapin, and Major Hemert defended it bravely, for eight Days, againſt all the Skill and Force the Duke de Vendôme employed againſt it, killed and wounded a great Number of his Men, and took ſeveral Officers Priſoners; and, among the latter, Major-General de Croiſſy-Colbert, taken by an Engliſh Grenadier, who generouſly refuſed 200 Piſtoles, and a Commiſſion in the French Service, to favour his Eſcape. Thus, I ſay, was this Place bravely defended for eight Days, till the fatigued Garriſon being relieved by Colonel Caulfield, with ſeveral other Officers, and

1250,

250 fresh Men, this new Commander, by some unaccountable Misconduct, not yet determined by our Historians, suffered himself to be surprized the very next Day, and surrendered, with his Garrison, Prisoners at Discretion. The Marquis de Quincy, however, accounts for this Surprize, by saying, that the new Governour, and his Officers, with the whole Garrison, having been making themselves merry, on account of the Surrender of Lisle, which happened two Days before, the French found the Soldiers all drunk, and the Officers quiet in their Beds; so that they got into the Place, before the former could get into a Posture of Defence, or the latter their Cloaths on. 1708.

But, at length, surrendered.

This small Conquest made the Enemy, however, but poor Amends, for the great Loss they sustained, two Days before, by the Surrender of the Town of Lisle; as I have just hinted above. Every Thing being ready for the general Storm, the twenty-second, at four in the Afternoon, the Garrison beat a Parley, and offered to capitulate for the Town. Hostages were immediately exchang'd, and it was agreed, that the Marshal de Boufflers should capitulate with Prince Eugene, for whatever related to the Garrison; and that the Magistrates and Council of the Town should propose their own Terms, for themselves, and the Castellany of Lisle, and agree about the same, with the Field-Deputies of the States-General, which was done accordingly. The twenty-third, in the Morning, the first Capitulation was concluded and sign'd, containing in Substance:

The Town of Lisle surrendered to the Allies.

Substance of the Capitulation.

"That the French should, that Afternoon, surrender the Mag-
"dalen-Gate, and all the Magazines of Provisions and Am-
"munition, in the Town; that all their Sick and Wounded
"should either be transported to Douay, or remain in Lisle, for
"their Recovery, at their own Charge; that the Horse who
"had enter'd the Town, since the Siege, might be sent to Douay,
"with the Wives and Families of the Officers and Soldiers, &c.
"that all Prisoners taken during the Siege, be restored, on both
"Sides; and that the Troops of the Allies should not enter into
"the Town before the five and twentieth of October, by which
"Time the French Garrison was to withdraw into the Cita-
"del."

Reasons alledg'd for the Length of the Siege.

Many Causes were assign'd for the Length of this Siege, besides the Strength of the Place, and the brave Resistance of the Garrison. Much Blame was laid on the Conduct of some of the chief Engineers, which fell very short of what had been experienc'd in Coehorn. It was suspected, that there was Treachery among some of the Officers of the Allies. It was openly said, that the City was attack'd in the very strongest Part of it. It was assured, that the Besieged had always Intelligence of the Time and Place, when and where any Attack was to be made; because they were always found in a good Posture of Defense.

1708. It was even affirmed, that the Fire of the Beſieged was more ready and more violent, than that of the Beſiegers; and that many of the Bombs of the latter had but very little Effect; becauſe they frequently went quite over the Town; and that, in Attacks, the Beſieged were ſo prepared for their Defence, that they fired upon the Aſſailants, from ſeveral Places, and made them endure a greater Fire, than was that from without.

Loſs on both Sides, during the Siege.

To determine the exact Loſs, on either Side, during this Siege of ten Weeks, might not be very eaſy; however, as the French in general own, that they had 12,000 Men in Garriſon, (which the Marquis de Quincy, indeed, reduces to 10,000) not including near 3,000 Burghers, who did conſtant Duty with the regular Troops, of which no more than 4,500 Men retired, with the Marſhal de Bouflers, into the Citadel, and 2,000 more were reckoned to be either ſick or wounded, their Loſs muſt have amounted, at leaſt, to 5 or 6,000 Men; and Monſ. de Quincy allows their Loſs to have amounted to 4,400 Men, Infantry, and 600 Horſe and Dragoons. As for the Confederates, they owned, that they had 3632 killed, and 8322 wounded, of whom if we ſuppoſe one half to have died, the whole will not come up to full 8,000; a far leſs Number than fell before Namur. Here the Marquis de Quincy gives another flagrant Inſtance of his Partiality, and Diſingenuity, and pretends, that ſome of the General Officers of the Allies themſelves owned, that they had 18,000 Men kill'd or wounded, not reckoning 9 or 10,000 Men, who died of Sickneſs, or who were ſick in their Hoſpitals, when the Place ſurrendered. The ſlow, but more effectual, Way of ſapping having ſaved the Lives of many Soldiers, Prince Eugene reſolved to follow the ſame Method in the Siege of the Citadel; whither the French retired, according to Capitulation, the five and twentieth.

The French Garriſon retires into the Citadel.

At the ſame Time, the Prince of Holſtein-Beck, who was appointed by the States-General to be Governour of the Town, march'd in, with Major General Soutland, Meſſieurs du Boiſſet and du Trouſſel, Brigadiers, and fifteen Battalions. While the Confederates were taking Poſſeſſion, not only of the Gates of the Town, but alſo of all the Avenues leading to the Citadel, a ſmall Diſpute aroſe between the Confederate Generals, and the Marſhal de Bouflers, the latter laying a Pretence to ſome Works, belonging, as he ſaid, to that Fortreſs, and the former inſiſting on the ſame as belonging to the Town; but the Enemy's Cavalry, which according to Articles, was to be conducted to Douay, and was then marching out, being detained, the French gave up their Pretence; and the ſame Night, the Confederates broke the Ground, and carried on their Approaches.

As

As ſoon as the Enemy had evacuated the Town, the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel march'd, with thirty Squadrons, into Artois, and, encamping between Lens and La Baſſée employed Pioneers to fortify the latter; which done, and having left the Command of the Troops to Count Wackerbart, he returned to the Army under Prince Eugene. The Ceſſation of all Acts of Hoſtility, between the Town and Citadel of Liſle, which was to have expired, the ſix and twentieth, was continued three Days longer; during which Time, at the earneſt Requeſt of the Inhabitants, all poſſible Endeavours were uſed to induce the Marſhal de Bouflers to capitulate; but their Demands were ſo extravagant and romantick, that they could not but be rejected by the Allies, with Diſdain. Some Civilities paſs'd, in this Interval, between Prince Eugene, and the Marſhal; but that did not hinder either Side from making all poſſible Preparations, one for Attacking, and the other for the Defenſe of the Place; nor did either Side neglect the neceſſary Works for that End. 1708. The Allies fortify La Baſſée.

The nine and twentieth of October, N. S. the Negotiations for the Surrender of the Citadel being entirely broken off, the Beſieged began the Hoſtilities, about four in the Afternoon, by the Diſcharge of five Pieces of Cannon, with which they continued: And, on the other hand, the Allies contracted their Line of Circumvallation, and erected Batteries of Cannon, Mortars and Hawbitzers, within their firſt Parallel; tho' they did not deſign to batter in Breach, till they were Maſters of the Outworks, for which Purpoſe they carried on their Approaches by the Sap. The Favourableneſs of the Seaſon, tho' ſo far advanced, put the Allies upon this cautious Method, to ſave a great Number of Men, which otherwiſe muſt have periſh'd in the Attacks, the Body of the Citadel being ſurrounded by three Ditches, and two Cover'd Ways. In the mean Time, they repair'd the Breaches and Fortifications of the Town. The Siege of the Citadel of Liſle begun.

The Duke of Marlborough's Army continued, all this while, encamp'd at Rouſſelaer. The ſecond of November, N. S. nine Battalions were ordered to march, and join the Forces in Liſle, to aſſiſt in carrying on the Siege of the Citadel, with the greater Vigour. The third, the Army made a general Forrage, near the Walls of Ypres, which the Enemy attempted to diſturb, by the Cannon from the Town; but they all returned, in the Evening, without any Loſs, and furniſh'd with Proviſions for many Days. The fifth, nine Squadrons of the Troops, which march'd, the firſt of November, from Cocklaer to Longuemarque, were ordered to join the Count de Wackerbart, at la Baſſée. Proceedings in the Duke of Marlborough's Army.

In this Interval, the Marquis de Surville, a French Lieutenant-General, in the Citadel of Liſle, having received a Shot thro' the Body, as he was viewing the Approaches of the Allies, Prince Eugene conſented to his being brought into the Town Lieutenant-General de Surville wounded.

1708. of Liſle, and afterwards to be removed to Douay, for his Cure.

The Earl of Stairs detach'd to bring in Corn.

The ſeventh, the Duke having received Information, that the French had ſummoned the Villages and open Towns, about Dixmuyde, and Furnes, to bring their Corn, and other Proviſions, into Ypres, and other fortified Places, the Earl of Stairs was detach'd from Rouſſelaer, with ſix Squadrons; and, being join'd by four more, with ten Battalions, from the Detachment encamp'd at Cortemarque and Longuemarque, took Poſt in Dixmuyde. From thence, his Lordſhip ſent Orders, enjoining the Inhabitants of the Diſtrict, to carry their Corn and Forrage, immediately, to the Confederate Army, where they ſhould be paid for the ſame; but threatning them, in Caſe of Non-Compliance, with Military Execution. This had the deſired Effect; for not only the Inhabitants of that Diſtrict, but, likewiſe, thoſe of Furnes, St. Omer, St. Winox-Berg, and Bourbourg, ſupplied the Confederate Army, with Cattle, Corn, and other Neceſſaries, in great Plenty. The ninth, the Earl of Stairs attack'd the Fort of Haut-Pont, near Dixmuyde, which he took, after a ſhort Reſiſtance, and made the Garriſon, conſiſting of 200 Grenadiers, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, Priſoners of War. The tenth, Brigadier Evans march'd from Longuemarque, with five Battalions, and ſix Squadrons of Horſe, to re-inforce the Earl of Stairs, who, thereupon, advanced to Loo, and ſent out Detachments to gather in more Corn, and Forrage.

His Lordſhip takes Haut-Pont.

The Duke de Vendôme cauſes the Country to be over-flowed.

The Duke de Vendôme, upon Notice hereof, ſent two Brigades of Foot, one of Horſe, and another of Dragoons, which lined the Canal, from Newport to Furnes, and made thirteen *Coupures* in it, by which Means, the Country was over-flowed, on both Sides, and hinder'd the Allies from penetrating farther that Way. The thirteenth, the Count de Mouroux, a Major-General, who commanded that Body, having got Information, that a Detachment of Pruſſian Troops (conſiſting of a Battalion of Grumkau, and one of the Markgrave of Albrecht, a Squadron of the Regiment of Catte, and another of Heyden) was advanced between Furnes and St. Winox-Berg. march'd in the Evening, and, the fourteenth, in the Morning, ſurprized them, in the Village of Beauvorde, and having ſurrounded them, forced them, after ſome Reſiſtance, to yield themſelves Priſoners of War: For which, their Commander, Colonel Catte, was afterwards tried at Berlin, but honourably acquitted.

Some Pruſſian Troops ſurpriz'd and taken by the Enemy.

Other Detachments made to bring in Corn.

Upon this unfortunate Accident, General Fagel was ordered, to march from Cortemarque towards Dixmuyde, with a large Body of Troops, to gather in the Remainder of the Proviſions, which could be found, in that Neighbourhood; and, on the other hand, Major-General Cadogan, and the Prince d'Auvergne,

vergne, were detach'd, the ſeventh, towards Artois, from whence they brought a great Quantity of Corn to Liſle. 1708.

This done, Major-General Cadogan, and Monſieur Croonſtrom, went, the twelfth, to Turcoin, to confer with two French Commiſſioners about an Exchange of Priſoners, and, in two Days, the Treaty was concluded; by which, it was agreed, "That "the private Men and Officers, from Colonels downwards, "ſhould be exchanged againſt others, of the ſame Character, as "far as they went, and the reſt to remain Priſoners." Exchange of Priſoners agreed on.

While theſe Things were tranſacting on this Side, the Duke de Vendôme cauſed, the 28th and 29th, of October, a few Bombs to be thrown into Damme; after which, he appear'd with a Body of Troops before Oſtend; and, at the ſame Time, ſome Squadrons of Horſe march'd, along the Sands, from Newport, as if their Deſign was to cut off Lieutenant-General Erle's Camp: But that Commander retreated very ſeaſonably, into the Out-works of Oſtend, the eighth of November. A Deſign of the Duke de Vendôme's fruſtrated.

During theſe Tranſactions, there was a great Miſunderſtanding between the Dukes of Burgundy, and de Vendôme. The latter took ſo much upon him, that the other Officers complained of his Neglecting them; and they, therefore, made their Complaints to the Duke of Burgundy, and laid the Blame of all his Miſcarriages on the Duke de Vendôme. He kept cloſe to the Orders he had from Verſailles, where his Accounts, and the Advices he offer'd were held in greater Regard, than thoſe which were ſent by the Duke of Burgundy. This gave him great Uneaſineſs; he was impatient of Contradiction, and pretended to a great Eagerneſs to be in Action; tho' it appeared, that he was never very forward in expoſing his Perſon; nor did his Conduct, during this Campaign, promiſe very much in his Favour. Miſunderſtanding between the Dukes of Burgundy, and de Vendôme. Character of the former.

At the Citadel of Liſle, as well the Beſiegers as the Beſieged were good Huſbands of their ſmall Stock of Ammunition, which drew the Siege, indeed, into ſome Length; but was, at the ſame Time, the Occaſion, that it was carried on, with a very inconſiderable Loſs. However, the eleventh of November, Prince Eugene, who ſtill continued to expoſe himſelf, was in great Danger of his Life, his Gentleman of the Horſe being kill'd by his Side, by a Muſket-Ball. The thirteenth, the Beſiegers made a Lodgment, by the Palliſadoes of the firſt Covered Way, with a very ſmall Loſs; and, the next Day, they made themſelves Maſters of the whole Counterſcarp, excepting two Places of Arms, which the Enemy abandon'd the fifteenth; and, the ſeventeenth, they lodg'd themſelves on the Glacis of the ſecond Cover'd Way, without any Loſs. Prince Eugene in Danger of his Life. The Counterſcarp of the Citadel of Liſle taken.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

A Deſign of the Enemy on Bruſſels *fruſtrated, the Rear of their Army defeated, and the Citadel of* Liſle, *ſurrender'd.*

1708. FOUR Days before the taking the Counterſcarp of the Citadel of Liſle; the Prince d'Auvergne was detach'd, by the Count de Wackerbart, from La Baſſée, with a Body of Horſe and Foot, to attack the Fort of St. Venant, upon the Lys, on the Frontiers of Artois, in which the Enemy had poſted a Hundred Men, who, upon his Approach, made only one Diſcharge, and then retired towards Aire. The Prince d'Auvergne took, hereupon, Poſſeſſion of the Place, and having left 800 Foot, with 300 Horſe, in Garriſon there, under the Command of Colonel Lambert, returned to La Baſſée, the next Day.

St. Venant taken by the Allies.

Vain-Glory of the French.

The Siege of the Citadel of Liſle being carried on ſlowly, for the Reaſons I have already mentioned, the Enemy were vain enough to imagine, they had taken ſuch infallible Meaſures for diſtreſſing the Allies, as well by their Inundations between Bruges and Newport, as their Intrenchments along the Scheld, that their Publick Miniſters, in ſeveral Foreign Courts, were not backward to give out, with great Confidence; *That the Confederate Army was ſo coop'd up, they would ſoon either be famiſhed, or obliged to abandon Liſle*; nay, it was reported, *That the Duke de Vendôme talk'd of having the whole Confederate Army* deliver'd into his Hands, as Priſoners of War, for want of Bread and other Neceſſaries: But the Event ſhew'd, they reckoned without their Hoſt, and that our two great Generals, being indefatigably intent, each upon their proper Buſineſs, the Duke of Marlborough in providing Corn, and Prince Eugene in huſbanding what was ſent him, both Armies ſubſiſted in a parſimonious Plenty.

The Elector of Bavaria forms a Deſign upon Bruſſels.

The Enemy, finding themſelves diſappointed in theſe their Hopes, opened a new Scene: Their Parties made Irruptions into the Diſtrict of Boiſleduc, burning and ravaging Part of the open Country; and the Elector of Bavaria (who was returned from an unactive Campaign in Germany) approach'd Bruſſels, at the ſame Time, with a Body of about 2,000 Men, taken from ſeveral Garriſons. It was reaſonable to imagine, that the Elector, whoſe good Intelligence and Influence had occaſion'd the Loſs of Ghent and Bruges, could not want it in a Place where he had reſided, and had undoubtedly ſecured a very great Party. The Allies were, likewiſe, not without Apprehenſions, that the Elector

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An
Exact Plan of
BRUSSELS
is humbly Dedicated
to the Rt Honble
GEORGE EARL of
CARDIGAN
by his most Obedient Servt
Tho: Lediard
A Scale of Fathoms
50 100 150 200 250 300


XCVIII
EXPLICATION
1 The Governers Palace
2 The Church of St. Gudula
3 Church of St. Nicholas
4 Gate of Namur
5 Gate of Hall
6 Gate of Anderlecht
7 Gate of Flanders
8 Gate of Colen
9 Gate of Lovain
10 The Fruit Market
11 Hog Market
12 Fish Market
13 Herb Market
14 Milk Market
15 Linnen Market
16 Archbishops Palace
17 Palace of Nassau
I Harris Sc.

Elector of Bavaria's ſecret Projects might have as great Influence in Antwerp as in Bruſſels, to the infinite Prejudice of the Common Cauſe, not only in the Spaniſh Netherlands, but, by the Conſequences, which might be equally pernicious in Spain and Italy. 1708.

Care taken for the Security of Antwerp and Bruſſels.

The Elector of Bavaria, therefore, no ſooner made a Shew of marching an Army towards Brabant, than the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene concerted Meaſures to paſs the Scheld; and, as, it was yet uncertain, whether Antwerp or Bruſſels was moſt in Danger, Orders were ſent to the Britiſh Regiments of Hill, Mackartney, Wynne, Hamilton and Townſhend, under the Command of Brigadier Wynne, and the Walloon Regiment of Davila, to be forthwith tranſported from Oſtend to Antwerp; and the States-General commanded other Troops to march from Naerden, Heuſden, Grave, and other Places, and diſpatch'd ſome of their own Members thither, with General Freſheim, an experienced Officer. The Duke of Marlborough ſent, at the ſame Time, an Expreſs to Lieutenant General Paſcal, Governour of Bruſſels, to aſſure him, that, in Caſe he ſhould be attack'd, both he, and Prince Eugene, would certainly march to his Relief. Upon this Encouragement, the Deputies of the States reſolved to remain in Bruſſels; which contributed not a little to the Preſervation of that important Place. On the other hand, his Grace recalled the Troops commanded by General Fagel, who joined the Army at Rouſſelaer, the twenty-ſecond of November, and brought with him two Hoſtages for the Performance of an Agreement made with the Dependences of the Diſtrict of Furnes; by which they had bound themſelves to furniſh 6,000 Sacks of Corn, into the Magazines of Menin. The ſame Day, Advice came, that the Enemy had detach'd ſome Troops from the Bodies they had near Oudenarde and Ghent; and that the Dam they were making, near Gavre, to ſtop the Courſe of the Scheld, in order to make that River over-flow its Banks, and render its Paſſage more difficult, was broke, and carried away by the Rapidity of the Stream, in the Night between the twentieth, and the twenty-firſt. This was a great Diſappointment to the Enemy; for they depended upon this Dam, to lay the Borders about Avelghem and Tournay under Water. To this End, they had made uſe of Boats fill'd with Stones, which they ſunk, beſides ſeveral other Machines, that coſt immenſe Sums, as well as Labour; but all to no Purpoſe; for the Current carried away all their Dykes, and they found it impoſſible, by that Means, to render the Paſſage of the Scheld impracticable. However, they had ſuch Confidence in the ſeveral Bodies of Troops, which they had entrench'd along the Scheld, that they did not believe the Allies would dare to attempt

See Letters B. and C. below.

The Enemy's Dam in the Scheld broken.

1708. tempt the Paſſage of that River: But we ſhall ſoon find that they were miſtaken.

The Elector of Bavaria comes before Bruſſels.

The ſame Evening, likewiſe, the Elector of Bavaria arrived in the Neighbourhood of Bruſſels, with a Body of about 10,000 Horſe and Foot, ſixteen Battering Cannons, and twelve Field-Pieces; and, the twenty-third, at Noon, whilſt his Men were breaking the Ground, and drawing Lines, his Electoral Highneſs ſent in a Trumpeter, to the Governour, with the following Inſtructions.

His Summons to the Governour.

"He ſhall ſummon the Commandant of the City of Bruſſels, "to ſurrender to his Electoral Highneſs; who is about to attack "him, with his Army and Artillery, which is coming up. His "Electoral Highneſs knows, that the Commandant is not in a "Condition to defend himſelf, with the few Troops he has: "Wherefore, if he obliges his Electoral Highneſs to begin the "Attack, he ſhall have no Capitulation, for himſelf, or his "Garriſon. Let not the Commandant flatter himſelf, that he "can retire, with his Garriſon, to Antwerp, if he delays to "ſurrender; for he is to know, that he will ſoon find Troops "poſted to hinder his Retreat."

The Governour, who had nine Battalions, and 1000 Horſe, under his Command, return'd the following Anſwer, by the ſame Trumpeter;

Monſeigneur,

The Governour's Anſwer.

"THE Commandant of Bruſſels is very unfortunate, in "not having the Honour to be known to your Electo-"ral Highneſs. He dares aſſure You, That he will do all that "a Man of Honour ought to do; That he is ſatisfied with "his Garriſon, and that he has the Honour to be, with a pro-"found Reſpect,

Monſeigneur,

Your Electoral Highneſs's

Moſt humble Servant,

PASCAL.

He prepares for a ſtout Defenſe.

General Paſcal, accordingly made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for a vigorous Defenſe, in Concert with the Major-Generals Murray, and Baron Wrangel, the Deputies of the States, the Council of State, and the Magiſtrates of that City: And the better to encourage the Troops, to the Performance of their Duty, he ordered a Pound of Fleſh, two Quarts of Beer, and four Glaſſes of Brandy, to be diſtributed, every Day, gratis, to each Soldier. The twenty-third, the Enemy encamp'd, from the

the Villages of Ixelles, and Itterbeck, to Scarbeck, within a Quarter of a League of Bruſſels. The four and twentieth and five and twentieth, they employ'd in erecting Batteries; but the Cannon of the Town, being extremely well ſerved, ſome of theirs were immediately diſmounted. 1708.

The ſix and twentieth, about nine in the Morning, they began to play from their Batteries againſt the City, and ſeveral Balls, which went over the Ramparts damaged the Tops of ſome Houſes. Towards Evening, they began to fire, from two Mortars, into the Out-works; but only two or three of the Bombs fell into the Town, and they did no Miſchief. About ſeven, the Enemy began to fire, with their ſmall Shot, againſt the Men in the Out-works, who returned the Compliment, which was redoubled about nine. The Enemy then began a falſe Attack on the Counterſcarp, near the Scarbeck-Gate, and, at the ſame Time, another, between the Louvain and Namur-Gates, whereupon enſued one of the moſt furious, obſtinate, and bloody Encounters, that ever was known. The Enemy enter'd the Cover'd Way twice; but were both Times beaten out again, and made only a ſmall Lodgment on the Glacis, from whence they were, likewiſe, driven, by 100 Men of Sir Thomas Pendergaſt's Regiment, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, in an extraordinary Manner. They renew'd their Attacks ſeveral Times, and the Action laſted, with great Slaughter, for thirteen Hours, till ten the next Morning; when the Enemy retreated, on every Side, with the greateſt Confuſion; being quite diſcourag'd, by the courageous and obſtinate Reſiſtance of the Confederate Troops, who were encouraged by the Preſence and Example of the Generals Paſcal, Murray and Wrangel, Colonels Egelin and Leſcheraine, and other Officers of Diſtinction.

The Enemy make a vigorous Attack on Bruſſels.

See Letters A. B. and C. below.

But are repuls'd, after 13 Hours Engagement

The ſeven and twentieth, ſome Cannon-Shot were exchanged, on both Sides; and General Paſcal, not doubting but the Enemy would renew the Attack, in the Evening, with greater Numbers, and more Vigour than before, cauſed the Troops, which guarded thoſe Poſts, that were moſt expoſed, to be re-inforced, and a Reſerve to ſuſtain them: But, in the Afternoon, inſtead of renewing the Attack, the Elector of Bavaria demanded a Suſpenſion of Arms, under Pretence of burying the Dead, and drawing off the Wounded; which, however, proved but a Stratagem to raiſe the Siege, with the leſs Diſadvantage: For, upon the Arrival of two Couriers from Mons, with Intelligence, that the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene had paſs'd the Scheld, and were marching to relieve Bruſſels, his Electoral Highneſs ſent away his Baggage, and march'd his Troops off, in the Night, without Beat of Drum, or Sound of Trumpet; and with ſuch Precipitation, that they left, in their Camp, twelve Pieces of Cannon nailed up, two large Mortars, and about twenty

The Enemy raiſe the Siege with great Precipitation.

See Letters B. and C. below.

1708. ty Barrels of Powder. They likewiſe left about 800 wounded Men, in the Villages of Ixelles and Itterbeck, and in the Abbey of Cambre; and the Huſſars and Dragoons, who went out the next Morning, in Purſuit of them, brought in a great many Priſoners, and ſome Baggage.

Their Loſs in this fruitleſs Expedition.

This fruitleſs Expedition, what with their Killed, Wounded, Priſoners and Deſerters, was reckoned to have coſt the Enemy above 3,000 Men. Among their Slain, were the Count de Saillant, Governour of the Caſtle of Namur, Monſ. de Boisfermé, a Colonel, Monſ. de Beaumorel, Aid de Camp to the Elector of Bavaria, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Benavides, with ſeveral other Officers; and of ſeven Engineers, whom they had, five were killed, and two taken Priſoners, in the Action. The Elector of Bavaria was enrag'd at this Diſappointment, and complained loudly of the Court of France, which, he ſaid, ſacrificed him, in the Midſt of his Enterprize, when they might have ſupported him, by putting a Stop to Prince Eugene's and the Duke of Marlborough's Paſſage over the Scheld: And he had the more Reaſon to be diſſatisfied, if, as the Marquis de Quincy ſays, he was put upon this Enterprize, by the French, againſt his Will. The Allies loſt between 5 and 600 Men, killed and wounded, and, among the former, Monſ. Paſcal, Major of the Regiment of Dragoons of Dodigni, who fought on Foot, with extraordinary Courage and Reſolution. The Enemy expected, that the Populace would have riſen in their Favour; but by the Vigilance and prudent Conduct of General Paſcal, aſſiſted by the Lords of the Regency, and the Magiſtrates, all remained quiet in the City; and the Officers and Soldiers, in the Out-works, behaved with all the Bravery and Unanimity which could be wiſhed or expected.

General Paſcal rewarded with the Dignity of a Marquis.

Lieutenant-General Paſcal, for this brave and vigorous Defenſe of Bruſſels, was juſtly advanced, by his Sovereign, King Charles III. to the Honour and Dignity of a Marquis: But, tho', by this ſingle Action, he gained immortal Glory; yet it is certain, that it would have been next to an Impoſſibility for him to have maintained the Place above a Day or two longer, his Garriſon being ſcarce 5,000 Men ſtrong, and the Place of a vaſt Extent, and open almoſt on every Side. The Preſervation of Bruſſels was therefore, under God, chiefly owing to the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, who, with a profound Secrecy, and almoſt incredible Diligence, paſſed the Scheld, the ſeven and twentieth of November, in the Morning, with little or no Oppoſition. This the French own, in all their Accounts, adding, that if the Duke had not ſurpriz'd and forced the Paſſage of the Scheld, the Inhabitants of Bruſſels would have declar'd in Favour of the Elector, and have oblig'd the Garriſon to ſurrender: But this ſeems to have no Grounds, if we may believe the Account given by the Deputies of the States, in their Letter, of which

The Preſervation of Bruſſels chiefly owing to the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

which the Reader will find a Tranſlation below. Thus the French, to their eternal Shame, abandoned, in a Panick Fear and Diſtraction, thoſe Lines, which they had employed three Months Time in erecting. This extraordinary March and Paſſage, which is too important to be paſs'd over in Silence, was executed in the following Manner. 1708.

The Duke of Marlborough, having received repeated Advices, that the Elector of Bavaria was marching towards Bruſſels, was ſenſible of the Neceſſity of relieving that Place; and that there was no other Way of doing it, but by paſſing the Scheld; he, therefore, reſolved to attempt that Paſſage at all Events. The Deſign was very hazardous, and attended with many Difficulties. The French Army, which was in no Reſpect inferiour to that of the Allies, lay encamp'd before Oudenarde, cover'd with a ſtrong Intrenchment, and they had raiſed three, one behind the other, below the Town, on the Banks of the River, ſtrengthened with Batteries; and, tho' all the Attempts they had made to ſtop the Courſe of that River, and cauſe an Inundation there, had proved ineffectual, there were conſiderable one's above the Town. Notwithſtanding this advantageous Situation of the Enemy, the Duke of Marlborough was not deterr'd from his Reſolution; but ſent the Artillery and Baggage, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, from Rouſſelaer to Menin; and, in the Night of the latter, detach'd Lieutenant-General Dompre, having twenty Squadrons, and ten Battalions, under his Command, with Orders to march to Harlebeck, the next Morning. Within a few Hours after, the whole Army was in Motion, from Rouſſelaer, and paſs'd the Lys, at Courtray, in two Columns. The Right Wing arrived at Harlebeck, the ſame Day; but, by Reaſon of the bad Roads, narrow Defilees, and almoſt continual Rains, the Left, which made the Rear, could not get thither, till the next Morning, at eight; notwithſtanding which, the Army was ordered to purſue their March, at three, in the Afternoon. An Hour before, twenty Squadrons, and ſix Battalions, were detach'd from the Left, under the Command of Major-General Bothmar, and Brigadier Schmettau, to join Lieutenant-General Dompre's Detachment; which, being now encreaſed to forty Squadrons and ſixteen Battalions, was to be commanded by Count Lottum and the Earl of Orkney, and had Orders to paſs the Scheld, at Gavre, whatever Oppoſition they met with, and entrench themſelves, on the Eminences on the other Side, till they could be ſupported by the Reſt of the Army. Prince Eugene, at the ſame Time, march'd to Roubaix, with twenty Battalions and forty Squadrons, to attempt paſſing the ſame River, at Eſcanaffe. About four, in the Afternoon, the Duke of Marlborough began his March, from Harlebeck, having detach'd Major-General Cadogan, and Brigadier Evans, ſome Hours before,

Their Motions, in order to paſs the Scheld.

Difficulties of the Attempt.

See Letters D. and E. below.

1708. before, with eight Battalions, the Pontons, and all the Artillery, in order to lay Bridges at Kirkhoven and Elſeghem, where his Grace deſign'd to paſs, with his Army, and where the Enemy had a Body of Troops, commanded by Monſ. Souſternon, a Lieutenant-General.

The Allies paſs the Scheld, in two Places, without Oppoſition.

Theſe well-laid Meaſures were put in Execution, with ſuch Expedition and Secrecy, that tho' the French had Notice of the Duke of Marlborough's paſſing the Lys, yet they never ſuſpected his Deſign of proceeding farther, over the Scheld, an Attempt ſo bold, that they could not imagine the Allies would have ventured upon it. All theſe ſeveral Detachments march'd the whole Night, by favour of the Moon; and Count Lottum, arriving, at four in the Morning, on the Banks of the Scheld, order'd two Bridges to be laid, and ſent ſome Foot to take Poſt on the other Side; but the Cavalry did not go over till it was Day-light. The Morning proved foggy, a Guard of Count de la Motte's Dragoons, who were patrolling, fell in amongſt the Confederates, and gave Notice of their Approach, to their General; who had before ſome Suſpicion of it, becauſe a Guard of his Foot, upon the Noiſe the Workmen made, in laying of the Bridges, had fired five or ſix Times. Count Lottum immediately drew up his Forces, in the Plain of Gavre, as he was ordered, and Count de La Motte did the ſame, within Sight of him: But the former marching towards the Hills of Oudenarde, to join the Duke of Marlborough, whom he had adviſed of his Paſſage, the French retir'd towards Ghent, having always kept at half a League's Diſtance from the Confederates.

The Enemy retreats before them.

Major General Cadogan, having, at the ſame Time, laid Bridges over the Scheld, at Kirkhoven, with the like Succeſs and Diligence, began to paſs his Troops, without being perceived by the Enemy, before Break of Day; till diſcovering their advanced Guard, poſted on a riſing Ground, he ordered his Gunners to fire at them, from a Battery, which he had raiſed to ſecure his Bridges. Upon this, the Enemy, who were almoſt all aſleep, in great Security, in their Intrenchments, along the Scheld, immediately took the Alarm, and began to think of providing for their Safety, by a ſpeedy Retreat: They accordingly, ſet Fire to their Huts and Barracks, and, while their Foot was marching off, drew up their Horſe, on a Hill, near Oudenarde.

The Rear of their Army defeated. See Letter E. below.

The Remainder of the Duke of Marlborough's Forces continued, at the ſame Time, to march on, with all poſſible Diligence; and, having paſs'd the River at Kirkhoven and Elſeghem, formed themſelves in Order of Battle. Upon this, Prince Eugene, who arrived ſome time before at Hauterive, where his Deſign was to paſs, immediately joined his Grace; it having been agreed between them, that which-ever Body paſs'd firſt, the other ſhould march to that Place: And, as it had likewiſe been

reſolved,

reſolved, to attack the Body of the Enemy's Troops, which were entrench'd before Oudenarde, under the Command of Monſ. de Hautefort, the Duke and Prince haſten'd their March that Way. However, notwithſtanding all their Diligence, the French began to retire with ſo much Precipitation, as ſoon as they perceived the Allies advancing to attack them, that they could come up only with their Rear, commanded by Monſ. de Sonſternon; which the Earl of Albermarle attack'd, at the Head of his Carabiniers, with a great deal of Vigour and Bravery. He entirely broke and diſperſed them, killed a great many, and took 5 or 600 Priſoners, beſide a great Part of their Baggage, their Bread-Waggons, two Standards, and a Pair of Kettle-Drums: But for their Cannon, they had drawn off that in Time. The Allies had not above ſixty Men kill'd or wounded, in this Action; among the latter, was Brigadier Baldwin, in the Service of the States, who was ſhot thro' the Body; and the Earl of Albemarle, Prince William of Heſſe, and Count Maurice of Naſſau, had their Horſes ſhot under them. The Confederates continued to purſue the Enemy, till it was dark, and encamp'd on the Hills, near Oudenarde, to the great Satisfaction of the whole Army, who did not imagine they ſhould have paſs'd the Scheld, at ſo eaſy a Rate. And, indeed, the Generals themſelves, were ſurprized at the Puſillanimity of the Enemy, to abandon, in ſo cowardly a Manner, Poſts which were not only advantageous by Nature, but on which they had employ'd ſo much Application and Labour, to fortify them. 1708.

Puſillanimity of the Enemy.

Biſhop Burnet mentions, upon this Occaſion, a Stratagem of the Duke of Marlborough's, which, tho' I do not find it mentioned elſewhere, I ſhall relate, as it perfectly anſwers the Character of our great Commander. "The Duke of Marlborough, "(ſays he,) hearing of the Elector of Bavaria's Deſign to attack "Bruſſels, made a ſudden Motion towards the Scheld; but, to de- "ceive the Enemy, it was given out, that he deſign'd to march "directly towards Ghent, and this was not only believed by "his whole Army, but was probably carried to the Enemy; for "they ſeemed to have no Notice nor Apprehenſion of his Deſign "on the Scheld." And what the Biſhop adds, is no leſs remarkable: "The Lines (ſays he) were ſo ſtrong, that it was expect- "the Breaking thro' them muſt have been a very hot Action. "Some of the General Officers (continues he) told me, that they "reckoned it would have coſt them 10,000 Men; but, to their "great Surprize, as ſoon as they had paſs'd the River, the French "ran away, without offering to make the leaſt Reſiſtance. "Their Conduct was a Surprize to all the World: Their Coun- "ſels ſeemed to be weak, and the Execution of them was worſe; "ſo that they, who were ſo long the Terror, were now become "the Scorn of Nations."

A Stratagem of the Duke of Marlborough.

1708. It is certain, this Action was in itſelf ſo bold, and attended with ſuch extraordinary Circumſtances, that Poſterity might very well queſtion the Truth of it, did not the Conſequences of it remove all Manner of Doubt. For a numerous Army to paſs a large River, in the Sight of an Enemy, equal, if not ſuperior, in Number, and who, beſides, had all the Advantages which Nature or Art could give them, is a Thing rarely to be met with.

The Duke of Marlborough comes to Bruſſels.

The Duke of Marlborough, on his Arrival at Oudenarde, immediately took Meaſures for advancing towards Bruſſels, which, by the repeated Intelligence he got, his Grace found was vigorouſly preſs'd by the Elector of Bavaria. The nine and twentieth, by Break of Day, the Army was in Motion again; but, to favour the Troops, as much as poſſible, the Duke ordered the main Body to halt, in the Night, at Omberg, and advanc'd, with a Detachment of Horſe, and the two Battalions of Guards, to Aloſt. His Grace was ſcarce arrived there, when he received the News, that the Elector, upon the firſt Advice he had of the Allies having paſs'd the Scheld, had quitted the Siege, with the greateſt Precipitation, as we have already ſeen above. Upon this, the Duke came, the nine and twentieth, a little before Noon, to Bruſſels, as well to take Meaſures for ſending a Supply of Ammunition and Proviſions to the Siege of Liſle, as to thank the Garriſon, for the brave Defenſe they had made.

His Reception there.

His Grace was received with the greateſt Acclamations of Joy and Gratitude, (as indeed his unparallel'd Vigilance for the Relief of that Place had juſtly deſerved) being met without the Gates, by General Paſcal, the Governour, at the Head of the chief Officers of the Garriſon, whom the Duke ſaluted with the moſt diſtinguiſhing Marks of Favour and Eſteem. His Grace alighted at the Governour's Houſe, whither the Council of State, the States of Brabant, the Magiſtrates of Bruſſels, and the Deputies of the States General, immediately repaired, to make him their Compliments of Thanks, for their ſeaſonable Deliverance, which they, with Juſtice, attributed to his extraordinary Aſſiduity and wiſe Management. King Auguſtus, who was, likewiſe, there, together with the Duke of Marlborough, and ſome other Perſons of the higheſt Rank, were entertained at Dinner, by General Paſcal, and the Duke, after having given the neceſſary Orders, returned, the ſame Evening, to his Camp near Aloſt.

The following Medal was ſtruck, on Occaſion of the Relief of Bruſſels.

A Medal ſtruck on Occaſion of the Relief of Bruſſels.

On the Face is repreſented, Victory, winged and running towards Bruſſels, which appears in View, with a Javelin in one Hand, and a Crown of Laurel in the other, to denote the Promptitude with which the Allies haſten'd, to oppoſe the Elector of Bavaria's Deſign. Over Victory is the following Inſcription:

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OBSTABAT STRENUA VIRTUS.

Valour oppoſed it with Diligence.

And, in the Exergue;

GALLIS FUGATIS OBSIDIO SOLUTA BRUXELLARUM, 28 NOVEMBRIS, 1708.

The French being put to the Flight, the Siege of Bruſſels was raiſed, November 28, 1708.

On the Reverſe, is repreſented a Wolf, with Wings to his Feet, endeavouring to eſcape, with all poſſible Haſte; with the following Inſcription;

EUGENII UMBRA PEDIBUS ADDIDIT ALAS.

The Shadow of Eugene has added Wings to his Feet.

And, in the Exergue;

POSTQUAM DIRUIT, RUIT.

After having ruined every Thing elſe, he falls himſelf.

Alluding to the Ruin the Elector of Bavaria had brought upon himſelf.

Prince Eugene went back to Liſle, the Day before, with the Troops detach'd from the Siege, and eight Battalions, with thirty Squadrons, of the Duke of Marlborough's Army, which had been re-inforc'd by the Troops employed in fortifying La Baſſée; for the poſſeſſing of this Poſt, being chiefly deſign'd to divide and weaken the Enemy's Force on the Scheld, which was now broken, it was no farther neceſſary, and was, therefore, abandon'd by the Confederates; and, that this was the Reaſon firſt for fortifying, and then for abandoning that Place, we may ſee by the following Letter, from Lieutenant-General Hompeſch, to another General.

Prince Eugene returns to Liſle.

The Allies abandon La Baſſée.

SIR,

"I Expect, this Day, 100 Waggons, under a Guard of nine Battalions, with Powder, ſent from Aeth, by my Lord Duke, which are to join me. The Enemy have aſſembled their Forces, between Lens and La Baſſée, and are fortifying the latter, wherein our Troops had taken Poſt, and

Their Reaſons for it, in a Letter from Lieutenant-General Hompeſch.

1708. " made a Shew of fortifying the ſame, as if they would maintain themſelves therein. This was intended, to oblige the " Enemy to detach ſome Troops on that Side, and weaken thoſe " they had on the Scheld, which ſucceeded accordingly. That " Poſt would have been very advantageous; but as our Generals had other Things in View, they quitted the ſame, ſeeing " the French were come into their Neighbourhood, with moſt " of their Forces, and thereby rendered our paſſing the Scheld " more eaſy. They are now near enough to attack Prince Eugene before Liſle, if they think fit; and, in that Caſe, I ſhall " ſoon be with him, with the Troops under my Command. It " began laſt Night to freeze ſo very hard, that our Soldiers long " for Fighting, were it only to warm themſelves. If any Thing " material happens, I ſhall not fail to acquaint you therewith.

At the Camp, near Menin, Dec. 5. 1708.

I am, &c.

Sign'd,

R. V. Count de Hompesch.

P. S. " Forage being very ſcarce, in theſe Parts, our Horſes " will ſomewhat ſuffer; but when Men muſt be ſacrificed, to " obtain a ſafe and honourable Peace, there is no Reaſon to " complain of the Share Horſes muſt have in theſe Difficulties; " I will, however, uſe all poſſible Means to preſerve them.

I ſhall now give the Reader Copies of the ſeveral Letters referr'd to above, relating to the Siege, and Relief, of Bruſſels, and the Paſſage of the Scheld, which, as they all tend to the Illuſtration of many Circumſtances but hinted at above, and allow our Britiſh Hero the greateſt Share of the Glory and Honour of theſe Actions, cannot but be highly acceptable.

A,

A Letter to the States General, from their Deputies in Bruſſels.

High and Mighty Lords,

A Letter from the Field-Deputies to the States-General, relating to the Siege of Bruſſels.

" WE had the Honour to receive, this Morning, your " High Mightineſſes ſecret Reſolution of the five and " twentieth, by which we ſee, with great Satisfaction, that " your High Mightineſſes have approved what we have done " here, for the Good of the Common Cauſe. We ſhall not " fail to aſſiſt, in uſing all neceſſary Means, for the Preſervation " of this Place.

" It

" It is a ſingular Pleaſure to us, to be able to inform your 1708.
" High Mightineſſes, by this Letter, that the Enemy, without
" having gained an Inch of Ground, began, at nine, laſt
" Night, to attack the Counterſcarp, with great Fury, between
" the Gates of Louvain and Namur. The Fire was terrible
" on both Sides, and laſted till five in the Morning; during
" which Time, the Enemy made nine Attacks, and, at length,
" lodg'd themſelves on the Glacis of the Counterſcarp. But,
" about ſix o'Clock, our Men made a Sally from the Cover'd
" Way, Sword in Hand, with ſuch Succeſs, that the Enemy
" were beaten out of their Works on the Counterſcarp, which
" were levell'd.

" We cannot ſufficiently commend the Bravery of the Troops
" of this Garriſon, eſpecially thoſe of the States, though all in
" general did their Duty very well: But ſeeing this Garriſon is
" already much fatigued, and will not be ableto reſiſt long the
" vigorous Attacks, which, in all Appearance, the Enemy
" will renew: We have earneſtly ſollicited the Duke of Marl-
" borough, and the Deputies with the Army, not to defer a
" Moment to ſuccour this Place; without which, however
" brave our Men are, they cannot very long ſuſtain the furious
" Attacks of the Enemy.

We are, &c.

Bruſſels, Nov. 27.

B.

A Second Letter, from the ſame Deputies.

High and Mighty Lords,

" WE hope your High Mightineſſes have received the A ſecond Letter.
" Letter, by which we had yeſterday the Honour to
" communicate to you the furious Attacks made by the Enemy,
" the Night between the ſixth and twentieth and ſeven and
" twentieth, on the Counterſcarp of this City. After we had,
" yeſterday, again diſpos'd all Things as well as poſſible, for
" reſiſting the Enemy's Attacks; becauſe our Spies reported
" unanimouſly, that, in the Night, the Enemy would not only
" make a general Aſſault, but would alſo fire with burning Bul-
" lets, to excite the Burghers to Sedition; we obſerved, about
" twelve at Night, that the Enemy's Army was in Motion;
" and ſoon after, that they were retiring towards Namur, with
" ſuch Precipitation, that they left behind them twelve Can-
" nons and four Mortars, which are fallen into our Hands.

" We cannot ſufficiently commend the Courage and Conduct
" of the Generals Paſcal, Murray, and Wrangel; nor ſet too
" great a Value on the Proofs of both, given by the Colonels

1708. " Egelin and Leſcheraine, who happening to be here, without " their Regiments, yet offered themſelves, to be employ'd by " us, in Defenſe of the City: And we hope your High " Mightineſſes will be pleas'd to conſider, on Occaſion, the " Services done by theſe Officers.

" The States of Brabant have ſhewn, on this Occaſion, as in " many others, their Zeal for King Charles, and his Allies; " having never been backwards to ſupply us with the Mony " we needed for his Service; ſo that we had no Neceſſity to " make Uſe of the Credit of the States, or our own. In this, " thoſe States have merited highly.

" We congratulate your High Mightineſſes, on the Preſerva- " tion of this important Poſt, by which Antwerp, and the " Frontiers of our Republick, are ſecured, and the Towns of " Louvain, Mechlin, and Liers ſaved.

" Our Secretary, whom we ſend expreſs, will inform your " High Mightineſſes, of the Particulars more at large; to " which we refer, becauſe we are ſtreightened in Time; being " extremely joyful, that it has pleaſed the Almighty, for the " Good of the State, to bleſs the Reſolution we had taken, " to aſſiſt in the Defenſe of this Place, to Extremity.

We are, &c,

Bruſſels, Nov. 28.

J. Van Berg.
Baron Van Reede.
Lord of Renswoude.

P. S. " We forgot to mention, that during the Siege, " Monſieur Decker, firſt Burgo-maſter of this City, acquitted " himſelf, in his Station, with all Zeal and Diligence.

C.

A Letter to the States General, from Monſieur Paſcal, Commandant of Bruſſels.

A Letter from Monſ. Paſcal to the States General.

My Lords,

" YOUR High Mightineſſes will not be diſpleas'd, that " I have the Honour to inform you, his Electoral High- " neſs has broke up the Siege of Bruſſels, leaving behind him " twelve Pieces of Cannon, two Mortars, and three Waggon- " Loads of Powder. From the ſix and twentieth, to the ſe- " ven and twentieth, he had cauſed his Batteries to be made, " and, about ten at Night, he began to attack the Cover'd " Way, with all imaginable Vigour; but was repuls'd, in all

" his Attacks, by my Garriſon, who ſtood them, with inex- 1708.
" expreſſible Firmneſs: The reſt I refer to the Bearer. The
" Enemy have loſt an infinite Number of Men, and have left
" me all their Wounded, which, I am told, amount to above
" 800. I ſhall have the Honour to ſend your High Mightineſ-
" ſes a Liſt, as ſoon as I have Leiſure to take an exact one. I
" hope your High Mightineſſes will permit me to have the
" Honour, to congratulate you, on this happy Occurrence. I
" had the good Fortune, to have, in this Affair, two Seconds,
" Major General Murray, and Baron Wrangel, who did all
" that could be expected from two Perſons of ſo great Experi-
" ence and Valour, as they are. I was alſo ſeconded by the
" Valour of the whole Garriſon, and even by the Colonels
" Egelin and Leſcheraine, tho' they were not of this Garriſon.
" I ſhall have the Honour to inform your High Mightineſſes,
" at Leiſure, of the Bravery of all the Commanders of the Re-
" giments of this Garriſon, which is inexpreſſible; and of
" all the Officers, who were in this Service, of all Nations.
" All this good Succeſs is owing to the Courage and Reſolution,
" which the Lords Deputies of your High Mightineſſes ſhew'd,
" on this Occaſion; and their Preſence gave ſuch a Firmneſs and
" Confidence to the Burghers, as cannot be too much praiſed;
" no more than can the Zeal, Activity and Readineſs of their
" Burgo-maſters, to execute whatever was requir'd of them,
" for the Service of the Common Cauſe.

" I hope the Lord will always bleſs the Arms of the High
" Allies, and that your High Mightineſſes will permit me to
" have the Honour, to aſſure them how much, and with what
" Reſpect,

I am,

Bruſſels, Nov. 28. My Lords,
Your High Mightineſſes,
Moſt humble, moſt obedient,
and Moſt ſubmiſſive Servant,

PASCAL.

D.

A Letter to the States General, from the Lords the Deputies with the Army.

High and Mighty Lords,

" AFTER we had received certain Advice, that the Elec- Letter from
" tor of Bavaria was march'd towards Bruſſels, at the Head the Field-
" of ſome of the Enemy's Troops, to beſiege that Place, it Deputies to
" was reſolved to force the Paſſage of the Scheld, and to march the States
General.

1708. " that Way. To that End, 100 Squadrons, and 50 Battalions, under the Duke of Marlborough, and 50 Squadrons, " with 19 Battalions, under Prince Eugene, march'd, the " 25th Inſtant, to attempt to paſs that River, in three or four " ſeveral Places, which, by the Bleſſing of God, ſucceeded " ſo well, that, this Morning, the Duke of Marlborough " paſs'd, at Kirkhoven, between ſeven, and eight o'Clock, " without firing a Shot, or loſing a Man, as did alſo the Body " under the Count of Lottum, in the ſame Manner, at Aſperen, " the Enemy having drawn off all their Troops, along the " Scheld, from Ghent to Tournay, and abandon'd their Poſts. " All the Troops have join'd here, except ſome which are " ſent back to the Citadel of Liſle. To-morrow, at Day-" Break, we ſhall continue our March towards Bruſſels, and we " hope the Effect will be, that we ſhall be able, by the Bleſſing " of God, to ſend you an Account of the Deliverance of that " Place.

We are, &c.

F. Van Collen.
S. Van. Goslinga.
Count de Rechteren.

Oudenarde,
Nov. 27.

E.

A Letter from the Count de Tilly, to their High Mightineſſes.

High and Mighty Lords,

A Letter from Count Tilly to the States General.

" THE twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, we ſent our " Artillery and Baggage, from the Camp at Rouſſelaer, " to Menin; and, the five and twentieth, we march'd with the " Army towards Harlebeck, whither our Cavalry, who accord-" ing to the Diſpoſitions made, were to follow us, could not " reach, till the ſix and and twentieth, at ſeven in the Morn-" ing, becauſe the Roads, at this Seaſon, are impractica-" ble.

" However, we renewed our March, that Afternoon, at " Four o'Clock, without cauſing any Waggons or Carriages to " follow us, and kept moving forwards all the Night, that " we might arrive, this Morning, before Day, at the Scheld, " and attempt to paſs it.

" The Diſpoſitions were ſettled, in this Manner: That Prince " Eugene, who put himſelf on the March yeſterday, with a " Body of Troops, ſhould attempt to paſs at Eſcanaffe; the " Duke of Marlborough, and I, with the Troops of the

" States,

" States, at Kirkhoven; and the Count de Lottum, at 1708.
" Gavre.

" We all arrived, this Morning, at the Places and Time " agreed; and we laid our Bridges at Kirkhoven, and cauſed " a great Body of our Troops to paſs over, before the Enemy " had Notice of it: Then we march'd directly to the Poſt, " which the Enemy had at Derchem. In the mean while, the " Count de Lottum made himſelf Maſter, likewiſe, of the " Poſt of Gavre, without Reſiſtance. But Prince Eugene, find- " ing the Paſſage, at Eſcanaffe, too difficult, and having In- " telligence, that we were Maſters of the River at Kirkhoven, " he immediately caus'd his Troops to march thither, and there " came over alſo.

" This done, we march'd, in Conjunction, towards the " Enemy's Intrenchments, before Oudenarde; but we could " only get up with their Rear-guard, becauſe they had re- " tired, with great Precipitation, flying towards Gramont. " They had ſent away their Cannon, the Day before; and, of " ſixteen Squadrons, and nineteen Battalions, which they had, " in the Intrenchments, we took about 500 Priſoners, and kill- " ed about 100. To-morrow we ſhall continue our March, " towards Bruſſels, &c.

From the Camp before Oudenarde, Nov. 27. The Count de TILLY.

P. S. " The greateſt Part of the Enemy's Baggage and " Equipages are become our Booty.

Motions of the Duke of Marlboro's Army.

The Duke of Marlborough's Army, having reſted, the thirteenth of November, N. S. in the Neighbourhood of Aloſt, moved from thence, the firſt of December, and encamped, with the Right at Oudenarde, and the Left at Bierlegheim. At the ſame time, Lieutenant-General Dedem was ordered to advance, with twenty Battalions, and to paſs the Scheld at Oudenarde, where he encamped on the other Side of the River, to aſſiſt at the Works, which were ordered to raiſed, for the Security of that Place, and to be near at hand to join General Hompeſch, who, with eight Battalions, was encamp'd near Menin: By which Diſpoſitions a Communication was maintained with Prince Eugene's Forces, in Liſle.

St. Guiſlain taken by the Allies, by Surprize;

While the Elector of Bavaria was employ'd in the Siege of Bruſſels, Major-General Palland, Governor of Aeth, detach'd Colonel La Mothe, with 150 Men, of his Garriſon, to ſurprize the Town of St. Guiſlain, between Mons and Condé; which he effected, the fifteenth of November, and attacking it, Sword in Hand, after having forced the Barrier, and killed ſeveral

1708. ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, made the Garriſon, conſiſting of a weak Regiment of Spaniſh Soldiers, Priſoners of War. But the Men he left there being attack'd by the Marquis de Hautefort, and Count Albergotti, with moſt of the Forces which had abandon'd the Scheld, conſiſting of 22,000 Men, with 32 Pieces of Cannon, they were obliged to ſurrender, before Lieutenant-General Dompre, who was detach'd by the Duke of Marlborough, to relieve them, could come up. They capitulated to be conducted to Mons, till they were exchang'd; which ſhould be done as ſoon as poſſible; to keep their Swords and Equipages, and that thoſe of the Enemy, which were taken in that Place, and could not be ſent away, ſhould likewiſe remain Priſoners of War: A very honourable Capitulation, and more than they had Reaſon to expect, conſidering the vaſt Superiority of the Enemy. General Dompre, with his Detachment, halted, therefore, at Attre, and was ordered to aſſiſt in bringing a great Convoy of Ammunition and Stores, for Liſle, from Aeth to Oudenarde.

But re-taken by the French, by Capitulation

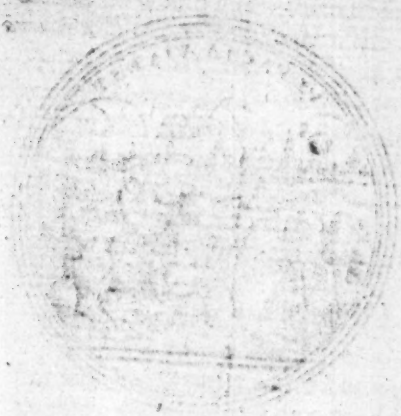
A General Thankſgiving in the Confederate Army.

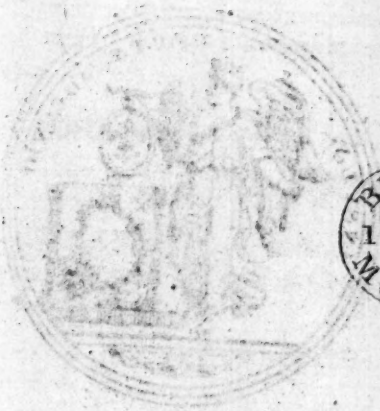
The ſecond of December, a General Thankſgiving to Almighty God, for the happy Paſſage of the Scheld, and the Relief of Bruſſels, was, by Orders of the Duke of Marlborough, religiouſly obſerved, thro' the whole Army. Among other Meaſures, the French had taken, to diſtreſs the Confederates, before the Succeſs of paſſing the Scheld, they had, for ſome Time, taken occaſion to violate their Paſſports; and to palliate this ungenerous Practice, the French King, by a Proclamation (dated the twelfth of November, N. S.) revoked all that had been granted; but the Allies having, likewiſe, recall'd all Paſſports, which had been given on their Side, the Enemy proved to be the greater Sufferers by it; for, upon the ſucceſsful Paſſage of the Scheld, which put their whole Army under a general Conſternation, their Communication with Ghent and Bruges was cut off, and the greateſt Part of their Troops were obliged to march, for Subſiſtence, towards Valenciennes.

An ungenerous Practice of the Enemy; Turn'd upon themſelves.

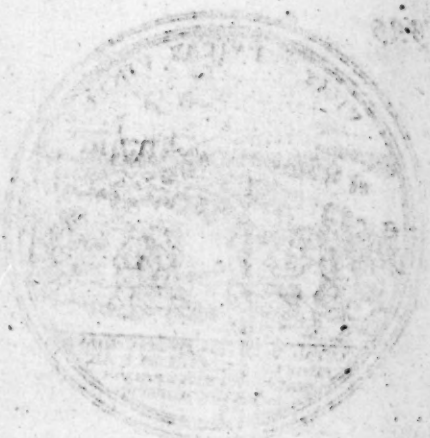
The Citadel of Liſle ſurrender'd.

The Siege of the Citadel of Liſle was carrying on, all this while; and the Beſiegers, in the Abſence of Prince Eugene, lodg'd themſelves on the ſecond Counterſcarp. Upon his Highneſs's Return, he ſent to the Marſhal de Bouflers, to acquaint him with the late Succeſs of the Confederate Forces, thinking thereby to engage him to a Surrender; but his Meſſage had no Effect. The ſeventh of December, the Batteries on the ſecond Covered Way being finiſh'd, Prince Eugene ſent the Marſhal another Summons, and offered him an honourable Capitulation; but, at the ſame Time, declared, that if he did not ſurrender before the Batteries began to fire, he was to expect no other Articles, but for him, and his Garriſon, to remain Priſoners of War: And leſt he might imagine, that the Beſiegers wanted Ammunition and Proviſions, he offered them to ſhew his Stores, to ſome Officers whom





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whom he would allow them to ſend out, for that Purpoſe. This, with a Want of Powder himſelf, induced the Marſhal to order a Parly to be beat, the eighth, in the Morning; and Hoſtages being exchanged, the Articles were ſign'd, the next Day, about four in the Afternoon: According to which, a Gate was deliver'd up, the ſame Day, and, the tenth, the Marſhal, with his whole Garriſon, march'd out with all the uſual Marks of Honour, and was conducted to Douay. 1708.

The following five Medals appeared, on this Occaſion in Holland.

Medals ſtruck on occaſion of the taking of the Town and Citadel of Liſle.

I.

The firſt has, on the Face, three Buſto's repreſenting Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and Velt-Marſhal d'Auverquerque, each in the Form of a ſeparate Medal, with a Figure repreſenting Victory in the Center of the Triangle form'd by theſe three ſmall Medals: All which ſerves as an Ornament of a Pile of Trophies, raiſed of the Spoils taken at Oudenarde; the whole crown'd with a Mural Crown; round all which are the following Words, taken from the ſecond Book of Samuel, Ch. xxiii. v. 17.

HÆC FECERVNT HI TRES ARMIPOTENTES DEI.

Theſe Things did theſe three mighty Men of God.

On the Reverſe is repreſented Prince Eugene, on Horſe-back, pointing, with his Staff of Command, towards the City of Liſle, with the Inſcription:

VI FACTA VIA EST. 1708.

The Way is opened by Force. 1708.

Alluding to the Battle of Wynendale, and other fortunate Events which facilitated the Siege.

II.

On the Face, a Buſto of her Majeſty of Great Britain, with her Title as uſual; and, on the Reverſe, Fame, holding a Shield, with the Arms of Liſle, and a Plan of that City and Citadel near her; with this Inſcription:

INSULÆ CAPTÆ, 1708.

The City and Citadel of Liſle taken, in 1708.

III.

On the Face is repreſented the City at a Diſtance, and, in the Front, the Deputies of that Place ſurrendering it to Prince Eugene,

1708. Eugene, by preſenting him their Arms, ; and, over all, the Inſcription ;

VICIT PERVICAX VIRTUS.

Valour perſiſted in, has overcome.

In the Exergue, are the following Words :

INSULÆ AB HOSTIUM MANIBUS EREPTÆ, 120 MILLIBUS ARMATIS FRUSTRA RELUCTANTIBUS, 9 DECEMBRIS, 1708.

The Town and Citadel of Liſle taken from the Hands of the Enemy, notwithſtanding the vain Reſiſtance of 120,000 *Men, the* 9*th of December,* 1708.

On the Reverſe is repreſented a Pile of Arms, taken at the Battle of Oudenarde, (which paved the Way to this Siege) with a Proſpect of that Town, at a Diſtance. Fame hovers over theſe Arms, with a Crown of Laurels, in her Right Hand, for the Victor, and, in the Left, a Standard of the Arms of the States General ; and over her is the following Inſcription :

ADVERSA ET AVERSA GLORIOSA.

It is Glorious to overcome all Obſtacles.

In the Exergue, are the following Words :

FLANDRIA UTRINQUE TROPHÆIFERA, CÆSI EX ITINERE GALLI AD AUDENARDAM, XII. JULII, 1708.

Flanders fertile in Trophies, on every Side ; the French beaten in their Way to Oudenarde, July 12. 1708.

IV.

On the Face is repreſented the City and Citadel of Liſle, with this Inſcription over it :

FOEDERATIS ADITUS IN GALLIAM APERTUS ;

The Allies have now a Paſſage open'd into France ;

And, in the Exergue,

URBE REDDITA, DIE 25 OCTOBRIS ; CASTELLO, DIE 9 DECEMBRIS, 1708.

The City having ſurrender'd, October, 23, *and the Citadel, December* 9, 1708.

On

26.





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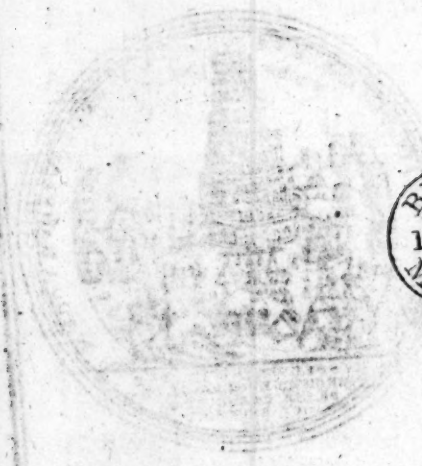
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On the Reverſe, is repreſented a diſconſolate Nymph, in a Robe embroider'd with Flower de Luces, to denote the miſerable State of the Kingdom of France. Before her, hangs, on a Tree, a Shield with the Arms of France, having inſtead of three, only two Flower de Luces; being ſuppos'd to have loſt one by the Loſs of Liſle, the Arms of which is a Flower de Luce. Over this Repreſentation is the following Inſcription: 1708.

GALLLIA MOERENS OB LILIUM DEPERDITUM.

France mourning for the Flower de Luce it has loſt.

And, in the Exergue;

INSULA FLANDRIÆ CUM CASTELLO RESTITUTA.

Liſle, in Flanders, together with its Citadel, reſtor'd.

V.

On the Face is repreſented the Place beſieged, and the Batteries of the Beſiegers; the Sun ſtanding over the City, and the Moon over the Citadel. With the Words of Joſhua, Ch. x. v. 12. over them.

SISTE SOL IN GIBEON, ET LUNA IN VALLE AJALON.

Sun, ſtand thou ſtill in Gibeon, and thou, Moon, in the Vally of Ajalon.

The meaning is probably to repreſent the Difficulty of taking this Place, which amounted almoſt to a Miracle.

In the Exergue:

The Time of the Siege, and Surrender of the Citadel, is noted in the following Words:

CASTELLUM RYSSEL OBSESSUM, 27 OCTOBRIS; RECEPTUM VERO, 9 DECEMBRIS.

The Citadel of Liſle was beſieged the 27th of October, and taken the 9th of December.

The Reverſe repreſents the Tower of Babel; with the following Words, borrowed from Geneſis, Ch. ix. v. 7.

CONFUNDAMUS LINGUAM EORUM, UT NON AUDIAT UNUSQUISQUE VOCEM PROXIMI SUI.

Let us confound their Language, that they may not underſtand one another's Speech.

Alluding

1708 Alluding probably to the Misery and Confusion which was in the Place, and the Difference of Opinion about surrendering:

In the Exergue, are the following Words:

RYSSEL, VEL INSULA, PER PRINCIPEM EUGENIUM OBSESSA, 22 AUGUSTI, ET 23 OCTOBRIS RECEPTA, 1708.

Ryssel, or Lisle, besieg'd by Prince Eugene, Aug. 22, and taken, October 23, 1708.

The Siege of Lisle being, as I have already observed, a Consequence of the Battle of Oudenarde, two Medals were struck, design'd as Monuments of both these Advantages, represented together, in the following Manner.

I.

On the Face, a Busto of Queen Ann, with her Majesty's Title; and, on the Reverse, a Column erected in Honour to Her, adorn'd with Standards, taken from the Enemy; on the Top a Figure representing Victory, and at the Bottom two others chain'd, to denote the Prisoners taken from them; with the following Inscription continued in the Exergue:

GALLIS, AD AUDENARDAM VICTIS, 30 JUNII, 1708.

The French defeated at Oudenarde, June 30, (O. S.) 1708.

II.

On the Face, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, each with a Flower-de-Luce in his Hand, to denote their being already in possession of two thirds of the Arms and Power of France. Behind them Mortars, with the Help of which they had reduced Lisle; and before them a Nymph, in a suppliant Posture, crown'd with a Mural Crown, presenting them with the third Flower-de-Luce of the French Arms, in the Arms of that City. Over them is the following Inscription:

LILLIS DISCERPTIS, LILIUM CAPTUM.

The Lillies (or Flower-de-Luces) being pluck'd, this likewise is taken.

And, in the Exergue.

EUGENIO OBSIDENTE, MARLBOROUGH TEGENTE, GALLO SPECTANTE, INSULA CAPTA, 23 OCTOBRIS, 1708.

Eugene besieging it, and Marlborough covering the Siege, Lisle was taken, in the Sight of the French, October 23, 1708.

On

On the Reverſe, is a Plan of the City and Citadel of Liſle, with their Works, and the Approaches of the Allies; round which is the following Inſcription, or Verſe, taken from Virgil: 1708.

URBS ANTIQUA REDIT, MULTOS DOMINATA PER ANNOS.

This Ancient City returns to its rightful Lord, after having been many Years, under the Dominion of Strangers.

CHAP. XIII.

The Siege and Surrender of Ghent, *with other Tranſactions, to the Concluſion of the Year,* 1708.

THE French Generals, who were greatly mortified to ſee all their Projects and Attempts, for the Relief of Liſle, end in their own Confuſion, thought now of nothing more than going into Winter-Quarters, and having ſeparated their Army, return'd themſelves to Paris; fondly believing, that the Confederates, tired out with the Fatigues and Difficulties of a long and active Campaign, would have been ſatisfied with their laſt important Conqueſt; but they found themſelves miſtaken: For the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, were reſolved to crown their Glorious Succeſſes, with the Recovery of Ghent and Bruges. On this Occaſion, there goes a Report, that the former, upon taking Leave of King Auguſtus, and that Monarch's wiſhing him a good Voyage to England, wittily replied, in French; *Que le Tems étant fort froid, il ne vouloit pas paſſer la Mer ſans Gand.* (That is, *That the Weather being very cold, he would not croſs the Seas without Gloves.*) The French Word *Gand* ſignifying a Glove, and being, likewiſe, the Name of the City of Ghent, in that Language.

The Enemy goes into Winter-Quarters.

A Witticiſm father'd on the Duke of Marlborough.

Be this as it will, the Duke march'd, the 11th of December, N. S. with his Army, from Bierleghem, and encamp'd with the Right, at Melle, and the Left at Meerlebeck; and here, his Grace immediately gave orders for laying Bridges over the Upper and Lower Scheld, as well as over the Lys, for the Communication of the ſeveral Bodies of Troops, which were to be employed in the Siege of Ghent; tho' a hard Froſt falling in, at this Time, was a great Hinderance to the Undertaking. The ſixteenth, Prince Eugene paſs'd the Scheld, with his Army, and encamp'd at Ename; and, the ſame Day, about Noon, coming to Melle, he held a Council of War, with the Duke of Marlborough, and the Generals under him, about the remaining Operations of the Campaign. It was there agreed, *That the Duke of Marlborough*

The Duke of Marlboro' marches to beſiege Ghent.

Reſolution of a Council of War.

1708. *rough ſhould command the Siege of Ghent, and Prince Eugene cover it.*

Motions of the Confederate Army thereupon.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Imperial and Palatine Troops, with twenty Squadrons of Horſe, detach'd from the Duke's Army, march'd, the ſeventeenth, towards Gramont, in order to encamp at Gamerache, on the other Side of the Dender, as well for the Conveniency of Forage, as to obſerve the Enemy on that Side. The Prince of Naſſau, with the Detachment that went from his Grace's Army, to the Siege of Liſle, and the Heſſians, march'd, likewiſe, the ſeventeenth, from Ename to Coſterzeele, in order to block up Ghent, between the Upper and Lower Scheld; and the Diſpoſition being made for inveſting it on all Sides, the Army made a Movement, the eighteenth, and took the following Poſts: Count Lottum, with ſix and thirty Battalions, and thirty Squadrons, between the Upper Scheld and the Lys. The hereditary Prince of Heſſe, with forty Squadrons, and twenty Battalions, between the Lys, and the Canal of Bruges, and from thence to the Canal of Sas. The Duke of Wirtemberg between Muleſtein, and the Lower Scheld, with five and twenty Squadrons, and ſixty Battalions; and Count Tilly, with thirty Squadrons, and thirty Battalions, between the Upper and Lower Scheld. All which Poſts might be eaſed or ſtrengthened, as the Service ſhould require.

Ghent inveſted by the the Duke of Marlborough.

Ill Conſequences of the Enemy's poſſeſſing Ghent and Bruges.

The French when they abandoned the Scheld, retreated with Part of their Army this Way, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into the Cities of Ghent and Bruges, and, after having gather'd together their ſcatter'd Army, retir'd towards Douay and Valenciennes. The Neighbourhood of theſe two numerous Garriſons might have been of ill Conſequence to the united Provinces, and particularly to that of Zealand, by their Excurſions, during the Winter; it was, therefore, reſolv'd to drive them thence, whatever Difficulties the Deſign might be attended with.

The City ſends a Deputation to the Duke.

The Day before the Place was inveſted, the Clergy, Magiſtracy, and Commons of Ghent, ſent a Deputation to the Duke of Marlborough, to deſire, *That the Town might not be deſtroy'd, by the Bombs and Fire-Balls.* But the Duke's Anſwer was, "That their Misfortune having happened by their own Folly, "or Negligence, they had no other Way to ſave their Houſes, "but by returning to their Duty, and taking up Arms for King "Charles." To this, they replied, *They were over-awed by a numerous Garriſon, of thirty Battalions and nineteen Squadrons; ſo that, all they could do was not to aſſiſt the Garriſon, in any Manner.* Upon this, they were told, "They muſt expect all poſ-"ſible Means would be uſed to reduce them to the Obedience of "their lawful Sovereign." His Grace likewiſe charged them to declare to the Spaniſh and Walloon Regiments, which made Part of the Garriſon, "That if they would quit the French

"Intereſt,

" Intereſt, and come over to the Allies, they ſhould be im- 1708.
" mediately entertained, in the King's Service, and regularly
" paid, according to their reſpective Qualities; for which, his
" Grace, and the Deputies, gave their Aſſurance.

Concern of the French Court for Ghent.

The French could not, at firſt, be perſuaded, that the Confederates were in earneſt, to venture upon the Siege of Ghent, at this advanced Seaſon of the Year: However, upon Intelligence, that the Duke of Marlborough was march'd to Melle, the French King's Prime Miniſter, Monſ. de Chamillard, wrote the following Letter, by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Directions, to the Count de la Motte; from whence we may plainly ſee what Concern that Court was under for this Place.

SIR,

Monſ. de Chamillard's Letter to Count de la Motte, dated Verſailles, the 17 Dec. N. S.

" THE Preſervation of Ghent is of ſo great Importance,
" that you can never take too many Precautions, in Con-
" cert with the Baron de Capres, Monſ. de la Faye, the Bri-
" gadiers and other chief Officers, for a long and vigorous De-
" fenſe, in Caſe the Enemy reſolve to beſiege you in Form.
" Notwithſtanding the Place in itſelf is not ſtrong, yet it can-
" not be attack'd but by narrow and difficult Places. You have
" a great Number of Troops, which are more than ſufficient to
" defend a Covered Way, and ſell dear to the Allies the Con-
" queſt of that Place, if they perſiſt in the Deſign, to make
" themſelves Maſters thereof. I cannot forbear to tell you, that
" to a great deal of Courage and good Inclination, it is neceſſary
" to add a great Calmneſs and Sedateneſs of Mind, and Patience,
" in order to make uſe of all the Difficulties which may di-
" ſturb the Enemy, and retard the Siege. Do not take upon
" your ſelf alone all the Motions which are to be made, for
" there are ſeveral Officers that are capable to adviſe and aſſiſt
" you. You know how much I intereſt myſelf, in every
" Thing, wherein you are perſonally concerned: Tho' Reaſons
" of State oblige me to explain my Thoughts to you, on ſuch
" Things, which in my Opinion may moſt contribute to a long
" Defenſe. I think, however, myſelf oblig'd to tell you, as
" relating to you alone, that after having had the Misfortune
" to command in Oſtend, which the Enemy reduc'd in a very
" few Days, and of having not ſucceeded in the Fight of Wy-
" nendale; it is of the higheſt Concern to yourſelf, as well as
" to his Majeſty, that the Opportunity you have now, may
" give him ſo good an Opinion of you, as may obtain from his
" Majeſty thoſe Marks of Diſtinction, for which you have ſo
" long labour'd. I do not know whether you want any Ma-
" jor-Generals of the King's Troops; but as all the Forces
" which are to be from Ghent to Ypres, with thoſe in Bruges,

1708. " and Newport, and all the General Officers and others, are to " obey your Orders, you may ſignify to thoſe who are to com- " mand there this Winter, what you ſhall think fit to be done " for the Service of his Majeſty. According to the Reparti- " tion of the Winter-Quarters, which I ſend you with this " Letter, you will find, that ſeveral Regiments, which were de- " ſigned for Ghent and Bruges, are march'd towards Newport " and Ypres; for the firſt Diſpoſition of the Troops was made " in View of Winter-Quarters, and not for continuing the Cam- " paign, and maintaining Sieges. However, his Majeſty has " commanded me to let you know, that it is not fitting to change " any thing as to the Garriſon of Ghent. He is pleaſed to ſend " Orders to Monſieur de Piuguion, to leave in Bruges 14 Batta- " lions and 9 Squadrons, as Monſieur Grimaldi had deſir'd it: " But the reſt of the Forces are forthwith to return towards the " Frontiers of the Kingdom.

" If you are beſieged, you muſt uſe all poſſible Means to protract " the Siege, inſomuch that it may coſt the Allies very dear, and " diſpute the Ground, Inch by Inch, as Monſieur, the Marſhal " Bouflers, has done at Liſle. I know the Difference betwixt " the Fortifications of Liſle, and thoſe of Ghent; but there is in " the latter a good Cover'd Way, which is equally good every " where; and after ſix Weeks Time, the Enemy were not en- " tirely Maſters of that of Liſle; tho' the Garriſon of that " Place was not ſo ſtrong as yours. I write to Meſſieurs the " Baron de Capres and de la Faye, to deſire them to act in Con- " cert with you, in every thing that may contribute to the " Good of the Service, and content the Burghers of Ghent, " which deſerve, and ſhould have had a happier Fate. I tell " you nothing as to the Preſervation of the Troops; you have in " my Opinion, a long Time before you ought to think of their " Preſervation, and I have Reaſon to believe, that they will ſerve " with much Diſtinction and Affection under your Command. " I am perfectly,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and
moſt affectionate Servant,

CHAMILLARD.

Which Letter was intercepted.

Prince Eugene went, in the mean time, while the Preparati- ons were making for the Siege, to Bruſſels, where he continu- ed three or four Days; and, on the twentieth, the Duke of Marlborough removed his Quarters, from Melle, to Meerlebeck, in

in order to be nearer the Center of the ſeveral Attacks. The Beſiegers took Poſt, the ſame Evening, near the Caſtle of Ghent, having attacked and defeated a Guard, which was placed without the Gate of Gavre. The twenty-ſecond, ſome Troops were detach'd from the Body commanded by the Prince of Heſſe, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, to block up the Red Fort, on the Canal between Ghent and the Sas; and Cannons, Mortars, and other Neceſſaries, were got ready, for the Attack of the Place. 1708. The Red Fort block'd up.

The four and twentieth, the Pioneers having repaired and enlarged the Roads, for the eaſier Communication of the Quarters, the Gabions and Faſcines being in a Readineſs, and the Artillery and Ammunition at hand, the Trenches were opened, about eight in the Evening, at the Attack commanded by General Lottum, between the Scheld and the Lys: Two Thouſand Workmen, covered by ſeven Battalions, and two more in reſerve, with 600 Horſe, being ordered for that Service, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Fagel, Major-General Weeke, and the Lord North and Gray, Brigadier. The Night being very light, the Enemy's Centinels ſoon perceiv'd the Beſiegers; but before they could get their Troops together, the Workmen were ſo well covered, that their Loſs was inconſiderable. The Trenches open'd before Ghent.

The five and twentieth, the Trenches were open'd before the Citadel, at the Duke of Wirtemberg's Attack, by 1400 Workmen, covered by four Battalions, and 600 Horſe, commanded by Major-General Murray and Brigadier Borch: And, at Night, the Allies broke Ground, at a third Attack, before the Bruſſels Gate, between the Upper and the Lower Scheld, at which, Brigadier Evans commanded, with four Battalions, and 600 Workmen, who carried on the Trenches, near 700 Paces, and made a Communication, without any Loſs. The next Morning, the Enemy made a Sally, with ten Companies of Grenadiers, and ſome other Troops, to the Number of 2000 Men; in which, they had ſome Succeſs, at firſt; and put two Engliſh Regiments into ſome Diſorder; but were ſoon oblig'd to retire, with great Precipitation, before they could attempt any thing upon the Works. In this Conflict, Brigadier Evans, with Colonel Grove, of the Lord North and Gray's Regiment, were taken Priſoners. And before the Citadel.

The ſame Day, the Batteries of the Allies fired upon the Red Fort, with ſo good Succeſs, that the Garriſon, conſiſting of 200 Men, beat a Parly, and ſurrendered themſelves Priſoners of War. The Attacks were carried on ſo vigorouſly, and on every Side, that, the nine and twentieth, about Noon, Monſieur de la Motte ſent out a Trumpet, with a Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, deſiring Leave for ſome Officers of the Garriſons The Red Fort ſurrenders. The Governor of Ghent deſires to capitulate.

1708. sons to attend him. Upon this, his Grace sent him a blank Passport; and, in the Evening, the Prince d'Isenghien, Brigadier Cano, and the Count d'Aubigny, Colonel of the Regiment Royal, came to Meerlebeck, with Offers to surrender the Town and Castle, four Days after, if the Allies were not obliged to raise the Siege in that Time, and provided that the Garrison was then allowed to march out with all Marks of Honour. The Duke agreed they should have till the second of January N. S. in the Morning; and sending them back, with Directions to return the next Day, at six o'Clock, Orders were, thereupon, immediately sent to the Batteries to cease farther Firing.

The Capitulation settled.

The thirtieth, in the Morning, the same Gentlemen came again, having, with them, a Deputation from the Clergy, the Magistracy, and Commons of the Town; and all Things being settled with them, it was agreed, that Hostages should be immediately exchanged, for putting the Capitulation in Execution; by virtue of which, the Gate of the Attack of St. Peter, and the Post of Succours of the Citadel, were put into the Possession of the Confederates, the last Day of the Year, N. S. in the Morning. Upon which the Field-Deputies of the States General wrote the following Letter to their High Mightinesses.

A Letter from the Field-Deputies to the States General, about the Surrender of Ghent.

High and mighty Lords,

A Letter from the Field-Deputies to the States General.

" THE Capitulation with the Garrison of Ghent was " sign'd yesterday, according to the enclosed Copy, " which we have the Honour to send to your High Mightinesses, " by the Commissary Vleertman. Those of the City have " likewise deliver'd their Articles relating to the Publick, " which would have been regulated to-day, had we not consi- " dered, that the Lords, your High Mightinesses Deputies at " Brussels, whose Commission has a particular Relation to this " Affair, ought necessarily to be present, and we expect them " hourly. In the mean time, pursuant to the Capitulation, " the Garrison have put into your Hands the St. Peter's Gate " of this City, and the Gate of Succours of the Castle. My " Lord Duke sent to summon those of Bruges; but the Trum- " pet is not yet returned; yet we do not believe they will " wait the Approach of the Troops, so that we hope, by the " first Post, to congratulate your High Mightinesses on the " Reduction

" Reduction of that City, as we have the Honour to do moſt 1708.
" humbly on the regaining of this Place.

We are, &c.

GOSLINGA.
RECHTEREN.
WELVELDE.
GELDERMALSEN.

From the Camp before Ghent, Dec. 31. 1708.

The Capitulation mentioned in the foregoing Letter was as follows.

Articles of Capitulation.

1. " THAT the Roman Catholick Religion ſhall be preſerved in its full and free Exerciſe, without Innovation. *Granted.*

2. " That the preſent Capitulation ſhall only affect the two Crowns; and that the Clergy and Magiſtracy of Ghent ſhall diſtinctly treat for themſelves. *Granted.*

3. " That a Gate of the ſaid Town ſhall be delivered to the Troops of the Allies, on the 31ſt of this Inſtant, December, at ten in the Morning, unleſs between this and that Day, the Town ſhall be relieved. The Gate to be then delivered, ſhall be the Gate at the Attack of St. Peter's, as alſo the Port of Succours of the Citadel, at which ſhall be poſted ſome Troops of the preſent Garriſon, ſeparated from thoſe of the Allies, by Barriers, in the Middle of the Arch, under thoſe Gates, in order to prevent the Mixture of the Troops, and the Diſorder which may probably happen thereupon. *Granted.*

4. " That all Perſons in the Service of the two Crowns, of what Character or Condition ſoever, without Exception, whether nam'd or not, in this Capitulation, ſhall go out of this Town, on the 2d of January 1709, at nine of the Clock in the Morning, at the Gate of Courtray, with Arms, Equipage, Drums beating, Ball in Mouth, Match lighted at both Ends, with Ammunition for 20 Charges, Colours flying, and 10 Pieces of Cannon, lately brought from France, four Patteroes, with their Carriages, and Ammunition for 12 Charges of each Piece, for Tournay, by the neareſt Way, in four or five Days, marching or halting at the Choice of the Beſieged, without being obliged, on any Pretence whatſoever, to a quicker March, than the Beſieged ſhall approve of, with regard to the Seaſon and the Roads; and that the Beſiegers ſhall allow them a ſufficient Convoy, for the Safety, both of the Garriſon and their Equipage. *Granted. Except there ſhall be allowed but* 12 *Charges for the Garriſon, and* 6 *Pieces of the Cannon lately come from* France, *with Ammunition for* 12 *Charges.*

1708. 5. "That for the Tranſportation of the ſaid ten Pieces of "Cannon, Pattereroes, Ammunition and Equipage, as well as "of the Sick and Wounded, to Tournay, the Allies ſhall pro- "vide a ſufficient Number of Boats and Boatmen: To which "Boats there ſhall be a ſufficient Guard allow'd by the Allies, "for the Safety of the Sick. In Caſe the River Scheld ſhall "not be navigable, a ſufficient Number of Land Carriages "ſhall be ready, on the 31ſt Inſtant, that the Beſieged may have "Time to load the ſaid Carriages, ſo as to march out with the "whole Garriſon, and arrive at Tournay at the ſaid Time. "*Granted, for the Artillery mention'd in the foregoing Article, "as alſo for the Equipage, at the Charge of the Beſiegers; and "as for a ſufficient Number of Boats, the Beſieged may immedi- "ately have enough of them in the Town of* Ghent.

6. "That the Sick and Wounded, who are in the Town "and Caſtle of Ghent, and ſhall be in a Condition to bear "being removed, ſhall be furniſhed, in the ſame Manner, "with Boats, Boatmen, and Carriages, ſufficient to convoy "them to Tournay, by the neareſt Way, at the Expence of "the Allies. *Granted, at the Expence of the Beſieged.*

7. "That the Sick and Wounded, who cannot be removed, "at the Time of the March of the Troops, ſhall be allowed "to remain in Ghent, and be ſupplied with proper Food, "Lodging and Medicines, at the Charge of the Allies, ac- "cording to the Manner in which they are taken Care of, in "the Hoſpitals of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. And when they "ſhall be able to bear travelling, Boats, with Paſſports, ſhall "be provided for them, in order to their being tranſported to "Tournay, by the neareſt Way. *Granted, in the ſame Man- "ner with the foregoing Article.*

8. "That no Effects, Papers, or Equipages, belonging to "any Perſon whatſoever, employ'd in the Service of the two "Kings, ſhall be ſeized, on any Pretence whatſoever; but, "that on the contrary, ſufficient Carriages ſhall be provided, "for the Effects and Families of ſuch Perſons, at the Charge "of the Allies, to tranſport them to Tournay, by the neareſt "Way. Provided, that the Sieur de Bonnot, Commiſſary of "War, and the Sieur de Miſſily, Paymaſter of the Troops "of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſhall remain in Ghent, as "Hoſtages, for the Payment of all Debts juſtly contracted, "during the Siege, for the Service of the two Kings, till theſe "Debts are wholly diſcharged. *Granted, Provided that the "ſame Hoſtages ſhall be reſponſible for all Debts contracted, ſince "the* French *have had the Poſſeſſion of the Town.*

9. That the Allies ſhall ſupply the Beſieged with ten cover'd "Waggons, which ſhall march out, at the ſame time, with "the

" the Garriſon, without being examin'd, upon any Pretence 1708.
" whatſoever. *Granted for ſix cover'd Waggons.*

10. " That there ſhall be no Satisfaction expected from the " Beſieged, for any Damage occaſioned by the Siege. *Granted.* " *Except in Caſes where there ſhall appear ſome previous Agree-* " *ment to the contrary.*

11. " That no Perſons whatſoever, who belong to the Garri- " ſon of the two Kings, ſhall be arreſted, on any Pretence or " Reaſon whatſoever. *Granted. Provided they pay or give ſatis-* " *factory Security to their Creditors, for their Debts.*

12. " That the Priſoners taken out of the Garriſon, as well " as the Garriſon of the Red Fort, who were detach'd from " this Garriſon, ſhall be reſtor'd on each Side; that thoſe who " are in the Army of the Allies ſhall be ſent into the Town, " before the Garriſon marches out of it, and thoſe of the " Allies who are in the Town, ſhall immediately be ſent back " to their Army. *Granted.*

13. " That the Allies ſhall not take any Soldiers out of the " Ranks, as they march out, on any Pretence whatſoever. " *Granted. Except Deſerters.*

14. " That the Garriſon ſhall carry out of Ghent Forage " and neceſſary Proviſions, ſufficient for their Subſiſtence, for " five Days. *Granted.*

15. " That the Hoſtages on each Side, for the Execution " of this Capitulation, ſhall be ſet at Liberty, as ſoon as theſe " Articles are perform'd, and the Garriſon is arriv'd at Tour- " nay. *Granted.*

16. " That all Women, Children, and Families of any " belonging to the Troops of the two Crowns, ſhall be per- " mitted to retire to Tournay, with their Effects. *Granted, at* " *their own Charge.*

17. " All the Inhabitants of Ghent ſhall have Liberty to re- " tire, with their Effects, into the Dominions of the two " Crowns. *Granted. Provided they go within three Months.*

18. " That the Allies ſhall allow the Wives of the Soldiers, " who are in the Town, ſix Month's Time to retire out of " it; and after the Expiration of that Term, to go to ſuch " Places, in the Territories of the two Crowns, as they ſhall " think fit. *Granted, as in the foregoing Article.*

" *The Beſiegers ſhall ſend Commiſſaries to-morrow, the 31ſt,* " *into the Town of* Ghent, *to whom all Keys of Stores of Proviſi-* " *ons and Ammunition, as well as exact Accounts of Forage,* " *ſhall be faithfully delivered, under neceſſary Guards, that no-* " *thing may be loſt.* Granted.

1708. Sign'd at the Camp of Meerlebeck, this 30th Day of December, at 11 o'Clock, in the Morning.

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.
Le Comte de la MOTTE.
Ferdinand van COLLEN HOUDANCOURT.
S. van GOSLINGA.
Le Comte de RECHTEREN.
B. van WELVELDE.
Adr. van BORSELLE tot GELDEREN.

Beſides this Capitulation, there was another agreed on, with the Clergy and Magiſtracy of this City; but as that chiefly regarded their reſpective Privileges and Immunities, I ſhall, for Brevity's Sake, omit it.

The States General were ſo ſenſible of the Importance of this Service, done by the Duke of Marlborough, to the common Cauſe, that they immediately wrote him the following Letter, as a Teſtimony of their Gratitude.

The States General's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, about the Surrender of Ghent.

SIR,

A Letter from the States-General to the Duke of Marlboro'

"NO News could be more acceptable to us, at this Time, "than the Advice your Highneſs has given us, in your "Letter of the laſt of December, of the Reduction of Ghent. "When we conſider the Situation and Largeneſs of that Place, "its numerous Garriſon, the hard Seaſon of the Year, the "Fatigues the Troops had already undergone, in this extra-"ordinary long and difficult Campaign, theſe Things ſeem'd "not to permit us to expect ſo ſoon that happy Succeſs. We "praiſe the Lord of Hoſts, who, on this Occaſion, has heard "our Prayers, and granted more than we could hope for, and "continues his Bleſſings on the Arms of the Allies, under your "Conduct. We rejoice, likewiſe, with all our Hearts, to ſee "you bringing to an End this glorious and difficult Campaign, "by the Conqueſt of ſo important a Place, as that which you "have now reduced by your Valour, and hope that Bruges "will have the ſame Fate. If ſo many repeated Blows are "not capable to oblige the Enemies, to make an End of this "War by a Peace, in which all the Allies may find their Se-"curity according to their Alliance, we hope, that in the Year "which we are now beginning, you will obtain over them "new Advantages, which will ſtill encreaſe your Glory, and "force the Enemy to lay down their Arms, to the Satisfacti-

"on

"on of the High Allies. We conclude with these Wishe 1708.
"and are truly, and with the greatest Esteem, *&c.*

The Garrison of Ghent marches out.

Pursuant to the Capitulation, of which the Reader has seen a Copy above, the Garrison of Ghent march'd out, the second of January, N. S. with the usual Marks of Honour, in order to be conducted to Tournay; and immediately after, the Duke of Argyle, with six British Battalions, took Possession of the Town and Citadel. In the Morning, thirty Battalions, and forty Squadrons, were ranged along the Causey, from the outward Barrier of the Brussels Gate, to receive the French, who, about ten o'Clock, began to come out, with the Count de la Motte, and other General Officers at their Head. They saluted the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, as did likewise, all the Troops, which being very numerous, it was near seven at Night, before they had all pass'd by. The Duke and Prince Eugene were on Horse-back all the Time, as were likewise, with them, Monss. de la Motte, and the Baron de Capres, who then followed their Troops to Gavre, in their Way to Tournay, between nine and ten at Night. His Grace, after supping with Prince Eugene, went into the Town incognito.

The Duke of Marlborough's Reception in that City.

The third, in the Morning, the Duke, going to view the Attacks and the Outworks, and returning, at Noon, was received, at his Entrance into the Gate of St. Liven, by the Magistrates, who after making their Compliment, on this Occasion, presented his Grace with the Keys of the Town, in a gilded Bason, which he returning, was conducted by them, thro' a Line of the Burghers under Arms, to the Town-house, where a splendid Entertainment was prepared for his Grace, and other General and Chief Officers of the Army. There was an Illumination, in the Evening, on the Tower of the Town-house, a Ceremony which had not been observed for many Years before; and the Burghers, by their loud, and repeated Acclamations, shewed the great Satisfaction it was to them, that they were again returned to their Obedience to their lawful Sovereign. Some, however, believed this Joy to be fictitious, and only a Gloss to cover their former Treachery and Perverseness, which tho' they had suffered severely for, yet it was thought they would relapse into again, as Occasion should offer.

The French abandon Bruges, Plassendahl and Lessinghen.

This Joy was not a little augmented by the News of the Enemy's having evacuated Bruges; the Magistrates of which City came, the second, in the Evening, to Ghent, to make their Submission to the Duke of Marlborough, and acquaint him, that the French Garrison march'd out, in the Night, between the first and the second of January; and at the same Time, the

Enemy

1708. Enemy abandoned Plaſſendahl and Leſſinghen, and retired into their own Territories.

The Duke of Marlborough ends his glorious Campaign.

Prince Eugene ſet out, the third, in the Morning, for Bruſſels, whither he was followed, the next Day, by the Duke of Marlborough; and having there ſettled the Winter Quarters for the Confederate Troops, the Command of which was given to Count Tilly, they ſet out together, the ninth of January, from thence for the Hague. Thus theſe two great Commanders put an End to their glorious Campaign, which for its Length, and the Variety of critical Turns, as well as important Succeſſes of it, is hardly to be parallel'd in Hiſtory; and proved as much to the Advantage, as well as Glory of the Confederates, as themſelves could have wiſh'd or deſired.

And goes to the Hague.

On Occaſion of theſe latter Succeſſes of this glorious Campaign, the following Medal was ſtruck.

A Medal ſtruck on the Retaking of Ghent &c.

On the Face is repreſented Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, holding each, in one Hand, a Crown of Laurels, and, with the other, gathering Lilies, with the Inſcription;

AD EXORNANDAM LAUREAM.

To adorn our Laurels.

In the Exergue, are the following Words:

EUGENII ET MARLBOROUGH CONJUNCTIO, GALLORUM DISSIPATIO.

The Junction of Eugene and Marlborough has diſperſ'd the French.

On the Reverſe is repreſented a Man ſitting under a Tree, and alluring a Cock, with the Inſcription;

VÆ TIBI LUDENTI, NAM MOX POST JUBILA FLEBIS.

Woe unto thee who now rejoiceſt; for thy Joy ſhall ſoon be turned into Weeping.

Alluding to the ſhort Joy of the French, in their Poſſeſſion of Ghent, &c. and their being oblig'd to ſuffer not only the taking of Liſle, but the retaking of theſe Places alſo.

Which is farther explained, by the following Inſcription in the Exergue.

GALLI GANDAVO ET BRUGA CAPTA ALDENARDAM OBSESSURI VINCUNTUR, 1708. 11. JULII.

The French, deſigning to beſiege Oudenarde, were defeated, July 11. 1708, *and loſe Ghent and Bruges.*


AD EXORNANDAM LAVREAM
EVGENII ET MARIE ORVOR
CONIVNCTIO GALLORVM
DISSIPATIO


RETIBVS VDENTI: NAM MOX POST IVBILA FERIS
GALLI CANDAVO ET HISPANA CAP
TA ALIENANDAM OBSES
SVRI VINCVNTVR
MD CCXIX. XI. IVL.

BRITISH
17 AP 66
MUSEUM

1708.

The Affairs on the Upper Rhine were this Year very inconſiderable, and the Campaign there produced nothing very material, or, at leaſt nothing that occaſion'd any Alteration in the General Affairs of Europe; I ſhall, therefore, paſs them by without any farther Notice. In Piedmont, the Duke of Savoy obtained ſeveral Advantages over the Marſhal de Villars, who commanded on that Side. In Italy, the moſt remarkable Incident of this Year was the Differences between the Courts of Rome and Vienna, the Pope having, by his manifeſt Partiality for the Houſe of Bourbon, ſo far incurr'd the Indignation of the Emperor, that he was reſolved to curb the Haughtineſs and Pride of his ſpiritual Father. The old Gentleman, in the mean Time, buoy'd up by the vain Promiſes of the French, began to talk of chaſtizing his rebellious Son, with Temporal as well as Spiritual Scourges, and began to raiſe an Army, for that Purpoſe: But Count Thaun having invaded the Papal Territories, and the Holy Father being apprehenſive of a Bombardment, at Civita Vecchia, from the Engliſh Fleet, his Stomach came down, as we ſhall ſee in the enſuing Chapter. In Spain, among other Advantages obtain'd by the Confederates, this Year, Port Mahon, with the whole Iſland of Minorca, was taken by Sir Edward Whitaker and Major-General Stanhope; a Conqueſt the more worthy of our Notice, as it has ever ſince continued in the Poſſeſſion of Great Britain, and was confirmed to that Crown for ever, by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Affairs in other Parts of Europe this Year.

CHAP. XIV.

Several Tranſactions, at the Beginning of the Year 1709, *eſpecially with regard to a Negotiation for a General Peace, carried on at the* Hague.

1709.

TOWARDS the Concluſion of the foregoing Chapter, we left the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, arrived at the Hague, in the beginning of January, after having put an End to the Glorious Campaign, of which I have given an Account, in the three preceeding Chapters. There being Negotiations ſet on Foot, privately, this Winter, for a Peace, occaſion'd the Duke's ſtaying ſome Time in the Low Countries; I ſhall, therefore, leave him there a while, acting in his uſual Sphere, ever for the Good of his Country; and give ſome Account what was doing, in the mean Time, at Home.

Some Negotiations ſet on Foot for a Peace.

The Parliament having met, the ſixteenth of November, the twenty-firſt, the Houſe of Commons preſented two Addreſſes to her

Proceedings of the Parliament.

1709. her Majeſty, one of Condolance, on the Death of her Royal Conſort, and the other of Congratulation, on account of the glorious Succeſs of her Arms. By a Part of the latter, which I ſhall here recite, the Reader will ſee what Senſe that auguſt Aſſembly had of the Services performed by the Duke of Marlborough.

Part of the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to congratulate the glorious Succeſſes of this Year, gain'd by the Arms of your Majeſty, and thoſe of your Allies.

"The great and ſignal Advantages, that have been ſo wonderfully obtained, ſo vigorouſly proſecuted and improved, and, upon all Occaſions, ſo happily accompliſh'd, are repeated Inſtances, that *no Difficulties are inſuperable to your great Commanders*, and no Force of the Enemy able to obſtruct the Progreſs of your victorious Arms: which gives us good Grounds to hope for farther Succeſs, before the Concluſion of this long and active Campaign, &c.

The Houſe of Lords had preſented their Addreſs the Day before, in which were ſome Expreſſions much to the ſame Purport.

The Thanks of the Commons given to Major-General Webb.

The thirteenth of December, Sir Thomas Hanmer made a Motion, in the Houſe of Commons, "That the Thanks of the "Houſe be given to Major-General Webb, for the great and eminent Services performed by him, at the Battle of Wynendale," which was unanimouſly carried in the Affirmative. Major-General Webb being then in the Houſe, Mr. Speaker gave him, in his Place, the Thanks of the Houſe, accordingly; which he acknowledged in a very handſome and modeſt Speech; ſaying, among other Things, *He valued that Honour above the greateſt Rewards.* This gave Occaſion to another Member to ſay, "He did not diſapprove the Method of returning Thanks to ſuch "Generals as performed their Duty, which, however, had been "more frequently done of late, than heretofore: But that he "could not but take Notice, *That not only the Thanks of both "Houſes, but alſo great Rewards had been beſtowed on another "Commander.*" It was eaſy to conceive againſt whom this was levell'd.

The twenty-third, both Houſes join'd in a Congratulatory Addreſs to her Majeſty on the farther Succeſs of the Campaign; of which the following is a Part.

An Addreſs of both Houſes to the Queen.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the "Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in "Parliament aſſembled, do moſt humbly congratulate your "Majeſty,

" Majeſty, upon the Reduction of Ghent, the laſt great Effort 1709.
" of this glorious Year; a Year that will be ever famous in Hi-
" ſtory, as well for the *entire Diſappointment of all the Attempts*
" *and Hopes of your Enemies*, as for the *many wonderful Succeſſes,*
" *with which God has bleſſed the Arms of your Majeſty and your*
" *Allies*. The unuſual Length of the Campaign, the Variety of
" Events, and the Difficulty and Importance of the Actions,
" have given many Opportunities to your Majeſty's General, the
" Duke of Marlborough, *to ſhew his Conſummate Ability, and*
" *all the great Qualities neceſſary for ſo high a Truſt*, &c.

The Commons vote their ſolemn Thanks to the Duke of Marlboro".

The twenty-ſecond of January, the Houſe of Commons, impatient to ſhew their Regard, unanimouſly reſolved, " That the
" Commons of Great Britain, being truly ſenſible, not only of
" the great and eminent Services, perform'd by his Grace, the
" Duke of Marlborough, the laſt ſucceſsful Campaign, ſo much
" to the Honour of Great Britain, and the Advantage of all
" Europe, but alſo the indefatigable Zeal he perſevered in, for
" the Service of the common Cauſe abroad, while he might,
" with Reaſon, expect to be receiv'd with all the Marks of Ho-
" nour and Satisfaction at home, did, with a juſt Regard to his
" glorious Actions, return him the Thanks of the Houſe: " And order'd their Speaker to tranſmit the ſame to his Grace; which being done accordingly, the Duke of Marlborough was pleaſed to return the following Anſwer.

SIR, *Bruſſels, February* 13, 1709.

His Grace's Anſwer.

" I AM extremely ſenſible of the great Honour, which the
" Houſe of Commons have done me, in the Vote you have
" been pleaſed to tranſmit to me, by their Order; nothing can
" give me more Satisfaction, than to find the Services I endea-
" vour to do the Queen, and my Country, ſo acceptable to the
" Houſe of Commons; And I beg the Favour of you to aſſure
" them, I ſhall never think any Pains or Perſeverance too great,
" if I may (by God's Bleſſing) be inſtrumental in procuring a
" ſafe and honourable Peace for her Majeſty, and my Fellow-
" Subjects. I am with Truth,

SIR,
Your moſt faithful
Humble Servant,
MARLBOROUGH.

Without doubt, the Duke was highly ſatisfied with ſo uncommon a Demonſtration of the Gratitude of the Houſe of Commons

for

1709. for his Services, as to tranſmit their Thanks to him whilſt in a Foreign Country.

The Duke of Marlborough arrives at London.

The five and twentieth of February, O. S. the Duke of Marlborough, having carried his Negotiations in the Low Countries, as far as the Honour of the Nation would allow, embark'd at Oſtend, and, after a long and dangerous Paſſage, arrived at London, the firſt of March, about two in the Afternoon. The Houſe of Lords being then ſitting, and it being generally believed, that he brought over with him Propoſals made by the Enemy for a Peace; which the Miſeries and Neceſſity of France ſeem'd to drive them to; the Lord Sommers, Preſident of her Majeſty's Council (or, as Biſhop Burnet ſays, the Lord Hallifax) moved for an Addreſs to be made to the Queen, "That her Majeſty would "be pleas'd to take Care, at the Concluſion of the War, that the "French King might be oblig'd to own her Majeſty's Title, and "the Proteſtant Succeſſion; that her Majeſty's Allies might be "Guarantees of the ſame; and that the Pretender might be re-"moved out of the French Dominions." This Motion was unanimouſly approved of, and a Committee thereupon appointed to draw up the Addreſs. This done, their Lordſhips ordered the Lord Chancellor to return the Thanks of their Houſe to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, for the eminent Services performed by his Grace, the laſt Campaign.

Thanks of the Houſe of Peers return'd to the Duke of Marlboro'.

Accordingly, his Grace having, the next Day, taken his Seat in the Houſe of Peers, the Lord Chancellor return'd him the Thanks of that Illuſtrious and Auguſt Aſſembly, in the following Words:

My Lord Duke of Marlborough,

"I HAVE the Honour to be again commanded by this "Houſe, to give your Grace their hearty and unanimous "Thanks, for the great and eminent Services you have per-"form'd, this laſt Campaign; particularly to her Majeſty and "her Kingdoms, and, in general, to all the Allies.

"When I laſt obey'd the like Commands, I could not but in-"fer from your Grace's former Succeſſes, we had ſtill moſt rea-"ſonable Expectations, you could not fail to improve them.

"I beg Leave to congratulate your Grace, that the Obſerva-"tion then made has proved, as it was indeed intended, perfect-"ly true.

"I hope, I ſhall not be thought to exceed my preſent Com-"miſſion, if, being thus led to contemplate the mighty Things "your Grace has done for us; I cannot but conclude, with ac-"knowledging, with all Gratitude, the Providence of God, in "raiſing you up to be an Inſtrument of ſo much Good in ſo cri-"tical a Juncture, when it was ſo much wanted.

To

1709.

To which Compliment his Grace made the following Answer;

My Lords,

"I HOPE you will do me the Justice to believe, there are very few Things could give me more Satisfaction than the favourable Approbation of my Service, by this House. And I beg Leave to assure your Lordships, it shall be the constant Endeavour of my Life, to deserve the Continuation of your good Opinion."

The Duke of Marlborough's Answer.

The same Day, the Lords sent down their Address to the Commons, for their Concurrence: Whereupon, Mr. Secretary Boyle represented, "That the British Nation having been at a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, for the Prosecution of this necessary War, it was but just they should reap some Benefit by the Peace? And the Town of Dunkirk being a Nest of Pirates, that infested the Ocean, and did infinite Mischief to Trade, he, therefore, moved, That the demolishing of its Fortifications and Harbour be insisted upon in the ensuing Treaty of Peace, and inserted in the Address;" which, with that Amendment, being unanimously approved of, it was carried back to their Lordships, by Mr. Secretary Boyle, and presented to her Majesty, the next Day, accordingly. Her Majesty received and answered it very favourably; and this Address was highly acceptable to the whole Nation, and to all our Allies.

Address of both Houses to the Queen

As I have mention'd above, that his Grace the Duke of Marlborough remain'd some Time in the Low Countries, on account of Propofals made by the French for a Peace; it may not be amiss to give a brief Account of that Matter, as being necessary to give a better Idea of what will follow. The Reader will remember, that soon after the Battle of Ramellies, the Elector of Bavaria gave out Hopes of a Peace; and that the King of France would come to a Treaty of Partition, by allowing Spain and the West-Indies to go to King Charles, provided the Dominions of Italy were given to King Philip. They hoped that England and the States would agree to this, as less concern'd in Italy: But they knew the Court of Vienna would never hearken to it; for they valued the Dominions in Italy, with the Islands near them, much more than all the rest of the Spanish Monarchy. But, at the same Time, that Lewis XIV. was tempting us, with the Hopes of Spain and the West-Indies, that King, by a Letter to the Pope, offered the Dominions in Italy, to King Charles. The Parliament had always declared, the Ground of the War to be the Restoring the whole Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria (which indeed the States had never done) so the Duke of Marlborough could not hearken to this: He convinced the States of

Negotiations for a Peace.

1709 of the treacherous Deſigns of the Court of France, in this Offer, and it was not entertained.

The Court of Vienna was ſo alarm'd, at the Inclinations which ſome had expreſs'd, towards the entertaining this Project, that this was believed to be the ſecret Motive of the Treaty, the ſucceeding Winter, for evacuating the Milaneſe, and of their perſiſting ſo obſtinately, the Summer after, in their Deſign upon Naples; for, by this Means, they became Maſters of both. The French, being now reduced to great Extremities, by their conſtant ill Succeſs, and by the Miſeries of their People, but more eſpecially by the General Decline of Publick Credit, the moſt eminent Bankers of Paris and Lions having been oblig'd to ſtop Payment, began to entertain ſerious Thoughts of a Peace, and reſolved to try the States again. When the Duke of Marlborough came over to England, Monſ. de Rouillé was, therefore, ſent to Holland, with general Offers of Peace, deſiring them to propoſe what it was they inſiſted on: And he offer'd them as good a Barrier for themſelves as they could aſk. The States, contrary to their Expectation, reſolved to adhere firmly to their Confederates, and to enter into no ſeparate Treaty, but in Conjunction with their Allies. However, upon the Arrival of Monſ. de Rouillé, at Antwerp, they appointed Monſ. Buys, Penſionary of Amſterdam, and Monſ. Vanderduſſen, Penſionary of Gouda, to have a Conference with him at Moerdyke. Upon the Report of what paſſed in this Interview, their High Mightineſſes permitted this French Miniſter to come to Woerden, a Place between Leyden and Utrecht, that he might be nearer at hand, for the intended Negotiation; and then the Deputies of the States had another Conference with him, in which he made ſome looſe Propoſals, towards a general Peace, which, however, he refuſed to give in Writing. The States General being, as I have ſaid above, very cautious of making any Advances in ſo important an Affair, without the Participation of their Allies, gave immediate Notice of what had paſs'd, to the Courts of Vienna and Great Britain. Prince Eugene, who, during this Interval, was gone to Vienna, return'd, hereupon, from thence to Bruſſels, on the ſeven and twentieth of March, N. S. with full Powers from his Imperial Majeſty; and, on the eighth of April, came to the Hague, where the Duke of Marlborough, likewiſe, arrived, the next Day, from England.

The Preſident de Rouillé comes to Holland.

Conferences with him.

Pr. Eugene and Duke of Marlbro' come to the Hague.

The Overtures made by France debated:

Theſe two Princes had a long Conference with the great Penſionary, Heinſius, Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, and other Deputies of the States, where they debated the Overtures made on the Part of France, which being thought inſufficient to be the Ground of a Treaty of Peace, Orders were given for carrying on the Warlike Preparations, with all poſſible Application and Diligence, in order to open the Campaign, as ſoon as the

the Backwardneſs of the Seaſon would permit, and purſue the late Advantages, with the utmoſt Vigour. The Deputies of the States having informed Monſ. de Rouillé, *That his Overtures were not ſatisfactory*, that Miniſter ſent an Expreſs to Paris, for new Inſtructions. This put the French Court in great Uneaſineſs; for, as on the one Hand, they were reſolved not to comply with the Demand of the Confederates, in giving up the whole Monarchy of Spain; ſo, on the other Hand, the great Difficulties they laboured under, which were much increaſed by the general Scarcity of Corn, and other Proviſions, (occaſioned by the great Severity of the foregoing Winter,) laid them under a Neceſſity of buoying up the ſinking Spirits of the People, with Hopes, at leaſt, of putting a ſpeedy End to the War, by a Peace. Monſ. de Rouillé's Expreſs was, therefore, immediately ſent back, with Directions (as it appeared in the Sequel) to that Miniſter, to amuſe the Allies, with a ſeeming Compliance with all their Demands; but not to ſign any thing that ſhould be drawn up in Writing. 1709. But not found ſatisfactory.

The Grand Penſionary having, by Orders of the States, made a Report to the Duke of Marlborough, of what paſs'd at the Conference, which had been held by Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, with the French Miniſter, after the Return of his Courier from France, his Grace reſolved to return to Great Britain, to acquaint the Queen with the Progreſs of this important Negotiation. Upon the making of this Report of the Propoſals of France, to the Duke of Marlborough, his Grace is ſaid to have anſwered, *That if France had no other Offers to make, the Allies muſt go, the next Summer, to treat of a Peace, in France, with* 150,000 *Plenipotentiaries:* Tho' ſome Hiſtorians relate this very Circumſtance of Prince Eugene. The Duke, therefore, embark'd, the thirteenth of April, N. S. and arrived, three Days after, at London. During this ſecond Abſence of the Duke of Marlborough, the French Court, to gloſs over their Artifices with an Air of Sincerity, ſent the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, to Holland, thinking the Preſence of ſo great a Miniſter might have ſome Influence on the States. On his Arrival at the Hague, the Paſſport by which he came, having been ſent blank, by Monſ. Rouillé, he was there two Days before his Quality was known: After this, he paid a Viſit to the Grand Penſionary, and offered to communicate the Propoſals he had to make; but that Miniſter told him, he could not confer with him, nor ſee his Propoſals, without Leave from the States. However, their High Mightineſſes having conſented, that he, together with the Deputies who had been appointed to receive the Propoſals of Monſ. Rouillé, ſhould meet the Marquis, and hear what he had to offer, they had an Interview with him, accordingly, the next Day. The Reſult of this Conference being

The Duke of Marlboro' returns to England.

The Marquis de Torcy comes to the Hague.

1709. communicated to the States General, the Grand Penſionary had Orders to inform the French Miniſter, that they could not give him any Reſolution, till they were informed of the Sentiments of her Majeſty of Great Britain, by the Return of the Duke of Marlborough.

The Duke of Marlboro' arrives again at the Hague

His Grace, who made but a ſhort Stay in England, returned to the Hague the eighteenth of May, N.S. The firſt thing he did was to confer with Prince Eugene, who arrived there ſix Days before from Bruſſels; and had the Satisfaction, in his Conferences with the Grand Penſionary, to receive freſh Aſſurances; *That the States would never ſeparate from the general Intereſt and Scope of the grand Alliance, upon any private Conſiderations whatſoever.* With the Duke of Marlborough, went over the Lord Viſcount Townſhend, as Ambaſſadour extraordinary, and joint Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, his Grace reckoning the Load too great to bear it wholly himſelf. "The Choice (ſays Biſhop "Burnet) was well made; for, as Lord Townſhend had great "Parts, had improved theſe by Travelling, was by much the "moſt ſhining Perſon of all our young Nobility, and had, "on many Occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf very eminently; ſo "he was a Man of great Integrity, and of good Principles, in "all Reſpects free from Vice, and of an engaging Converſa-"tion." His Grace, and the Lord Townſhend, having given immediate Notice of their Arrival to the Preſident of the States for the Week, and to the Grand Penſionary, thoſe two Gentlemen went together to his Grace, to compliment him on the Part of the States, and, at the ſame time, to confer with him, which they did for about an Hour and a Half; and then they returned to the Aſſembly of the States General. The ſame Evening the Marquis de Torcy went alone to the Duke of Marlborough's Lodgings, and had a Conference of above two Hours with his Grace and the Lord Townſhend.

Lord Townſhend made Plenipotentiary.

Several Conferences held between the Miniſters on both Sides.

The nineteenth, in the Morning, the Marquis paid another Viſit to his Grace, and they both went together to Prince Eugene's Apartment, where they likewiſe conferred ſome Time. In the Evening, thoſe two Princes went to the Grand Penſionary, who acquainted them with the Reſolution of the States General, not to accept the Offers made by the French Miniſters, nor to take one Step farther, but in Concert with all the high Allies. This Determination was very ſatisfactory to the Duke and Prince Eugene, and begat ſuch an Unanimity, and good Harmony, among all the Confederate Miniſters, as entirely baffled all the ſecret Deſigns of France: Notwithſtanding the Marquis de Torcy managed his Game very artfully, and did all he could to amuſe them with half Promiſes, and faint Denials.

The twentieth, in the Morning, the Duke and Prince Eugene, together with the Lord Townſhend, returned the Viſit they had received

received from Monſ. de Torcy, where the Preſident de Rouillé, who till then had been with no other Miniſters but Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, was preſented to theſe great Generals and Miniſters. This ſame Day, the French Miniſters carried the Amuſement ſo far, as to declare, That their Maſter conſented to the Demolition of Dunkirk, that he would abandon the Pretender, and ſend him out of his Dominions; that he would acknowledge the Queen's Title, and the Succeſſion eſtabliſhed on the Houſe of Hannover; that he would renounce all Pretenſions to the Spaniſh Monarchy, and yield up ſuch Places as the Dutch demanded for their Barrier, with ſome other Articles inſiſted upon by the Britiſh Plenipotentiaries; but the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the other Miniſters of the Confederated Powers, did not look upon theſe Orders, as ſufficient from a Prince, who had made it his Practice to break thro' the moſt ſolemn Engagements, and there being, beſides theſe, other Conceſſions demanded, which they pretended they had no Power to make, they broke up the Conference, and ſent to the Penſionary to deſire Paſſes to return home; tho', as well now, as again, the twenty-ſecond, when they made the ſame Demands to be gone, they were eaſily prevailed upon to remain. 1709.

To give a particular Account of the Tranſactions of every Day, during the Courſe of this memorable Negotiation, would carry me too far: I ſhall, therefore, only obſerve farther, that on the ſeven and twentieth, in the Morning, the laſt Reſolutions of the Allies being communicated to the French Miniſters, and the Duke of Marlborough having ſent them Word, that he and Prince Eugene had determined to ſet out for Flanders, within two Days, they promiſed to return a final Anſwer, the ſame Evening, at a Conference to be held for the ſame Purpoſe. At this Conference, which was held at the Grand Penſionary's, and laſted till two the next Morning, the French, after many Diſputes, ſeemed to comply with all the Preliminary Articles inſiſted upon by the Confederates; which being ordered to be fairly drawn in Writing, and afterwards examined in a Conference held the eight and twentieth, about ten in the Morning, another Meeting was appointed in the Afternoon, in order to ſign theſe Articles. But how great was the Surprize of every one to find, that after the Imperial, Britiſh, and Dutch Plenipotentiaries had ſign'd the Articles, the French Miniſters refuſed to ſet their Hands to them, alledging, that they had no Directions to do it. However, ſtill to put a Gloſs upon the Matter, the Marquis de Torcy told the Miniſters of the Allies, that he would immediately ſet out for Paris, to lay the whole Tranſaction before the moſt Chriſtian King, and endeavour to procure his Ratification: And he promiſed Prince Eugene, that he would acquaint him with his Majeſty's Reſolution, by the fourth of next Month. With this Compliment, he took his

The Preliminaries agreed on.

But the French Miniſters refuſe to ſign them.

1709. Leave of the Confederate Miniſters, and that very Afternoon left the Hague, where the Preſident de Rouillé, who open'd the firſt Scene of this mock Negotiation, was to continue yet ſome time, in order to put off the Unravelling of the Plot, as long as poſſible.

As theſe Preliminary Articles ſhew the Senſe of the Allies, at that Time, and are a very neceſſary Illuſtration to ſome Things, of which the Reader will find an Account below, an Abſtract of them will, I believe, be acceptable.

ABSTRACT *of the* PRELIMINARIES.

1. "That a firm and laſting Peace be forthwith treated of, &c.

2. "That to this End, preliminary Articles be agreed on, &c.

3. "That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall acknowledge King "Charles III. King of Spain, &c.

4. "The Treaty ſhall be finiſhed in two Months, during which "Time Sicily ſhall be put into the Hands of King Charles, and "the Duke d'Anjou ſhall evacuate Spain, which, if he refuſes "to conſent to, the French King and the Allies ſhall enter into "proper Meaſures, that this Article may have entire Effect.

5. "That the French King ſhall, within that Time, withdraw "his Troops out of Spain, &c. and not aſſiſt the Duke d'Anjou "for the future, with Troops, Artillery, Ammunition, or "Money.

6. "The Monarchy of Spain ſhall remain entire in the Houſe "of Auſtria, and no Prince of the Houſe of France ever become "Sovereign of any Part thereof.

7. "France ſhall never poſſeſs the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, or "trade thither.

8. 9. "The French King ſhall deliver up Straſburg, Fort-"Kehl, and Briſac to the Emperour.

10. "The French King ſhall poſſeſs Alſace, in the literal Senſe of the Treaty of Munſter, except Landau, which ſhall belong "to the Emperour.

11. "He ſhall demoliſh New Briſac, Fort-Lewis, and Hun-"ningen.

12. "Rheinfels ſhall be poſſeſſed by the Landgrave of Heſſe, "till otherwiſe agreed.

13. "The Clauſe concerning Religion, in the Treaty of Ryſ-"wick, ſhall be referred to the Negotiation.

14. 15. "The French ſhall acknowledge the Queen of Great "Britain, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

16. "The French King ſhall reſtore to Great Britain what he "is poſſeſſed of in Newfoundland, and whatever either Party has "taken in the Indies ſhall be reſtored.

17. "Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſhed.

1709.

18. "The Pretender ſhall retire out of France.

19. "A Treaty of Commerce ſhall be ſettled with Great "Britain.

20. "The King of Portugal ſhall enjoy all that is ſtipulated "for him by the Allies.

21. "The French King ſhall acknowledge the King of Pruſ- "ſia, and not diſturb him in the Enjoyment of Neufchatel.

22. "The French King ſhall deliver up Furnes, Menin, "Ypres, Warneton, Commines, Werwick, Poperingen, Liſle, "Condé and Maubeuge, for the Barrier of the States.

23. "He ſhall reſtore all the Towns and Forts he has taken in "the Netherlands, with the Artillery and Stores, provided the "Catholick Religion ſhall ſtill be profeſſed there.

24. "None of the Cannon or Stores to be removed from this "Time.

25. "The States, as to their Commerce, ſhall have what was "ſtipulated at the Treaty of Ryſwick, and the Tariff of 1664 "only ſhall be in Force.

26. "The French King ſhall acknowledge the ninth Electo- "rate.

27. "The Duke of Savoy ſhall enjoy all that has been yield- "ed to him by the Emperor, and whatever has been taken "from him ſhall be reſtored.

28. "The French King ſhall make over to him Exilles, Fe- "neſtrilles and Chemont, with the Valley of Prugelas, and all "on this Side the Mountains for a Barrier

29. "The Pretenſions of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne "ſhall be referred to the general Negotiation; but the Elector "Palatine to remain in Poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate, &c. "the Garriſons of the States, &c. to remain in Huy, Liege "and Bonne, till otherwiſe agreed with the Emperour and Em- "pire.

30, 31, 32. "The farther Demands on either Side ſhall not "interrupt the Ceſſation of Arms; the other Allies being allowed "to make farther Demands at the general Congreſs.

33, 34. "The Negotiation ſhall be finiſhed in two Months, "and, in the mean time, a Ceſſation of Arms be made.

35. "Upon the Ratification of theſe Articles, the French "King ſhall evacuate Namur, Mons, Charleroy, Luxemburg, "Condé, Tournay, Maubeuge, Newport, Tournes, and Ypres, "and raze the Fortifications of Dunkirk.

36. "The French, to execute what has been ſtipulated, with "reſpect to the other Allies, within two Months after the Con- "cluſion of the Treaty.

37. "And if he executes all that is above-mentioned, and "the whole Monarchy of Spain ſhall be delivered up to "Charles III. as is ſtipulated within the limited Time, then the

1709. " Ceſſation of Arms ſhall continue till the Ratifications of the " Peace.

38. " All this ſhall ſerve as the Foundation and Baſis of the " enſuing Treaties of Peace.

39. " The Ratification of the preliminary Articles to be performed by the French King, the Queen of Great Britain, and " the States, before the 15th of June, and by the Emperour, " by the firſt of July, and what is ſtipulated in favour of each of " the Allies reſpectively, to be ſet about as ſoon as they have " ſettled the Preliminaries.

40. " The Congreſs to begin the 20th of June, at the Hague, " and to prevent Diſputes about the Ceremonial, no Ambaſſadour ſhall take upon him his Character, till the Day of the " ſigning of the Peace.

The whole Artifice of France was, at length, diſcovered, and it appeared very viſibly, that the French had no other Deſign, in all this Negotiation, but to try if they could beget an evil Underſtanding among the Allies, or, by their ſeeming great Conceſſions, for the Security of the States, to provoke the People of Holland againſt their Magiſtrates, if they ſhould carry on the War, when they had ſuch ſafe and honourable Offers made them; and they reckoned, that if a Suſpenſion of Arms could be once obtained, upon any other Terms than the reſtoring of Spain, they ſhould then get out of the War, and the Allies would be left to try, how they could conquer Spain. The Marquis de Torcy, was, however, punctual to his Word given to Prince Eugene; for, the fourth of June, being at Bruſſels, he received the following Letter, from that Miniſter.

The Marquis de Torcy's Letter to Prince Eugene.

SIR,

" ACcording to my Promiſe, that you ſhould know, the " fourth Inſtant, at the fartheſt, the King's Reſolution about the Project of Peace, concluded at the Hague, I give " myſelf the Honour to tell you, that his Majeſty, having examined the ſame, finds it impoſſible for him to accept it, and " therefore has ſent Orders to the Preſident de Rouillé to notify " the ſame to the Potentates engaged in this War. It is to be " hoped, that more favourable Terms will preſent, for the " eſtabliſhing a Peace ſo neceſſary for all Europe, and conſequently ſo much deſired by every Body. Mean time, I have " no Occaſion to be ſorry for my Journey, ſince it has procured " me the Honour of your Acquaintance, and that I know " perſonally, that your Reputation, which fills the World, is ſo " juſtly due to you, being founded on true Merit.

I am, &c.

Verſailles, June 2, 1709.

The

The Meſſenger, who brought this Letter to Prince Eugene, arrived the next Morning at the Hague, where People were in the Height of Expectation of the French King's Ratification of the Preliminaries: But, to their great Diſappointment, the Preſident de Rouillé having, the ſame Day, had a Conference at the Grand Penſionary's, with the Imperial and Britiſh Plenipotentiaries, and the Deputies of the States, he acquainted them; 1709.

Exceptions made by the K. of France to the Preliminaries.

"That the moſt Chriſtian King could not ratify ſome Articles "agreed to in the Conferences held with Monſieur de Torcy, "and concluded the eight and twentieth paſt; and in particu- "lar, excepted againſt the tenth, eleventh, eight and twen- "tieth, nine and twentieth, and ſeven and thirtieth: That as "to the tenth, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty agreed to the ſame, "as far as it concerned the Poſſeſſion of Alſace, accord ng to "the literal Senſe of the Treaty of Munſter; but inſiſted, "that Landau ſhould be reſtored him, and, as an Equivalent, "offered Old Briſac: Both which Places were yielded up to "France by the ſaid Treaty of Munſter. That the moſt "Chriſtian King could not conſent to the demoliſhing Hunnin- "gen, New Briſac, and Fort Louis; but agreed to all the "other Part of the eleventh Article. That the eight and twen- "tieth, relating to the Places yielded to the Duke of Savoy, "was entirely excepted againſt, and refer'd to a farther Diſcuſſion. "That his Majeſty, alſo, diſliked the whole nine and twen- "tieth Article, whereby the Emperour's Proceedings againſt "the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, were approved; but "would have the ſame refer'd to the Negotiations of a ge- "neral Peace; with this Proviſo, that the Upper Palatinate, "and the Dignity annexed thereto, ſhould not be confirm'd "to the Elector Palatine; and that the Intereſts of the Electors "of Cologne and Bavaria ſhould be ſettled in the Prelimina- "ries; and, in the laſt Place, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty "excepted alſo againſt the ſeven and thirtieth Article, where- "by two Months only were allowed for the delivering up of "the Spaniſh Monarchy, which Term he would have enlarg'd; "but conſented to recall his own Troops from Spain, within "that Time."

The Allies inſiſt upon them.

Theſe Difficulties, ſtarted by the King of France, having been communicated by Monſieur de Rouillé, Count Sinzendorff, the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Viſcount Townſend, and the Penſionary Heinſius, immediately held a Conference among themſelves, in which it was Reſolved, "That no Alteration "ought to be admitted in the Articles Preliminary, eſpecially "in thoſe excepted againſt by France, which were the moſt "eſſential:" And it was agreed, at the ſame time, to ſignify to Monſieur de Rouillé to depart, in four and twenty Hours.

1709. The ſixth of June, (N. S.) in the Morning, Monſieur de Rouillé, made a Viſit to the Duke of Marlborough, and propoſed another Conference, which was held that Night; but nothing material was tranſacted in it, except, that the Allies declared to Monſieur de Rouillé, "That they would not recede from "any of the Articles agreed to, and that if his Maſter did "not think fit to comply therewith, the Allies would not think "themſelves bound by the ſaid Articles, or reſtrain their Pre-"tenſions to the Contents thereof, after the fifteenth of that "Month, the Time allowed by the ſaid Articles." The French Miniſter ſaid he had no Orders to make any farther Declaration, whereupon he received a ſecond Intimation, to depart the Hague immediately. The ſame Evening, Mr. Walpole, Secretary to the Britiſh Plenipotentiaries, returned to the Hague, with the Queen of Great Britain's Ratification of the Preliminaries. The eighth, the Grand Penſionary reported Monſieur de Rouillé's Declaration to the Aſſembly of the States; upon which their High Mightineſſes conſider'd, "That the ſaid Articles were "concerted with the Marquis de Torcy, and Monſieur de Rou-"illé, put into Writing with their Aſſent, and, by the Marquis "de Torcy himſelf carried to the King of France, in order "to be ſign'd and ratified; that they were actually ſign'd on "the Part of the Emperour, Great Britain, and Holland, "and had been ratified by her Britannick Majeſty; and that "nothing ſhort of theſe Preliminaries could obtain and ſecure "the General Peace, and prevent a dangerous, expenſive, and "lingring War, in Spain:" Whereupon the neceſſary Reſolutions for the Continuance of the War, were taken, with equal Firmneſs and Wiſdom.

Reſolutions of the Allies.

Negotiations broke off.

The ſame Night, the Preſident de Rouillé, being preſs'd to declare, if he had any ſecret Orders tending to Peace, made Anſwer; "That if the Allies would content themſelves with "the fifth Article of the Preliminaries, in relation to Spain, "without inſiſting on the others relating to the delivering up of "the Spaniſh Monarchy, he thought the King, his Maſter, "would be induced to depart from the other Exceptions, about "Alſace, the Duke of Savoy, &c." But the Recovery of the Spaniſh Monarchy from the Houſe of Bourbon, being the main Scope of the War, and the only Means to reſtore and preſerve the Balance of Europe, the Miniſters of the Allies did not think fit to depart from any one of the Articles they had agreed on, to ſecure the Evacuation of Spain; and ſo, the ſame Evening, a Paſſport was ſent Monſieur de Rouillé for his ſafe Return home.

Monſ. de Rouillé returns to France.

Accordingly, on the ninth in the Morning, he ſet out from the Hague, to embark at Rotterdam, for Antwerp, from whence he continued his Journey to Paris. The ſame Morning, all the Miniſters of the High Allies being deſired to meet, in a Congreſs,

greſs, Monſieur Van Eſſen, Preſident of the ſecret Affairs, and the Grand Penſionary, communicated to them the Reſolution of the States General before-mentioned, gave them a full Account of all the Steps that had been made in the Negotiations, particularly ſince the French King had refuſed to agree to the Preliminaries; and deſired them to acquaint their Principals with theſe unfair Proceedings of France, and exhort them to join their beſt Efforts againſt an Enemy, who could never be brought to Reaſon but by Force. Count Sinzendorff took this Opportunity to tell the Deputies of the States; "That the Empire, the "Emperour, and King Charles III. would doubtleſs expreſs "their Satisfaction for the great Firmneſs and Conſtancy their "High Mightineſſes had manifeſted, in the Courſe of theſe "Negotiations." The Duke of Marlborough gave the ſame Aſſurances, on the Part of the Queen of Great Britain, as did alſo the reſt of the Miniſters, on the Part of their reſpective Maſters; and all ſignified to the Grand Penſionary, how much all the Allies were obliged to him, and ſatisfied with the Prudence and Wiſdom he had expreſs'd in the Negotiations, which, contrary to the Expectation of the Enemy, would prove a new Cement to the Grand Alliance, and an Argument to convince the Allies, that the War was to be proſecuted, till France was reduced to the Neceſſity of ſubmitting to any Terms that the Allies ſhould preſcribe. 1709.

A Conference of the Miniſters of the Allies.

Thus theſe Negotiations came ſoon to an End, without producing any ill Effect among the Allies; and it now plainly appeared, that the Eaſineſs, with which the French Miniſters yielded to the Preliminaries, was but an Artifice, to ſlacken the Zeal of the Confederates in advancing the Campaign, as the leaſt Effect it would have; but even in that their Hopes failed them, for there was no Time loſt, in preparing to take the Field. Thus were all the Artifices of France defeated by the Penetration and conſummate Widom of the Miniſters of the Allies, eſpecially of Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe Characters ſhone brighteſt in this memorable Negotiation; for they treated the Peace as they managed the War, and let the French Miniſters, as they did their Generals, rack their Brains, and diſorder their Spirits, by keeping them in a perpetual Hurry and Motion, upon this Stratagem, and t'other Device; whilſt they, with the cooleſt Temper, and moſt open Conduct, purſued their Point, and carried it by the plain Force of Virtue. This was plainly the Caſe: The French, who cunningly propos'd to diſunite the Allies, by ſetting on foot theſe Negotiations of Peace, were caught themſelves in the Preliminaries; which were ſo contrived, for the particular Satisfaction of each of the High Allies, and the common Security of them all, that they were yet more firmly united, by this very Tranſaction. There want-

Some Reflections on the Breaking off the Negotiations.

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1709. ed not, however, ſome, who, on this Occaſion, greatly blamed the Stiffneſs of the Allies, (when the King of France had given up, or, at leaſt his Miniſter inſinuated, that he would give up, every other Article) for inſiſting, that he ſhould bind himſelf to oblige King Philip (or, as he was then call'd, the Duke of d' Anjou) to reſign the whole Spaniſh Monarchy to King Charles III. which (ſay they, was probably the main, if not only Reaſon, which determined that Court, to break off theſe Negotiations; rather than ſubmit to ſo hard a Condition, when they thought they had condeſcended far enough, in Offering to withdraw all their Forces from his Service, and not to give him any Manner of Aſſiſtance, for the future. Some went ſo far as to cenſure the Duke of Marlborough, as having been the Occaſion of breaking off theſe Negotiations, in order to protract the War, for his private Ends; but how groundleſs theſe Aſperſions were, I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew more particularly in the Sequel.

The King of France's Letter, or Appeal to his People.

The Negotiations being broken off, and the French Miniſters returned to Paris; the Court of France ſent a circular Letter to all the Governours of the Provinces, to recommend to their Conſideration his Majeſty's late Conduct in the Affair of Peace. It was thought fit, in that Epiſtle, to condeſcend to a certain Appeal to the People, whether it was conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Crown, or the French Name, to ſubmit to the Preliminaries demanded by the Confederates? That Letter dwells upon the Unreaſonableneſs of the Allies, in requiring his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance in dethroning his Grandſon, and treats this Particular in Language more ſuitable to it, as it is a Topick of Oratory, than a real Circumſtance on which the Intereſts of Nations, and Reaſons of State, which affect all Europe, are concerned.

The Cloſe of this Letter or Memorial ſeems to prepare the People to expect all Events, attributing the Confidence of the Enemy, to the Goodneſs of their Troops; (*the Valour and Conduct of their Generals might have been added;*) but acknowledging, that the King's ſole Dependance was upon the Intervention of Providence.

Sometime after, was publiſhed the Tranſlation of a Letter, ſaid to have been found in the Cloſet of Monſieur Chamillard, after his Diſgrace. It was ſaid to be ſigned by two Brothers of the famous Cavalier, who led the Cevennois, and many others, among whom was the Chief of the Family of the Marquis de Guiſcard. This Tranſlation was as follows:

An Anſwer ſaid to be from ſome of his Proteſtant Subjects.

SIR,

"WE have read your Majeſty's Letter to the Governours "of your Provinces, with Inſtructions what Sentiments "to inſinuate into the Minds of your People: but as you have "always

" always acted upon the Maxim, *That we were made for you,* 1709.
" *and not you for us*, we muſt take Leave to aſſure your Ma-
" jeſty, that we are exactly of the contrary Opinion, and muſt
" deſire you to ſend for your Grandſon home, and acquaint
" him, that you now know, by Experience, abſolute Power
" is only a Vertigo in the Brain of Princes, which, for a
" Time, may quicken their Motion, and double in their diſeas'd
" Sight, the Inſtances of Power above 'em, but muſt end in
" their Fall and Deſtruction. Your Memorial ſpeaks a good
" Father of your Family, but a very ill one of your People.
" Your Majeſty is reduced to hear Truth when you are obliged
" to ſpeak it: There is no governing any but Savages by
" other Methods than their own Conſent, which you ſeem to
" acknowledge, in appealing to us for our Opinion of your
" Conduct, in treating of Peace. Had your People been al-
" ways of your Council, the King of France had never been
" reduced ſo low, as to acknowledge his Arms were fallen into
" Contempt. But ſince it is thus, we muſt aſk, how is any
" Man of France, but they of the Houſe of Bourbon, the
" better, that Philip is King of Spain? We have out-grown
" that Folly of placing our Happineſs in your Majeſty's being
" called, *The Great:* Therefore, as you and we are all alike
" Bankrupts, and undone, let us not deceive ourſelves, but
" compound with our Adverſaries, and not talk like their
" Equals. Your Majeſty muſt forgive us that we cannot wiſh
" you Succeſs, or lend you Help; for if you loſe one Battle
" more, we may have an Hand in the Peace you make; and
" doubt not but your Majeſty's Faith in Treaties will require
" the Ratification of the States of your Kingdom. So we bid
" you heartily farewel, till we have the Honour to meet you
" aſſembled in Parliament. This happy Expectation makes us
" willing to wait the Event of another Campaign, from whence
" we hope to be raiſed from the Miſery of Slaves, to the Privi-
" leges of Subjects. We are,

Your Majeſty's
Truly Faithful, and
Loyal Subjects, &c.

The great Miſery of France was, about this Time, ludicrouſly repreſented, by a Correſpondent of the Tatler's, in the following Lines, who calls himſelf, *Bread, the Staff of Life.*

To LEWIS, Le Grand.

The Miſery of France repreſented ludicrouſly.

Tho' in your Country I'm unknown,
Yet, Sir, I muſt adviſe you;
Of late ſo poor and mean you're grown,
That all the World deſpiſe you.

Here

1709.

Here Vermin eat your Majesty,
There meagre Subjects stand unfed;
What surer Signs of Poverty,
Than many Lice, and little Bread?

Then, Sir, the present Minute choose,
Our Armies are advanced;
Those Terms, you at the Hague refuse,
At Paris won't be granted.

Consider this, and Dunkirk raze,
And ANNA's Title own;
Send one Pretender out to graze,
And call the other home.

And seriously.

And the Author of the Tatler represents it himself seriously, in another Place, in the following Words: "The Kingdom of "France is (says he,) in the utmost Misery and Distraction. "The Merchants of Lions have been at Court, to remonstrate "their great Sufferings, by the Failure of the publick Credit; "but have received no other Satisfaction, than Promises of a "sudden Peace, and that their Debts will be made good by "Funds out of the Revenue; which will not answer, but in Case "of the Peace which is promis'd. In the mean time, the "Cries of the common People are loud for Want of Bread, the "Gentry have lost all Spirit and Zeal for their Country, and "the King himself seems to languish under the Anxiety of "the pressing Calamities of the Nation, and retires from hear-"ing those Grievances, which he hath not Power to redress. "Instead of Preparations for War, and the Defense of their "Country, there is nothing to be seen but evident Marks of a "general Despair. Processions, Fastings, publick Mournings, "and Humiliations are become the sole Employments of a "People, who were lately the most vain and gay of any in the "Universe.

Some Reflections thereupon.

To this State had the Arms of her Majesty, and her Allies, reduced the haughty Monarch of France. This Metamorphosis had the Conduct of our brave and wise General brought about; notwithstanding which Lewis the XIV. himself was so far from being humbled into Sincerity, that he never gave greater Proofs of his treacherous Disposition, and unalterable Resolution to deceive, than at this Treaty. Had not then our prudent General, and Plenipotentiary, who knew him at the Bottom, Reason to treat with so ungenerous an Enemy, with Sword in Hand, and make all the necessary Preparations for the Continuance of a War, which he plainly foresaw, was not design'd to

be

be ended, on the other Part, by a juſt and reaſonable Peace? Certainly, his Conduct, in this, as well as every great Event of his Life, was highly laudable; and yet the implacable Malice, or Envy of ſome People, could not ſuffer this blameleſs Behaviour of his to paſs uncenſured. He was charged with Spinning on the War, to an unneceſſary Length, for private Ends. The Author of the Tatler gives a fine Turn to theſe unreaſonable Allegations of his Enemies, and rallies them in the following well-adapted Irony. "The Approach of a Peace (ſays he) ſtrikes a "a Panick thro' our Armies, tho' that of a Battle could ne-"ver do it, and they almoſt repent of their Bravery, that "made ſuch Haſte to humble themſelves, and the French "King. The Duke of Marlborough, tho' otherwiſe the great-"eſt General of the Age, has plainly ſhewn himſelf unacquaint-"ed with the Art of Huſbanding a War. He might have "grown as old as the Duke of Alva, or Prince Waldeck, in "the Low Countries, and yet have got Reputation enough "every Year for any reaſonable Man. For the Command of "General in Flanders has been ever look'd upon as a Provi-"ſion for Life. For my part, I cannot ſee how his Grace can "anſwer it to the World, for the great Eagerneſs he has ſhewn, "to ſend 100,000 of the braveſt Fellows in Europe a Begg-"ing. 1709.

I ſhall make an End of this Chapter with a beautiful Admonition of the ſame Author, with which he concludes an expoſtulatory Letter from Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq, of Great Britain, to Lewis XIV. of France, on his refuſing to ſign the Preliminaries:

"As your Majeſty (ſays he) is a ſtrict Profeſſor of Religion, "I beſeech you to ſtop the Effuſion of Blood, by receiving the "Opportunity which preſents itſelf for the Preſervation of your "diſtreſſed People. Be no longer ſo infatuated, as to hope for "Renown from Murder and Violence: But conſider, that the "great Day will come, in which this World, and all its Glo-"ry, ſhall change in a Moment: When Nature ſhall ſicken, "and the Earth and Sea give up the Bodies committed to them, "to appear before the laſt Tribunal. Will it then, Oh King! "be an Anſwer for the Lives of Millions, who have fallen by "by the Sword? *They periſhed for my Glory.* That Day "will come on, and one like it is immediately approaching: "Injur'd Nations advance towards thy Habitation: Vengeance "has began its March, which is to be diverted only by the "Penitence of the Oppreſſor. Awake, O Monarch, from "thy Lethargy! Diſdain the Abuſes thou haſt received: Pull "down the Statue which calls thee Immortal: Be truly great: "Tear thy Purple, and put on Sackcloth.

CHAP.

1709.

CHAP. XV.

The Siege of the Town and Citadel of Tournay.

The Campaign in Flanders open'd.

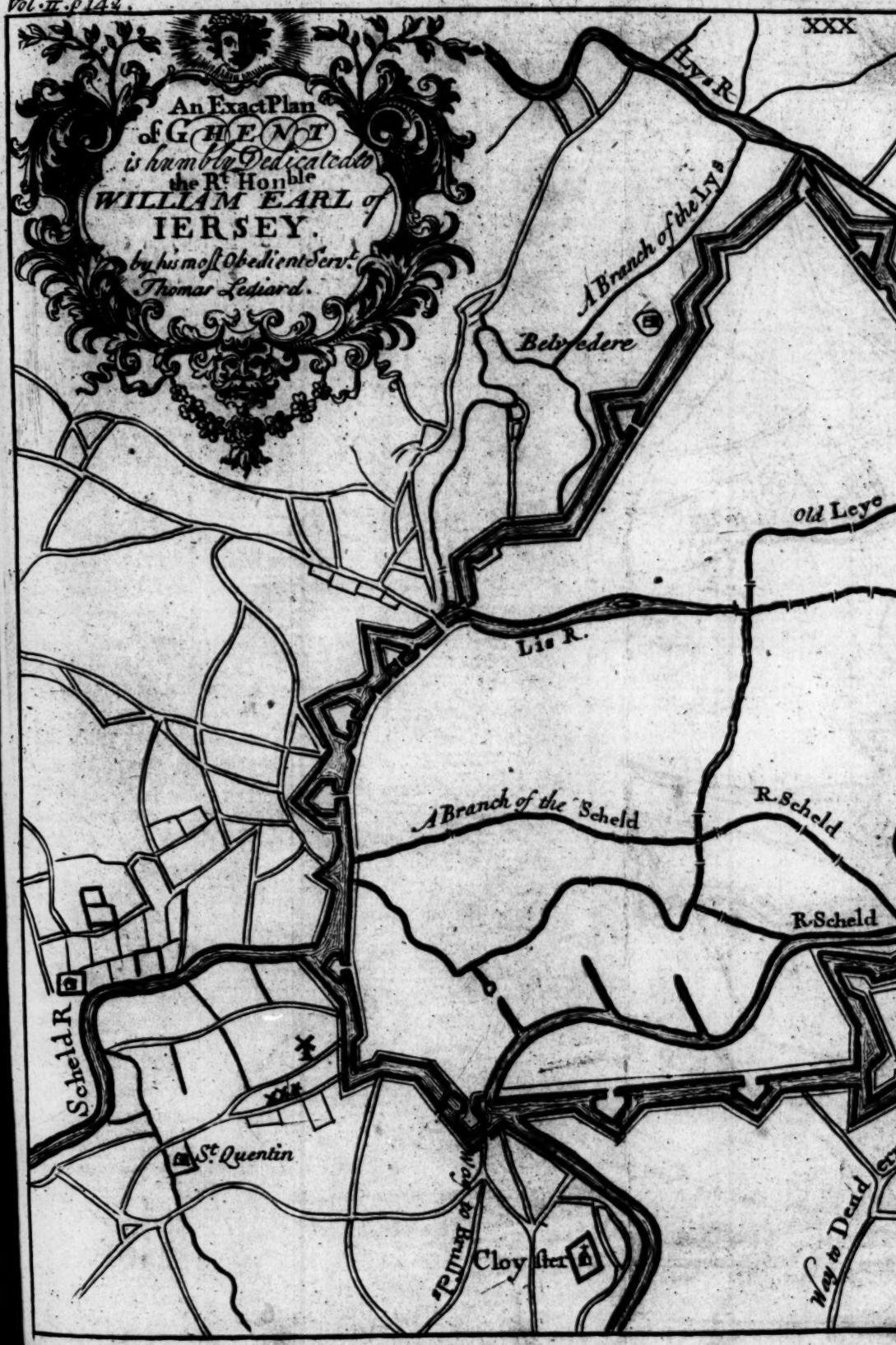
THE High Allies, being juſtly provoked by the unfair Proceedings of France, (of which I have given an Account in the foregoing Chapter,) reſolved to improve their late Advantages, by a vigorous Proſecution of the War; and tho' the Campaign in Flanders, which was the principal Scene of Action, for this Year, was opened pretty late, it did not (as ſome imagined) proceed from any Amuſement ariſing from the Negotiation of Peace, but from the extraordinary Backwardneſs of the Seaſon, after an exceſſive hard Winter, and the great Rains which enſued: For the Duke of Marlborough, truſting little to the Shews of Peace, had prepared every thing for opening the Campaign, as ſoon as he ſaw what might be expected from the Court of France, and the Seaſon would admit.

The Duke of Marlborough departs from the Hague.

In order to this, his Grace ſet out from the Hague, the ninth of June, N. S. (the very Day Monſ. de Rouillé departed,) He lay, that Night, at Rotterdam, on Board the Peregrine-Gally, in order to go by Water to Moerdyke, where he arrived the tenth, about eight in the Morning, and, about five in the Evening, came to Antwerp. His Grace deſign'd to have gone from thence to Ghent; but receiving a Meſſage from Prince Eugene, deſiring he would come to Bruſſels, he immediately continued his Journey thither, and ſtaid there the eleventh.

Both Armies go into the Field.

The Field-Deputies of the States General having, in the mean time, about the Middle of May, review'd the Dutch Forces, and given Orders for their March, the Count de Tilly, their General, arrived with thoſe from the Maeſe, on the five and twentieth of May, at Diegon, near Bruſſels, from whence they marched, the next Day, to encamp along the Dender. The other Troops of the States form'd another Camp along the Scheld, and the Imperialiſts, Pruſſians and Wirtemberghers march'd to join them. Prince Eugene being come to Bruſſels, the firſt of June, and having, as I ſaid above, received an Account, that the King of France had refuſed to approve the Preliminaries ſettled at the Hague, his Highneſs gave immediate Orders for the Troops of the Allies, to form the Grand Army, with all poſſible Speed, between Menin and Oudenarde; except the Flying Camp of twelve Battalions, and as many Squadrons, which were order'd to continue about Aloſt, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Murray, and Major-General Chanclos, to cover Bruſſels and Brabant, and to obſerve a ſmall Body of the Enemy's Troops, which were aſſembling near Charleroy. At the ſame Time, the


An Exact Plan
of GHENT
is humbly Dedicated to
the Rt Honble
WILLIAM EARL of
IERSEY.
by his most Obedient Servt
Thomas Lediard.
XXX
Lys R.
A Branch of the Lys
Belvedere
old Leye
Lis R.
A Branch of the Scheld
R. Scheld
R. Scheld
Scheld R
St. Quentin
Cloyster
Way to Dead


XXX
New Canal of Bruges
Wondelgem
Leiue R.
New Canal of Sas
Fosse Marguerite
A Scale of Fathoms
50 100 150 200 250 300
Way to Dead
to Antwerp

Enemy's Forces were on their March from all Quarters, to form their Army, in the Plains of Lens, under the Command of the Marſhal de Villars, who was to retrieve the antient Glory of the French Nation, and, as Lewis XIV. ſaid, had never been conquer'd. Their Troops were very numerous, and, at their going into the Field, made a very good Appearance; the Cavalry being very well mounted, and the great Dearth and Want of Proviſions having forced the poor labouring People of France to liſt into the Service, to find a Maintenance, by which Means their Infantry was well recruited and complete: But the French General not being over-confident in the Courage of his Men, he wiſely began to caſt up deep Intrenchments, to cover his Army. 1709.

The French entrench themſelves at Lens.

The Confederate Camp being formed at Swynearde near Ghent, under the Command of General Fagel, the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, ſet out, the 12th of June, N. S. from Bruſſels, attended by 200 Horſe, and being inform'd, that a Party of the Enemy had placed themſelves in Ambuſh, in the Wood of Likercke with a Deſign to fall upon them, they diſpatch'd an Expreſs to Aloſt, for ſome Detachments to advance from thence along the Cauſey; upon Notice whereof the Enemy retired, and the two Princes came, in Safety, to Aloſt. Their Highneſſes deſign'd to have gone directly to Oudenarde; but being informed at Aloſt, that the Roads croſs the Country were hardly practicable, occaſion'd by the continual Rains, they took the Benefit of the Cauſey, and about three, in the Afternoon, arrived at Ghent, where they were immediately complimented by the States of Flanders, and the Magiſtrates of that City, who, the next Day. invited them to a ſplendid Entertainment, at the Town-houſe.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene ſet out from Bruſſels;

And arrive at Ghent.

The ſame Morning, the Generals commanding the ſeveral Bodies, being ordered to attend their Highneſſes, a Council of War was held, in which it was unanimouſly agreed, that it was impoſſible for the Troops to make any Motion, till the Weather, which had been extremely wet, were more ſettled, without expoſing them to the greateſt Hardſhips; ſo that the March of the Garriſon of Ghent, conſiſting of the Britiſh Troops, which was order'd for the fourteenth, was defer'd for three or four Days longer. The fifteenth, their Highneſſes went to Nivelle, where the Pruſſian Troops, which were in the Service of Great Britain and Holland, paſs'd in Review before them. The Prince Royal of Pruſſia being come into the Netherlands, to make the Campaign, they dined with him; and, in the Evening, returned to Ghent; The Britiſh Troops march'd out of that Place, the ſeventeenth, and, the next Day, the two Princes went to Liſle, accompanied by the Prince of Auvergne, the Earl of [illegible], Count Dhona, and ſeveral other Officers.

The

1709. The Confederate Troops deſign'd for this Campaign, to the Number of above 110,000 Men, being aſſembled about Courtray and Menin, formed the Army, the twenty-firſt of June, N. S. near the laſt Place, and march'd, the twenty-ſecond, towards Liſle, encamping between Linſelle, Turcoin and Rabax. The next Day the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene put themſelves at the Head of the Army; the Right Wing of which, under the Command of the latter, paſs'd the Lower Deule, as did, at the ſame Time, the Left, under the Duke, the Mark, and the Army encamp'd in the Plain of Liſle, on both Sides the Upper Deule. The Duke of Marlborough took his Quarters at the Abby of Looz; Prince Eugene, in the Caſtle of Lempre, and Count Tilly, in Renzain. Orders were, hereupon, ſent to the Field Artillery, which was left at Menin, to come to this Camp; and an Expreſs was diſpatch'd, at the ſame time, to Lieutenant-General Dompré, who was left with a flying Camp near Aloſt, to join the Army with all Speed. The four and twentieth, upon Advice from Arras, that the Marſhal de Villars had poſitive Orders to venture a Battle, the Quarter-maſters General went out with 1200 Horſe, to view the Ground between the two Armies, and the Situation of the Enemy's Camp; and, upon their Return, reported, that they were advantageouſly poſted between Pont à Vendin, Cambrain, and Beauvrain; their Right and Left being covered by Moraſſes, made unpaſſable by the continual Rains; and their Front by ſome Villages, which they had fortified, and that they were perfecting their Intrenchments (which were fortified with numberleſs Outworks, double Ditches, and Batteries at convenient Diſtances) with all poſſible Application.

The Confederate Army aſſembles.

The Confederates find it impracticable to attack the French Camp.

The next Day, the Lieutenant-Generals Dopff and Cadogan were ſent out, with other Detachments, to take a narrower View of the Enemy, and, upon their Report of the almoſt inſuperable Difficulties, which muſt neceſſarily attend the Attacking the Enemy, in their advantageous and fortified Camp, the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Field-Deputies of the States, came to the Reſolution to beſiege the important Fortreſs of Tournay, the Garriſon whereof, as well as of ſeveral other neighbouring Towns, had been very much weaken'd by the Marſhal de Villars, to reinforce his Army, on the Approach of the Confederates. The Generals kept this Reſolution very private, and the more to encreaſe the Enemy's Jealouſy, the Artillery was ſent for up the Lys to Menin; and a Council of War was held the ſix and twentieth, to take, as it was induſtriouſly reported, proper Meaſures to attack the French. The Baggage was hereupon ſent to Liſle, which confirm'd the Belief in both Armies that there would be an Action.

The

The Confederate Troops, being prepoſſeſs'd with this Opinion, decamp'd, about nine in the Evening, from the Banks of the Deule, and march'd part of the Night, without Beat of Drum or Sound of Trumpet, towards the Enemy; but they were ſurpriz'd, when on a ſudden, they received Orders to turn to the Left, and arrived, the ſeven and twentieth, in the Morning, before Tournay, which was ſoon after inveſted: So that the Enemy, (who were firmly perſuaded, that the Deſign of the Allies was to attack their Lines, in order to lay Siege to Ypres, which they cover'd) having no Notice, nor ſo much as a Suſpicion of this Deſign, the Place was ill-provided to hold out a Siege, and the Marſhal de Villars very much blamed on that Account, by thoſe who envied his former Succeſſes. Thus was this great General, famous for nothing more than his Stratagems, out-done in his own Way, by the ſuperiour Judgment and Knowledge of the two Confederate Generals. Monſieur de Villars was caught in the Snare, while he was hugging himſelf in his own Security. He pleas'd himſelf with the Thoughts of having made an entire Diſcovery of the ſecret Intents of the Allies, inſomuch, that of three Attacks they made a Shew of making, he pretended to conclude two feign'd, and one only real, to oppoſe which he detach'd ſeventy-three Battalions, and order'd 100 Pieces of Cannon to be placed on the Eminences thereabouts. Nay, his Vanity and Security had got ſo much the Aſcendant over him, that a Trumpeter belonging to the Confederate Army, happening to be in his Camp, he could not forbear exerciſing his Talent of rallying, and ſent a Meſſage by him to the Confederate Generals, to acquaint them, *that he wonder'd at their Delay, and that, if his Intrenchments were in their Way, he would order them to be level'd immediately.* The Confederates made him no Anſwer, but willingly ſuffered him to lull himſelf aſleep with the Fondneſs of his own Imagination, whilſt they ſteadily purſued their Deſign, which, as I have ſaid above, ſucceeded to their Wiſhes. The Marquis de Quincy, not to allow that Monſieur de Villars was out-witted, in this Manner, pretends the Duke of Marlborough was oblig'd to undertake this Siege to ſtop the Mouths of his Troops, who murmur'd at his not attacking the French Camp, in order to beſiege Ypres, which was his real Deſign, till he found it not practicable, on account of the good Diſpoſitions made by the Marſhal.

1709. Tournay inveſted.

Monſieur de Villars caught in a Snare.

His Vanity.

The wiſe Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, in this March, is celebrated in the following fine Lines;

1709.

On the March to TOURNAY *without Beat of Drum.*

The Bruſſels POSTSCRIPT.

Verſes made on Occaſion of this March.

COULD I, with plaineſt Words, expreſs
That great Man's wonderful Addreſs,
His Penetration, and his tow'ring Thought;
It would the gazing World ſurprize,
To ſee one Man, at all Times, wiſe,
To view the Wonders, he, with Eaſe, has wrought.

Refining Schemes approach his Mind,
Like Breezes of a Southern Wind,
To temperate a ſultry glorious Day;
Whoſe Fannings, with an uſeful Pride,
Its mighty Heat doth ſoftly guide,
And having clear'd the Air, glide ſilently away.

Thus his Immenſity of Thought,
Is deeply form'd and gently wrought,
His Temper always ſoftening Life's Diſeaſe;
That Fortune, when ſhe does intend,
To rudely frown, ſhe turns his Friend,
Admires his Judgment, and applauds his Eaſe.

His great Addreſs, in this Deſign,
Does now, and will for ever ſhine,
And wants a *Waller*, but to do him Right:
The whole Amuſement was ſo ſtrong,
Like Fate he doom'd them to be wrong,
And Tournay's took by a peculiar Slight.

Thus, Madam, all Mankind behold
Your vaſt Aſcendant, not by Gold,
But by your Wiſdom, and your pious Life;
Your Aim no more than to deſtroy
That which does Europe's Eaſe annoy,
And ſuperſede a Reign of Shame and Strife.

Reflections on them.

This Poem *(ſays the Author of the Tatler)* is admirably ſuited to the Occaſion; for to write without diſcovering your Meaning, bears a juſt Reſemblance to marching without Beat of Drum. And that Circumſtance being no Ways taking Notice of,

of, in any of the Stanza's, the Author, with great Addreſs and Skill calls it a Poſtſcript: It being the Nature of a Poſtſcript, to contain ſomething very material, which was forgotten, or not clearly expreſs'd in the Letter itſelf. 1709.

An Account of the Garriſon and Place.

The Enemy not having Time to re-inforce the Garriſon of Tournay, it conſiſted, according to ſome Accounts, only of twelve weak Battalions, and four Squadrons of Dragoons; but, according to others, was as follows: Two Battalions of Bourbon; two of Vendôme; two of St. Valier; two of Vexin; one of Vivarez; one of Villemaure; one of La Faille; and one of Artagnan; beſides which, there were in the Place, twelve Troops of Pouriere's Dragoons, of thirty Men per Troop; a Hundred Invalids, Five independent Companies, and one Company of Miners; under the Command of Lieutenant-General de Surville; and Monſieur de Megrigni, as chief Engineer, was Governour of the Citadel. This Garriſon was very ſmall for ſo large a Place, which is reckoned as ſtrong as any in Flanders, and has a fine Citadel of five regular Baſtions. The Town contains ſeventeen Pariſh Churches, beſides a ſtately Cathedral; and both Town and Citadel were ſo prodigiouſly fortified, after Lewis XIV. took it, in 1677. that it was reckon'd almoſt impregnable.

The Allies take Poſſeſſion of St. Amand and Mortagne.

Upon the Confederate Army's coming up to the Town, the Prince of Naſſau, Stadtholder of Friezeland, was immediately detach'd, with 30 Squadrons and 10 Battalions, to take Poſſeſſion of St. Amand and Mortagne, two Poſts neceſſary to cover the intended Siege; which Service his Highneſs performed with Succeſs: The Garriſon of St. Amand retiring upon his Approach to Valenciennes, and that of Mortagne ſurrendring, the next Day, Priſoners of War, as ſoon as the Confederates had taken, Sword in Hand, a Redoubt that defended the Bridge of that important Poſt, which is ſituate in the Confluence of the Scarpe and the Scheld.

The Account given by the Dutch of this Action.

This is the Account given, by our Hiſtorians, of the taking of theſe two Places; but as that we find of it in the Dutch Hiſtorians is very different, I ſhall add their Relation likewiſe: The Prince of Orange (ſay they) was detach'd with fifteen Battalions, and fifty Squadrons, to take Poſſeſſion of Mortagne and St. Amand. At his Approach, the French who were in the latter, offered to ſurrender the Place, if he would allow them to retire; which the Prince thought fit to grant, as well to gain Time, as to ſave his Men. The Garriſon of Mortagne, tho' leſs numerous, depending upon their advantageous Situation, and the Facility with which they could, at any time, retire over the Scheld, were leſs tractable, and refus'd to ſurrender on any Account. The Earl of Orkney, to whom the Prince had given the Command of the Attack, found there was but one Paſſage to the

1709. Place, by a very narrow Cauſey, in the middle of which was a Draw-Bridge; He, therefore, order'd ſome Cannon to be level'd at the Bridge, but with little Succeſs. In the mean time, having found an old Boat, he made uſe of it to carry ſome Grenadiers over the Inundation, to attack the Enemy on the other Side; which they perceiving, abandon'd the Poſt, and having prepar'd every thing before-hand for a ſudden Flight, on Occaſion, paſs'd the Scheld, with ſo much Expedition, that they were ſoon out of the Reach of the Allies.

Beſides the Detachment under the Prince of Naſſau, another of the like Number of Horſe and Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General Lumley, was ſent to join General Dompré, who having march'd, the 26th, from Aloſt, had taken Poſt near Tournay, between the two Schelds, with 9 Squadrons and 5 Battalions, and the Town was inveſted by the remaining Part of the Army on each Side the Scheld. The Duke of Marlborough fix'd his Quarters at Villemeaux, poſting his Troops from Colonne as far as the Cauſey of Douay; and Prince Eugene his, from that Cauſey to Marquain, that Part of the Army being in a kind of Half Moon, on the Lower Scheld. The Governour of Tournay, not a little ſurprized to ſee the Confederate Troops in Motion, to inveſt the Town, which, as I ſaid above, was unprovided with Neceſſaries for a long Siege, rifled great Part of the Corn of the Inhabitants, and ſent out a Party to fetch in the large Cattle out of the Neighbourhood; but the latter were cut off by the Confederates, and taken Priſoners, except 9 or 10 Dragoons, who made off, and paſſing thro' Pervels, about Noon, got ſafe to Condé, and the Cattle was, by the Generals of the Allies, generouſly reſtored to the Peaſants.

Diſpoſition of the Confederate Troops.

The eight and twentieth, the Enemy open'd their Sluices at Valenciennes and Condé, which brought down ſuch a Flood of Water, that the Communication between the Troops of the Allies was cut off; that Communication was, however, laid open again the ſame Night. On the other hand, the Marſhal de Villars was, at length, ſenſible of his Miſtake, in drawing Troops out of a Place of ſo much Importance, which it was reaſonable to believe the Confederates would attempt; ſince, by that, the open Cities of Brabant would be cover'd, and a Way ſecured for future Progreſs; he was, therefore, now thoughtful, how he might repair that Fault, by throwing Re-inforcements into the Place. In order to this, he cauſed 7 or 800 Horſe, from Mons and Condé, to advance, on the nine and twentieth, to Limogies, in hopes, that they might get into Tournay, by the great Road which leads from Oudenarde to that City: But ſix Squadrons, and the ſame Number of Battalions, under the Command of Major-General Keppel, being ſent over to the Hainault Side of the Scheld, to re-inforce thoſe Poſts, and ſecure

The French miſcarry twice in their Attempt to re-inforce the Garriſon.

ſecure ſome Intervals and Paſſages, the Enemy were oblig'd to retire, without attempting any thing. The Lines of Circumvallation were begun, the thirtieth, on the Hainault Side of the Scheld; and, the ſame Night, Meſſieurs d'Acquavive and Pignatelli, with a Detachment of a 1000 Horſe and Dragoons, each carrying a Foot-Soldier behind him, advanced with a Deſign to throw themſelves into the Town; but the Lieutenant-Generals Lumley and Dompré obſerving their Approach, ſent a Detachment after them, and obliged them to retire to Condé. 1709

The firſt of July, N. S. the Prince of Naſſau, having left a 1000 Men, under the Command of a Brigadier, at St. Amand, and a Colonel with 700 Men, at St. Mortagne, returned to the Camp before Tournay, with the Earl of Orkney, General Hompeſch, and the reſt of their Troops. The third, all the Troops, appointed for the Siege, having taken their Poſts round the Town, from Cerque, above the Town, to the Caſtle of Conſtantine, below it, (at both which Places, lay Bridges of Communication over the Scheld,) the Generals made the following Diſpoſition for the Attacks of the City and Citadel. Farther Preparations for the Siege.

" There ſhall be three Attacks, one againſt the Citadel, and " one on each Side the River, againſt the Town: Of which the " principal ſhall be commanded by General Lottum, with Meſſ. " Withers, Fing, and Heyden, Lieutenant-Generals, and Sir " William Temple, Meſſ. Denhoff, and Vegelin, Major-Generals, againſt the Citadel, on the Side of the Gate of Valen- " ciennes; the ſecond by General Fagel, with Meſſ. Dedem, Oxenſtiern, and Spar, Lieutenant-Generals, and Meſſ. Hamilton, " Waſſanaer, and Keppel, Major-Generals, againſt the Gate of " Marville; and the third by General Schulenburg, with the " Duke of Argile, Meſſ. Wackerbaert, and Weeck, Lieutenant-" Generals, and Meſſ. Hohndorff, d'Albergue, and Naſſau-" Woudenburg, Major-Generals, againſt the Horn-work of the " Gate of the Seven Fountains; with four Brigadiers at each " Attack. Diſpoſitions made for the Attack of the Town and Citadel of Tournay.

" Sixty Battalions are appointed for the Trenches.

The Lines of Circumvallation were begun, the fourth of July, on the left Side of the Scheld, towards Menin and Liſle; and the Troops in the mean time, prepared great Numbers of Faſcines and Gabions, to be made uſe of in the Approaches. The two Armies made a ſmall Motion, the ſame Day, that commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, extending its Right to the Brook of Eſplechin, and the Left to Eſplain; and that by Prince Eugene, encamping with the Right at Luchin, and the Left at Eſplechin, where the two Armies might join, in caſe of Neceſſity. The ſame Afternoon, Advice came, that the Marſhal de Villars had detach'd the Count d'Artagnan, Lieutenant-General, with ſixteen Battalions, four Squadrons of Horſe, and Warneton taken by the French.

1709. nine of Dragoons, beſides 2000 Men commanded out of Ypres, to attack Warneton, where the Allies had left a Garriſon of 700 Men, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel and a Major. Upon this Information, Lieutenant-General Wilke was immediately ordered to march to their Relief, with 30 Squadrons of Horſe, and 2500 Grenadiers: But before he could come up to them, the French had made themſelves Maſters of that Fort, which was not fortified, and had taken the ſmall Garriſon Priſoners of War. They attempted, likewiſe, to take Poſſeſſion of Commines and Fort Rouge, in the former of which was a Major, with 150 Men, and, in the latter, a Captain, with 50. They were attacked twice, with great Vigour; but defended themſelves ſo bravely, as gave Time to the Confederate Troops to come to their Relief; upon which the Enemy not only retired, but abandoned Warneton likewiſe. The Marquis de Quincy pretends the Allies had 1600 Men in Warneton, and that the Loſs of that Place coſt them above 1200 (about double the Number that were in it;) but takes no Notice of the French having been obliged to abandon it again.

But they abandon it again.

The ſixth, the Lines of Circumvallation were perfected; and ten Squadrons, with ſix Battalions, were ſent to Deullement, to relieve the Detachment order'd out, upon the firſt Notice of the Enemy's Approach towards Warneton, and to obſerve their Motions on that Side. The ſame Evening, Monſ. de Saiſan, a Lieutenant-Colonel, was taken under the Glacis of the Town, endeavouring to get into it, and was carried to the Duke of Marlborough's Quarters. The ſeventh, between ten and eleven at Night, the Trenches were open'd, at three ſeveral Attacks, and carried on with ſuch Succeſs, and ſo little Loſs, that the Allies had not above thirty Men killed, and about the ſame Number wounded. The eighth, Advice was brought to the Camp, that the Chevalier de Luxemburg was encamp'd at Creſpin, near St. Guiſlain, with a Detachment from the Marſhal de Villars's Army, where he expected to be join'd by the French Troops, which were coming from Alſace, in order, after their Conjunction, to make ſome Diverſion in Brabant. To prevent any Surprize, it was thought proper, to lay the Avenues to the Anderlecht-gate of Bruſſels under Water, by means of the Sluices; and ſeveral other Meaſures were taken to fruſtrate any Deſign the Enemy might have on that Side. The ninth, Advice came from Lieutenant-General Dopf, that the Scheld about Oudenarde, being cleared of ſome Boats ſunk, and other Stoppages made in it, by the French, the foregoing Summer, thirty Veſſels, with the heavy Artillery, paſs'd the Day before, and the reſt would follow that Night. The tenth, the Boats laden with the Artillery and Ammunition arrived, and great Numbers of Men were employ'd to bring the Cannon to the Batteries. The ſame Day, the Beſieged made a Sally,

The Trenches open'd before Tournay.

Sally, with 500 Men; and the twelfth at Night, another, by the Gate of Valenciennes; but were unſucceſsful in both. The thirteenth and fourteenth the Batteries began to play, at all the three Attacks: But, the thirteenth, an unlucky Accident happen'd at the Place where the Bombs were filling; for one, taking Fire, blew up about fifty more, kill'd four Fire-workers, and about twenty other Perſons; but the Magazines of Powder, which were very near, happily eſcaped. 1704. An unlucky Accident.

The fifteenth, the Beſiegers took an Intrenchment or Line, which the Enemy had thrown up to cover their Sluices. and the Flank between the Citadel and the Scheld. They immediately caſt up a Line parallel to it, and made a Lodgment thereon, as they did another, the ſame Night, on the Saillant Angle of the Hornwork, on the Left of General Schulemberg's Attack. The ſixteenth, they took another Intrenchment, and, in the Night between that and the ſeventeenth, made a Lodgment upon the Saillant Angle of the Ravelin, on the Right, at General Fagel's Attack, between the Gate of Marville, and the Upper Scheld; and, likewiſe, lodg'd themſelves on both Sides of the Saillant Angle of that Work. Continuation of the Siege.

The 18th, at Night, the Allies caſt up a Parallel of eighty Paces, at the Attack of Count Lottum, towards the Gate of Valenciennes, and the Miners continued Sapping in nine different Places, to diſcover the Enemy's Mines. The 19th, they carried on the Approaches, and intended to have puſh'd them as far as the Gate before-mentioned: But, as they came out of the Parallel, they found themſelves on the Wall of the old Counterſcarp, which could not be pierced thro' till the twentieth in the Morning. However, they extended their Parallel on the Left, above ſeventy Paces, continued the Saps in ten different Places, and made a briſk Fire from the great Battery, to enlarge the Breach in the Wall of the Town, between the Citadel and the Scheld. The 21ſt, early in the Morning, Lieutenant-General Withers, being in the Trenches, received a Contuſion, with a ſmall Shot in his Breaſt, which however did him very little Harm. That Night the Beſiegers advanced their Sapping but ſix and twenty Paces towards the Gate of Valenciennes, the Enemy having made three vigorous Sallies; which coſt the Allies, beſides two Subaltern Officers, and about thirty private Men, killed, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Captain, five Subalterns, and about fifty common Soldiers wounded.

The Ditch of the Place, on the Side of General Fagel's Attack, being a Branch of the Scheld, and therefore not eaſily to be paſs'd, and the Ground full of Stones and very difficult, the Generals reſolved to carry on that Attack no farther than to favour that of Count Lottum. However, they perfected the Works on that Side, and on the 19th in the Night, extended

1709. their Lodgments from the Angle of the Counterſcarp of the Ravelin, to the Place of Arms, on the Left of the Ravelin. They alſo drew up a Line from the Glacis of the Counterſcarp to the firſt Parallel, to cover a Battery of 12 Pieces of Cannon, deſign'd to enlarge the Breach at the Attack of Count Lottum, and into the Cover'd Way, on the ſame Side, from the Scheld to the Citadel; and the Night between the 21ſt and 22d, they made themſelves Maſters of the whole Counterſcarp, at the Attack of General Fagel, and then began to fire from the Battery before-mentioned.

The Attack of General Schulemburg was likewiſe, by this time very forward; for beſides the two Batteries erected, the 18th, on the Counterſcarp, they prepared another, which began the 21ſt with ſo good Succeſs, that, the next Day, the Breaches in the Hornwork, the Ravelin, and the Wall of the Town, were almoſt in a Condition to be mounted; and, at the ſame time, the Saps were carried on to the Wall of the Ditch.

Motions of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlboro's Armies.

The twentieth, Prince Eugene went from the Army of Obſervation, which was encamp'd at Villemeaux, to St. Amand, to view the Fortifications which were making, to put that Place in a Poſture of Defenſe, againſt any ſudden Attempt. As ſoon as his Highneſs was returned to the Camp, a Detachment of 2000 Men was ſent to take Poſſeſſion of Marchiennes on the Scarpe, between St. Amand and Douay, where they were ordered to intrench themſelves, to facilitate the farther Deſigns of the Generals, after the taking of Tournay; and the Duke of Marlborough ordered a Fort to be built at Pont à Trefin, for the Security of that Poſt. The Enemy, at the ſame time, had above 20,000 Pioneers at Work, on their new Lines, from Douay to Homage, on the other Side of the Scarpe, near Marchiennes, and from thence to the Scheld near Condé; and their Army was diſpos'd in the following Manner: Their Cavalry continued in their ſeveral Camps, as I have ſaid above: And their Infantry was encamp'd thus; ſix and twenty Battalions from Douay, along the Canal of Courrieres; two and twenty Battalions from Courrieres to the Moraſs of Winge, on the ſaid Canal; ſixty two Battalions from thence to the Moraſs of Cambrin, along the Intrenchment; beſides twelve other Battalions, which made a ſecond Line, at Annequin, behind the former. They had, beſides, four and twenty Battalions, and twelve Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons, along the Lys, under the Command of Monſ. d'Artagnan, and another Body under Monſ. de Coigni, encamp'd by Platoons from Douay to Valenciennes, and the Troops under the Chevalier de Luxemburg, between Quiverain and Criſpin, near Condé.

Diſpoſition of the Enemy's Army.

The French take the Poſt of Haſnon.

The twenty-third, a ſtrong Detachment of the Enemy's Army attack'd the Poſt of Haſnon, near St. Amand, on the Scarpe, in which Monſ. Damnitz, a Pruſſian Captain, command-

ed

ed, with 120 Men. He defended that Poſt bravely, for a conſiderable Time; but having loſt thirty of his Men, and the Number of the Enemy encreaſing upon him, he was oblig'd, at length, to quit it, and retired with the reſt of his Men to St. Amand. The French paid dear for this Poſt, having had a great Number of their Men, and with them Colonel Albergotti, kill'd in the Attack. 1708.

Motions of the Marſhal de Villars;

The Marquis d'Imecourt having join'd the Marſhal de Villars, with a Detachment of fourteen Battalions, and two and twenty Squadrons from Germany, the French Army made a ſmall Motion, on the four and twentieth, and encamp'd near Anchin, where the Marſhal took his Quarters between Douay and Valenciennes, with the Scarpe before, and the Scheld behind him, leaving a flying Camp near Lens, under the Command of Monſ. d'Artagnan, for the Security of his Intrenchments there, and at La Baſſée; for which Purpoſe, likewiſe, the Militia of Picardy, and the Boulonnois were order'd to march that Way; and the Marſhal, having ſent his heavy Baggage to Douay, gave out, that he was reſolved to relieve Tournay. The five and twentieth, Monſ de Villars took his Quarters at Denain, near Valenciennes: But notwithſtanding theſe Motions, the Confederate Generals did not think it neceſſary to make any Alteration in their Camp, contenting themſelves only to re-inforce the Garriſon of St. Amand with 400 Men, and to place a Brigade between that Poſt, and the Village of St. Maur. Several French Officers, who had their Regiments and Companies in the Town, endeavouring, at ſeveral times, to get in diſguiſed, were taken Priſoners.

Not regarded by the Confederates.

The Siege of Tournay carried on.

To return to the Siege. Thoſe in Tournay, having found Means, by the Help of their Sluices, to let a great Quantity of Water into the Ditch of the Town, which hinder'd the Beſiegers from giving the Aſſault ſo ſoon as they intended, the Pioneers, were, in the mean time, at Work, on bringing into a narrower Compaſs the Lines of Circumvallation, on the Side of the Citadel, to cover the Troops to be employ'd on that Attack, after the taking of the Town. The 26th, the three Batteries were order'd to fire their Cannon, Mortars, and Hawbitzers, which continued with great Fury, from three in the Afternoon, till the Riſing of the Moon, at which time 13 Men, detach'd out of each Battalion, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Withers, made an Attack on a Ravelin, that covers the Gate of Valenciennes, and on the Cover'd Way, between that Gate and the Citadel. This was carried on with ſo great Bravery, that, notwithſtanding the vigorous Reſiſtance of the Enemy, the Beſiegers lodg'd themſelves in the Cover'd Way, that leads from the Gate of Valenciennes to the Scheld, and extended themſelves from that River to the next Baſtion, and along the Ravelin that

1709. covers that Gate: But loſt in this Attack about 150 Men, and, amongſt others, 3 chief Engineers, and 4 Captains. During this Action, at Count Lottum's Attack, they who were employ'd at that of General Schulemburg's filled the Ditch of the Hornwork three Faſcines broad, with the Loſs of two Engineers and ſeveral common Soldiers, and the Magazine of that Battery blew up, by the Enemy's Fire.

Notwithſtanding this Diſaſter, the 27th, in the Evening, the Beſiegers attack'd the Hornwork, on the Left of General Schulemburg's Attack, and the detach'd Battalion on the Right of that Hornwork, both which they carried, with very little Oppoſition: They made, however, a Sally upon the Men, who were lodging themſelves on the Baſtion; but the Duke of Argile, who commanded this Attack, and received a ſlight Wound, bringing freſh Succours to them, repulſed the Enemy with conſiderable Loſs; and the Lodgment was finiſhed. The 28th, in the Morning, the Beſieged made another Sally upon the ſame Baſtion, but with no better Succeſs, being vigorouſly repulſed, and driven into the Town. Hereupon the Beſiegers made the neceſſary Preparations for a general Storm; but were prevented by the Beſieged, who, about Six o'Clock in the Evening, hung out white Colours, at the three Attacks, beat the Chamade, and deſired to capitulate for the Town; which was granted, upon Condition, that the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene would conſent to it. Their Highneſſes having conferred with the Deputies of the States, it was agreed to grant the Garriſon a Capitulation, whereupon Hoſtages were exchang'd, and the Enemy having ſent out Brigadier du Metz to the Duke of Marlborough, and Brigadier Diverny to Prince Eugene, Brigadier Primroſe was ſent from Count Lottum's Attack, and Brigadier Sabine from Schulemburg's in their Room. After ſome Debates, an honourable Capitulation, conſiſting of twenty-two Articles, propoſed by the Garriſon, and four added by the Beſiegers (being much the ſame as thoſe of Liſle) was agreed upon between Nine and Ten in the Evening, and ſigned by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, on the Part of the Allies, and by Lieutenant-General de Surville, on the Part of the Garriſon. Thus after twenty one Days of open Trenches, the victorious Arms of the Allies carried a Place, which the French thought impregnable: as appears by the following lofty Inſcription, which they had cauſed to be engraven on one of the Half-Moons.

The Town of Tournay capitulates.

The Town ſurrender'd.

A vain Inſcription, put by the French on one of their Half-moons

LUDOVICUS DECIMUS QUARTUS
INCERTUM BELLO AN PACE MAJOR.
QUIBUS COPIIS, CONSILIIS, ANIMO CELERITATE, FORTUNA,

ANNO,





BRITISH
17 AP 66
MUSEUM






ANNA · D:G · MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REGINA ·


TORNACO · EXPVGNATO
MDCCIX ·


NE PERIAT PERDIT


SOLVTA CATENIS INSVRGIT
TORNACVM CAP
TVM MDCCIX

B. Col. Sculp.

1709.

ANNO, M. DC. LXVII. NERVIORUM URBEM
QUATRIDUO CEPERAT,
IISDEM, NEUNQUAM POSTEA CAPERETUR,
INTER CETERA MUNIMENTA, HOC
QUOQUE
DIEBUS VIX OCTO
AB AREA ET FUNDAMENTIS
IPSE INSTANS OPERI,
VICTRICIBUS MILITUM MANIBUS
EXTRUXIT, ANNO DOMINI. M. DC. LXXI.

Which may be thus rendered in Engliſh.

LEWIS *the* FOURTEENTH,
Who whether he be greater in Peace or War is uncertain:
With the ſame Power, Conduct, Courage, Activity, and Fortune,
With which he took the Town of TOURNAY, *in* 4 *Days,*
in the Year 1667.
Has, that it may never be taken, for the future,
Amongſt other Works, erected this, in eight Days,
From the Ground, and its Foundations,
By the victorious Hands of his brave Soldiers,
Animated by his Preſence,
In the Year of our LORD, 1671.

Upon the Surrender of this important Place, the following Medals were ſtruck.

I.

Medals ſtruck on the Surrender of Tournay.

On the Face, the Queen's Buſto, with the uſual Inſcription.

On the Reverſe, BRITANNIA, leaning with her Right Arm on her Shield, ſupported by a Trophy of Artillery, and holding in her Left Hand her Spear, adorned with a Mural Crown, and a Town at a Diſtance, with this Legend, TORNATO EXPUGNATO. That is, *Tournay taken.*

In the Exergue, is only the Date of the Year, M.DCC.IX.

II.

On the Face, a Ship in a Storm, with French Colours, having loſt her Main-maſt, and throwing her Goods over Board, to ſave her from ſinking, and among others, a Bale, with the Name of *Tournay* upon it; with the Inſcription:

NE PEREAT, PERDIT.
Rather this Loſs, than total Ruin.

On

1704. On the Reverſe, the City beſieged, with the Batteries of the Allies; with the following Words, applicable to the Bombs:

SOLUTA CATENIS INSURGIT.

Being freed from her Chains, ſhe riſes.

But alluding to the State of Tournay, as being freed from the Bondage of France:

And, in the Exergue;

TORNACUM CAPTUM, 1709.

Tournay taken, in 1709.

Loſs of the Allies at the Siege of the Town.

During this Siege, the Allies had only 3210 Men killed and wounded, viz. 849, at Count Lottum's Attack, 1300 at General Schulemburg's Attack; and 1055 at General Fagel's. An inconſiderable Number for ſo important a Town, of which, according to the Capitulation, the French ſurrendered one Gate the 30th of July, N. S. The next Day, the Marquis de Surville was entertain'd at Dinner by Prince Eugene; and, in the Afternoon, retir'd into the Citadel, which his Garriſon had already entered, to the Number of about 4000 Men. But a great Number of them concealed themſelves in the Town, and two Captains, four Lieutenants, with about 150 Men came to the Duke of Marlborough's Camp. At the ſame time, the Enemy's Sick and Wounded, to the Number of 800, were conducted to Douay; and the Earl of Albemarle, who was appointed Governour of Tournay, took Poſſeſſion of the Town, with 12 Battalions.

Siege of the Citadel of Tournay.

Things being thus ſettled, as ſoon as the Enemy had wholly evacuated the Place, the Allies began to make the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for the Reduction of the Citadel, which was counted one of the ſtrongeſt in Europe; not only fortified with the utmoſt Exactneſs, and the Works well fenced with Stone, but all the Ground was wrought into Mines; ſo that the Reſiſtance of the Garriſon was not ſo much apprehended, as the Miſchief they might do by blowing up their Mines. Two Attacks were formed, the one under the Command of Count Lottum, and the other under General Schulemburg. They had under them Lieutenant Generals Dedem, Oxenſtiern, Spar, Vink, Withers, Wackerbaert, Heyden, and the Duke of Argile; the Major Generals Denhoff, Hamilton, Waſſenaer, Keppel, Vegelin, Woudenburg, Temple, Dalberge and Hohendorff. The Brigadiers Gouvain, Grumkau, Bork, Primroſe, Sabine, Sturler, Chambrier, Malsburgh, Berckhoffer, and Welderen. The Battalions employed

employed in that Service were, 1 Imperialiſts, 4 Britiſh, viz. Webb, North and Gray, How, and Godfrey, 2 Daniſh, 3 Pruſſians, 1 Saxon, 3 Lunenburghers, 1 of Wirtemberg, 2 Heſſians, 2 Munſterians, and 10 Dutch, including the Garriſon. The French began the firſt Act of Hoſtility: For, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, they fired, with Cannon and ſmall Shot, upon Count Lottum's Trenches and Batteries, from which latter they were immediately anſwered, and the Fire continued, very hot, on both Sides the whole Night. The next Day, Auguſt 2, N. S. Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Field-Deputies of the States were entertained at Dinner, by the Earl of Albemarle, in Tournay; about which time the Batteries, which had diſcontinued firing, for ſome time, began to play again, on both Sides. The ſame Day, the Troops appointed for the Siege of the Citadel, took the Poſt, aſſigned them, within the new Lines of Circumvallation, and carried on the Attack, with very good Succeſs. The 3d of Auguſt, a Bomb from the Batteries of the Allies blew up one of the Enemy's Magazines; and the Night between the fourth and fifth, the Trenches were carried on to the Palliſadoes of the Saillant Angle of the Counterſcarp of the Queen's Baſtion. The fifth in the Afternoon, the Enemy made a Sally upon the Trenches, but were immediately beaten back again. 1708.

In the mean time, the Marquis de Surville, either finding himſelf not in a Condition to hold out long, or, as ſome pretend, that he might have an Opportunity of ſending an Officer of Truſt to the French Court, for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Deciſion of a Difference between him and Monſieur de Meſigny, who challeng'd the chief Command in the Citadel, deſired the Confederate Generals to appoint a Perſon, on their Part, to treat with another he ſhould name, about the Surrender of the Citadel; which being conſented to, the Princes of Savoy and Marlborough named the Sieur de Lalo, Brigadier in the Britiſh Troops, who having met with the Marquis de Ravignan, a Major-General, appointed by the Marquis de Surville, certain Articles were agreed upon.

Account given by the Dutch of this Tranſaction.

The Dutch Hiſtorians give us an Account of this Tranſaction, ſomething different from that of Ours: They ſay, the Deſign was firſt form'd at the Court of France merely to amuſe the Allies, and delay the Siege; That Monſieur Ravignan was ſent from Paris for that End; and that, coming to the Confederate-Camp, he gave the Generals Hopes of the Citadel being ſurrender'd, on certain Conditions, and, thereupon, obtained Leave to go into the Citadel, to confer with Monſieur de Surville about it; after which, deſiring a proper Perſon might be appointed, to treat with him, Monſieur de Lalo was named, as I have ſaid above. The Marquis de Quincy pretends, that the

1709. the Allies made the firſt Propoſals, and that, thereupon, Monſieur de Ravignan was allowed to go out of the Citadel to the French Army, and from thence to Court.

Motions of the Confederate Armies.

The Agreement being ſigned, the Marquis de Ravignan was immediately ſent with it, to the Court of France, for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Ratification; but that no Time might be loſt, by this Negotiation, the Trenches were carried on, with the uſual Diligence. General Fagel, on the other hand, having cauſed the Lines of Circumvallation, before the Town of Tournay, to be levell'd, paſs'd the Scheld, and joined the two Armies, which, on the ſixth of Auguſt, march'd to the Camp of Orchies, as well to be nearer the Enemy, to obſerve their Motions, as for the Conveniency of Forage. The Army commanded by the Duke of Marlborough extended from the Right, near Watines, to the Left, at Rumegies, near the Brook Lannon; and that under Prince Eugene had its Right, at Pont à Marque, and its Left at Watines. The Duke took his Quarters at an Auguſtin Nunnery, called Theomoulin; Prince Eugene his, at a Monaſtery, under the Walls of Orchies; and the Field-Deputies of the States theirs, in that Town; which is ſituate three Leagues from Tournay, the ſame from Douay, ſix from Valenciennes, and five from Liſle. The Marſhal de Villars continued all this while encamped behind the Scarpe, with his Forces, who, having finiſhed their Lines, and planted their Cannon upon them, no ſooner heard of the Motion of the Confederate Army, which put them under terrible Apprehenſions of being attacked, than they ſet about to raiſe new Lines, within thoſe which they had before erected. Monſieur de Villarias having, at the ſame time, given Orders, to the Chevalier de Luxemburg, who commanded a ſeparate Body, between Mons and Valenciennes, to rejoin the Army.

The French under Apprehenſions of being attack'd.

On the 8th of Auguſt, N. S. the Day agreed on for the Return of the Marquis de Ravignan, the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, went in the Morning, to Tournay, in Expectation of the Approbation of the French King's Agreement, lately concluded: But, on this Occaſion, the French gave a freſh Inſtance of their Inſincerity, and afforded juſt Ground to ſuſpect, that their Propoſals for delivering the Citadel of Tournay were but an Artifice, to gain Time, and if poſſible to amuſe the Allies. For Monſieur de Ravignan being come back, according to Promiſe, about five o'Clock that Afternoon, reported; "That the "King, his Maſter, would not ratify the ſaid Agreement, un- "leſs the Ceſſation of Arms, mention'd in the ſame, were ex- "tended, likewiſe, to all the Operations of War, in the Ne- "therlands, till the 5th of September, N. S." which he very well knew would never be conſented to, and which the Confederate Generals, and the Deputies of the States, accordingly reject-

The K. of France refuſes to ratify the Agreement for the Surrender of the Citadel of Tournay.

rejected with Diſdain. Monſieur de Ravignan went, here- 1709.
upon, into the Citadel, the Siege whereof was carried on with all poſſible Vigour, notwithſtanding the great Difficulties the Allies met with, chiefly from the vaſt Number of the Mines, which the Enemy ſprung, and which the Beſiegers could hear them working upon, under their Feet, at almoſt every Step they advanced.

The Siege carried on.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene being returned from Tournay to the Army, the 9th of Auguſt, in the Morning, Lieutenant-General Cadogan was immediately detach'd, with 2000 Grenadiers, to diſlodge the Enemy from the Abby of Marchiennes, on this Side the Scarpe, in which they had poſted 600 Men; and which he found ſo well fortify'd, by a Ditch full of Water, and palliſado'd, that he deſired a further Re-inforcement: Upon this 1000 Foot, with eight Pieces of Cannon, were ordered to join him; but the Garriſon, which the Enemy had re-inforced, with 300 Men, making a Shew of defending themſelves vigorouſly, the Confederate Generals did not think it proper to run the Hazard of loſing a great Number of Men, for the gaining ſo inconſiderable a Poſt: and thereupon Orders were ſent for the Troops to withdraw, and return to their former Poſts.

The French maintain the Poſt of Marchiennes.

The ſame Day, a Detachment of 200 Huſſars, and 100 Dragoons, being ſent out to get Intelligence of the Enemy, they encounter'd 400 Horſe, and 100 Grenadiers, routed them, and brought in a Major, 13 other Officers, and 120 Men, Priſoners, beſides a Booty of one hundred Horſes. On the 10th another Party of 120 Huſſars, under the Command of the Imperial Colonel Deſoſſy, met a Party of 100 Horſe, of the Enemy, whom he charged, killed moſt of them, and purſu'd the reſt to the very Gates of Valenciennes. The ſame Day, another ſmall Party of Huſſars cut in Pieces the greateſt Part of 60 of the Enemies Foot, and made the reſt Priſoners. The 12th, in the Morning, the Princes of Savoy and Marlborough, went to view the Abby of Fiennes, near the Scarpe, between Douay and Marchiennes; and in their Return, their Convoy beat two of the Enemies Parties, and brought in both the Partiſans, and ſeveral of the Men, Priſoners. The 14th, their Highneſſes went to Tournay, din'd with the Deputies of the States-General, and, in the Afternoon, went into the Trenches, at General Schulemburgh's Attack; the next Morning, they viſited thoſe of Count Lottum, return'd the 19th to the Camp, and the 20th, began the Review of the Army. On the 26th, Monſ. de Sudendunck, Major of Prince Menzikoff's Regiment, arriv'd at the Confederate Camp from Muſcovy, with Letters of the 20th of July, N. S. from that Prince to the Duke of Marl-

1709. Marlborough, notifying to his Grace the Victory gained by the Czar over the Swedes at Pultowa, the 8th of that Month.

The Siege of the Citadel of Tournay carried on.

The Siege of the Citadel of Tournay was, in the mean time, carried on, with all the Succeſs which could be expected, from the cautious and ſlow Method of Sapping. And never were ſo many Inſtances of little ſubterraneous Skirmiſhes, as at this Siege, which was puſh'd with as much Vigour, and as various Succeſs, under Ground as above. Nothing was more common than for Miners to meet under Ground, and to engage with their Shovels and Pick-axes, and ſometimes with Sword and Piſtols. Not to deſcend to many tedious Particulars, on the 20th of Auguſt, N. S. the Allies diſcovered, at the Attack of General Schulemburg, a Mine that was directly under a Battery of Mortars, and took out the Powder and 18 Mortars lodg'd therein. But about three in the Afternoon, the Beſieged ſprung a Mine, between the Trenches, and the Caponniere they had in the Ditch, with ſuch an Effect, that Part of the Wall from the Town to the Citadel, two Branches of the Trenches, a Parallel, two Saps, and two of the Beſiegers Mines, were ruin'd, and a Captain, two Enſigns, and 19 Soldiers kill'd. At the ſame time, they ſprung another Mine, at the Attack of Count Lottum, but without doing the leaſt Damage. The 22d, the Miners of the Allies diſcovered the Branch of another Mine, and as they were buſy in finding out the Mine itſelf, they heard the Enemy working on a great Gallery; whereupon a Lieutenant, and ſixteen Grenadiers were order'd to diſlodge them, but the Lieutenant being kill'd, at the firſt Onſet, his Men were diſheartened and retired. Another Officer, with a freſh Detachment, was immediately commanded to execute that Order; but the Enemy throwing a great many Grenadoes, and making a terrible Smoke, the Beſiegers were forced to retire, to prevent being ſuffocated. The 23d, in the Afternoon, the Miners, ſupported by a Lieutenant, and 12 Grenadiers, were at Work to pierce through a Traverſe, croſs the Gallery they had diſcovered; but could not proceed therein, becauſe the Enemy threw in a great Quantity of Straw, Hemp, and Powder, and made ſuch a Smoke, that the ſaid Lieutenant and eight Grenadiers, were ſuffocated therewith. The ſame Day, the French ſprung a large Mine, at the Attack of Count Lottum; but the Men being timely withdrawn from that Place, except four Centinels, one of the latter only was blown up. The Opening made by this Mine was ſixty Paces long, and twenty Foot deep; and had it not been diſcovered in Time, a whole Regiment of Hannoverians would have been buried under the Ruins of it.

"The Manner of Fighting in this Siege (ſays the Author of "the Tatler) diſcovered a Gallantry in our Men, unknown to "former

" former Ages; their Meeting with adverſe Parties under " Ground, where every Step was taken with Apprehenſions " of being blown up with Mines below them, or cruſhed by " the Fall of the Earth above them, and all this acted in " Darkneſs, has ſomething in it more terrible than ever is " met with in any other Part of a Soldier's Duty: However " this was performed with great Chearfulneſs. 1709.

Nothing worth particular Notice happened till the 26th, when the Enemy blew up a Mine, which killed above 400 of the Beſiegers, who, notwithſtanding that Loſs, and the prodigious Fire of the Beſieged, lodged themſelves, that Night, near the Palliſadoes, at the Attack of General Schulemburg; and their Miners carried on their Saps, tho' they were much annoyed by the Water, which the French found Means to let into them. On the 28th, in the Morning, Monſieur du Mey, one of the chief Engineers, who had the Direction of General Schulemburg's Attack, was mortally wounded in the Head, by one of the Stone Mortars of the Beſiegers, and died ſoon after. The ſame Day, the Princes of Savoy and Marlborough came to Tournay, from the Army, and the 29th, in the Morning, went into the Trenches, at that Attack, where a Lodgment was made two Days before, upon the Saillant-Angle of the Counterſcarp. About ten o'Clock, the Enemy blew up a Mine, between the two Attacks, with very little Execution: But, in the Afternoon, they ſprung two other Mines, at Count Lottum's Attack, by which the Beſiegers had two Officers kill'd, and ſeveral Men kill'd and wounded. That Day, and the 30th, the Allies made a moſt terrible Fire upon the Citadel, and threw a great many Bombs, which did all the Execution that could be deſired; whereupon the neceſſary Diſpoſitions were ordered to be made for an Aſſault, which the Enemy prevented, by beating the Chamade, the 31ſt, about ſix in the Morning, deſiring to capitulate. An Exchange of Hoſtages being immediately agreed on, Monſieur Dolet, and the Marquis de Ravignan, both Major-Generals, and four other Officers, came out of the Citadel, and Major-General Hohndorff, with five Officers more, on the Side of the Confederates, were ſent in. Monſieur Dolet, and his Company were brought to the Earl of Albemarle's Houſe, where the Duke of Marlborough, and the Prince of Savoy, being met to receive their Propoſals, they offered to ſurrender the Place, and delivered a Project of a Capitulation, conſiſting of 11 Articles.

Monſieur du Mey mortally wounded.

The Garriſon of the Citadel of Tournay deſire to capitulate.

Theſe Demands being made, Monſieur Dolet, and the other French Officers were deſired to withdraw; and, after ſome Debate, being call'd in again, were told by the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene; *That no other Conditions would be allowed them, but for the Garriſon to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War*; upon which they return'd into the Citadel, and, about

Their Demands rejected.

Hoſtilities renew'd.

1709. three in the Afternoon, the Hoſtilities began again. The two Generals ſeem to have inſiſted on the Garriſon's ſurrendering themſelves Priſoners of War, not only for the Honour of the Arms of the Allies, but in Return for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's having refus'd to ratify the former Capitulation: And beſides, during the Ceſſation, they had a certain Account of the great Streights the Garriſon was reduced to, for Want of Proviſions. Orders were, hereupon, given to renew the Fire from all the Batteries on the Citadel, with the greater Vigour; which ſoon reduced the Garriſon to the Neceſſity of accepting the Terms the Confederate Generals thought fit to grant them. Monſieur de Surville, having deſired a Conference with the Earl of Albemarle, the ſecond of September, ſignified his Deſire to ſurrender, and gave his Lordſhip other Propoſals to this End: Whereupon the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, who had left the Siege but that Morning, returned, the third, from Orchies, and ſign'd the Articles: Which done, the Garriſon deliver'd a Gate of the Citadel, in the Afternoon, and march'd out, the fifth, to the Number of 3500 Men, beſides Sick and Wounded, to be conducted to Condé. They were allowed, as well Officers as Soldiers, to march out with their Swords and Baggage, but were obliged to leave them, with their other Arms and Colours behind them, and ſurrender Priſoners at large, and not to ſerve till the like Number of Priſoners of the Allies were releas'd in their Room.

The Garriſon accept of the Terms offer'd.

CHAP. XVI.

The Famous Battle of Blaregnies, *or* Malplacquet.

The Siege of Mons reſolved on.

THE important City and Citadel of Tournay, being ſurrender'd to the Victorious Arms of the Allies, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were immediately intent upon new Exploits, and reſolved upon another as important Conqueſt, that of Mons, the Capital of the Province of Hainault; or at leaſt, to draw the Enemy to a Battle; in both which we ſhall find they ſucceeded; one happening afterwards to be the Conſequence of the other. To this End, their two Armies decamp'd from Orchies, the very Day the Citadel of Tournay was ſurrender'd, paſs'd the Scheld, join'd in their March, and encamp'd, the fourth of September, N. S. at Briſoul; at ſome Diſtance from which, the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who was detach'd the Morning before, was likewiſe encamp'd. The fifth, they continued their March, notwithſtanding the Badneſs of the Weather, with violent Rains, and encamp'd at Siraat, within a League of the River Haiſne, which the Prince of Heſſe, with his Detachment, paſs'd the ſame Afternoon.

Afternoon. The ſixth, in the Morning, the Duke of Marlborough's Army being again in Motion, and having paſs'd the Haiſne, above Mons, his Grace received Advice, that the Prince of Heſſe, being about to attack the Enemy's Lines, from the Haiſne to the Sambre, three Regiments of Dragoons, which were placed there, for their Defenſe, abandon'd them. When the Prince afterwards join'd the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, on their March, they congratulated him on the Succeſs of his Expedition; to which his Highneſs anſwered: *The French have depriv'd me of the Glory of this Compliment; for they would not ſo much as make a Shew of ſtaying for me.* 1709.

The French abandon their Lines.

It appeared however, that the French deſign'd, at leaſt, to defend thoſe Lines; for the Chevalier de Luxemburg, with a great Detachment, arrived ſoon after, to ſuſtain the Regiments of Dragoons afore-mentioned, and was followed by the Marſhal de Villars, in Perſon: But when they found, that their Troops had quitted their Poſt, they returned to Quievrain, whither the whole French Army march'd, from their Lines behind the Scarpe. The Prince of Heſſe, on the other hand, having taken Poſſeſſion of the Lines I firſt mention'd, encamp'd, with his Right to Jemappe, and his Left to Framiers, by which means Mons was, in a Manner, block'd up; and the Army under the Duke of Marlborough encamp'd at Havre, while that under Prince Eugene did the ſame at St. Dennis. The ſeventh, the Marſhal de Bouflers arrived at the French Camp; which, as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſeem'd to place ſo entire a Confidence, in the Marſhal de Villars, at the Beginning of the Campaign, was Matter of Aſtoniſhment: The former, however, to ſoften the Matter, told the latter, *He was come to ſerve him as his Aid de Camp*: Or, as other Accounts ſay, That *he did not come in any Character, but to receive his Commands for the King's Service, and to communicate to him his Majeſty's Orders upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs.* Monſieur Du Mont ſays, he had Orders and Power from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to be preſent at Councils, and in Battle, and in both to maintain his Prerogatives of Elder Officer, without, however, depriving the Marſhal de Villars of any Part of his Authority as General. The ſame Author adds, that Monſ. de Bouflers was not ſent to the Army, without the Knowledge of Madam de Maintenon; but that, it was even aſſur'd, ſhe propos'd it firſt to the King, fearing the Succeſs of the Campaign, and being unwilling that Monſieur de Villars ſhould be alone reſponſible for the Event of it. The Marquis de Quincy gives another Turn to this matter, and pretends, that Monſieur de Villars, being inform'd of the Deſigns of the Allies, had, ſome time before the Surrender of the Citadel of Tournay, deſired his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to ſend ſome other Commander to his Aſſiſtance:

Motions of the Armies on both ſides.

Marſhal de Bouflers comes to the French Camp.

1709. But this does not ſeem to agree ſo perfectly well, with the Marſhal's known Vanity, and Self-Sufficiency. The ſame Day, about Noon, when the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, were going to Dinner, the Duke received Advice, that the French were under March to attack the Body under the Command of the Prince of Heſſe; upon which Orders were immediately given, firſt, to ſecure the Blockade of Mons, and then to his Grace's Army to decamp from Havre, and leave their Baggage behind, with their Tents ſtanding. Being come to the Hills of Belian, where the Prince of Heſſe had his Quarters, they made a Halt near Chevrais, Prince Eugene's Army being come up thither likewiſe; and there both Generals received farther Intelligence, that the French had not paſs'd the Defilees of Waſme, but were encamp'd between them and Quievrain; whereupon, the Confederate Army continued, the whole following Night, in that Camp, in Order of Battle. The Duke of Marlborough having, in the mean time, Advice, that the Garriſon of Mons conſiſted only of nine weak Spaniſh and two Bavarian Battalions, beſides the Dragoons of Paſteur, concluded, that Monſieur de Villars's chief Deſign was to oblige the Confederates to draw all their Forces into the Plain between Belian and Frameries, that he might have an Opportunity to throw Re-inforcements into Mons, to prevent which, his Grace ordered ſome Troops towards St. Guiſlain.

The Confederate Generals view the Ground between the two Armies.

The eighth of September, N. S. the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and Monſieur Goſlinga, one of the Field-Deputies of the States, having ſeveral Squadrons with them, under the Command of the Prince d'Auvergne, for their Security, ſpent the whole Day in viewing the Ground between the two Armies. When they came over-againſt Blaugies, and Lamberchies, they diſcovered the Enemy's whole Army, which was in Motion, and poſting themſelves in the Plain of Blaugies.

The Army, in the mean time, march'd, and encamp'd, the Left Wing on the Side of the Haiſne, with St. Guiſlain before them. The March which the Confederate Army made this Day, form'd one of the moſt glorious Sights that ever had been ſeen; for the Confederate Generals, upon the Advices they received of the Motions, in the Marſhal de Villars's Army, having cauſed the Heads of their Columns to return towards the Center, which, in the mean time, halted, the whole Army form'd a ſort of Half-Moon in the midſt of a vaſt Plain, which gave the fineſt View imaginable. That Afternoon, their Huſſars met a Party of the Enemy, at the Wood or Village of Sars, conſiſting of 400 Men; and, by the Help of their Guard, this Party was defeated, and a Lieutenant-Colonel, with ſome Officers, thirty Soldiers, and 30 Deſerters, with about 100 Horſes, were brought into the Camp. On the Left Wing, Major-General

Some Parties of the Enemy defeated.

neral Groveſtein met another Party, in the Opening by that Wood, which was defeated, and fifty Men made Priſoners. They had this Day an account, by ſeveral Deſerters, that the Marſhal de Bouflers had brought Orders from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to offer the Allies Battle. 1709.

The next Morning, the French made a Motion, as if their Deſign was to march towards Boſſu: But the Confederate Generals, advancing to take a narrow View of their Army, they ſoon perceived, that the Motion of their Left was only a Feint to cover the March of their Right, which filed off, at the ſame time, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Woods of Lagniere, La Merte, Taiſniere, and Sart, with the Hedges that encompaſs them, where they placed their Infantry; and, taking Poſſeſſion, likewiſe, of the Hedges of a Village called Placquet, or Malplacquet, ranged their Cavalry in the Openings between theſe Woods. The Confederate Generals, hereupon, order'd their Army to march by the Left, and face the Enemy, the Right extending to Sart, the Left to Bleron, on the Edge of the Wood of Blagniere; where they placed their Cannon; the Center being near Bleron, and the Head-Quarters not far from thence at Blaregnies. By this means, the Left of the Confederate Army came ſo near to the Enemy, about two in the Afternoon, that they cannonaded each other, till the Evening: But the Right Wing of the Allies being too far to come up to the Place of Action, in time, there was too little Day-light left, to attack the Enemy. The Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Prince Royal of Pruſſia, therefore, paſs'd the Night with Monſieur Goſlinga, that they might be ready, if the Enemy ſhould make any Attempt. But tho' they were much ſuperiour in Number, and more eſpecially in Infantry; yet they were ſo far from deſigning to attack the Allies, that, on the contrary, they begun to fortify their Camp, (tho' it was, by Nature, very ſtrong and advantageous,) with all the Induſtry and Application imaginable. Beſides the thick Hedges, which, like a Chain ran along their whole Camp, they made deep Lines, to cover their Foot; and, on their Right, caſt up three Intrenchments one behind the other, tho' the Acceſs was without that very difficult, becauſe of a marſhy Ground which lay before them. Their Center, which was in a little Plain, was, likewiſe, ſecured by ſeveral Intrenchments, defended, in convenient Places, with good Artillery; and, beſides all this, they cut down a great Number of Trees, which they laid a-croſs the Ways, to obſtruct the Paſſage of the Confederate Horſe. They alſo cut down the Hedges, behind their Lines, for the more eaſy March of their Cavalry, to ſupport their Infantry, as Occaſion might require; ſo that their Camp might not be very improperly called a regular, fortified Citadel.

The French take Poſſeſſion of ſeveral advantageous Poſts.

And fortify their Camp.

1709. Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough, on the other hand, who had, on the ninth, in Concert with Monſieur Goſlinga, taken the Reſolution to attack the French, finding, on the tenth, that they had made uſe of the preceding Night to improve the Advantage of their Situation, reſolved only, without altering their Deſign, to put off the Execution of it, till they were re-inforced by eighteen Battalions, which had been employed in the Siege of Tournay. To theſe, Orders were immediately diſpatch'd, that they ſhould march, with all poſſible Expedition, to join the Grand Army, which they did, that very Night, under the Command of Count Lottum and Baron Schulemburg. The ſame Evening, alſo, a Detachment from the Blockade from Mons, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Dedem, took St. Guiſlain, Sword in hand, and made the Garriſon, which conſiſted of 200 Men, Priſoners of War.

St. Guiſlain taken.

The Battle of Blaregnies, or Malplacquet.

Battle of Blaregnies, or Malplacquet.

THE Troops that came from Tournay, having, on the eleventh of September, in the Morning, joined the Right Wing, over-againſt the Wood by Sart, where the Enemy's Left was poſted, Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough and the Field Deputies, viz. Meſſieurs Rantwych, Hoof, and Goſlinga, rode together along the Line, between the two Armies, and ſeveral Men were, in their Preſence, killed by the Enemy's Cannon-Shot.

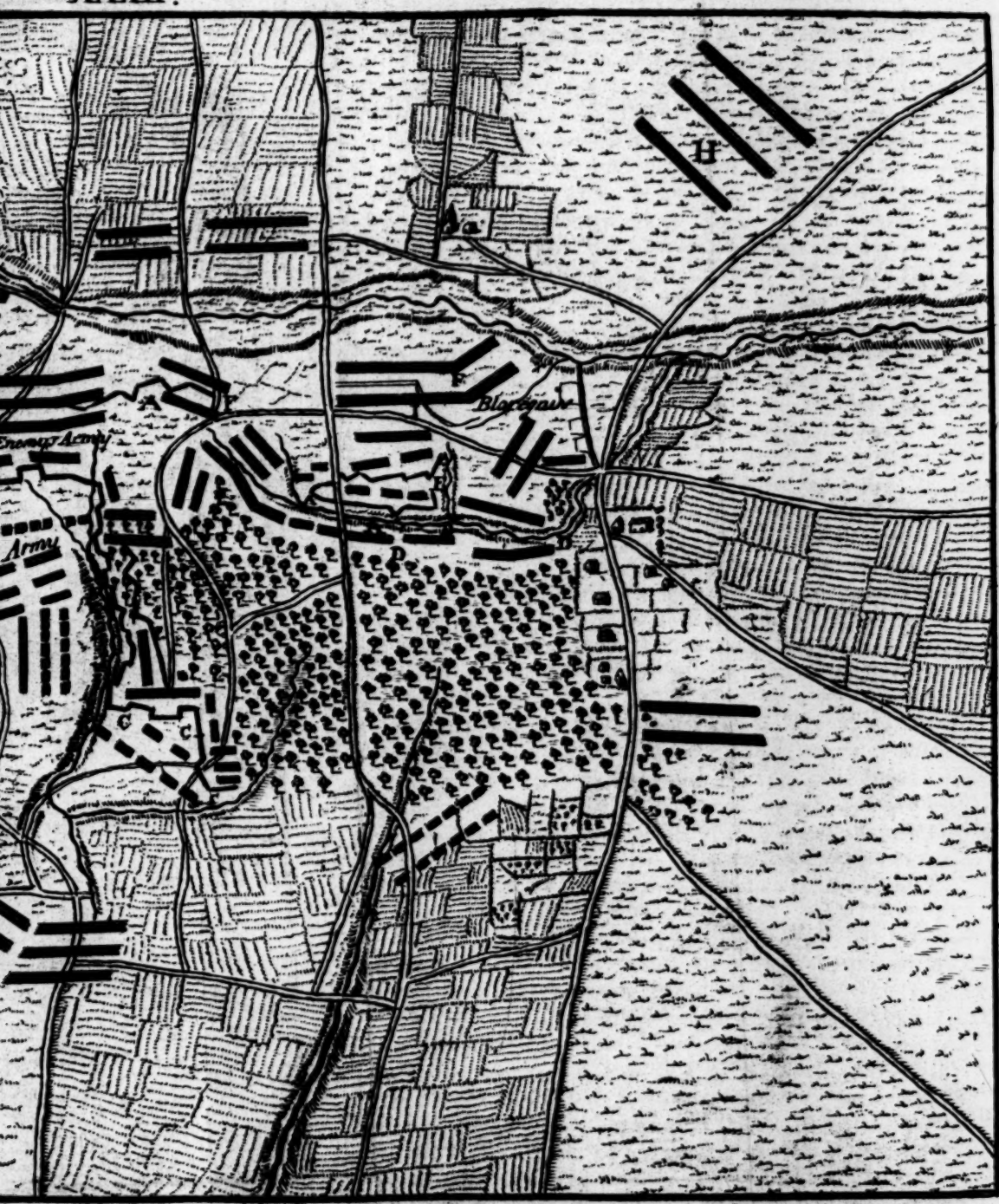
The Confederates had begun to work on their Batteries at Break of Day. They rais'd one of 28 Pieces of Cannon, on the Left, another of 40 in the Center, and the reſt of the Artillery was diſtributed on the Right. A very thick Fog, which laſted till half an Hour paſt ſeven, had very much facilitated their Work: But then it cleared up, and gave the two Armies a perfect View one of the other.

This being the Poſture of the French and Confederate Forces, a little after 8 o'Clock, the Signal for the Attack being given, by a Diſcharge of 50 Pieces of Cannon, and the Cannonading continuing very briſk on both ſides, Prince Eugene advanc'd with his Right, into the Wood of Sart, and 86 Battalions of that Wing, commanded by General Schulemburg, the Duke of Argile, and other Generals, and 22 other Battalions, under the Command of Count Lottum, attack'd the Enemy, with ſuch Bravery; that notwithſtanding the Barricadoes of fell'd Trees, and other Impediments, they met in their Way, after an Hour's Reſiſtance, they drove the French out of their Intrenchments, in the Woods of Sart, and Taiſniere. The Deſign of this Attack was to drive the Enemy out of the Wood, and then, to attack them in the Flank of their Intrench-

ments



A The Enemy's Intrenchments.
B The Attack of ye Infantry.
C The place which was first forced.
D The Infan
after havi
E The place
F The Enem



e Infantry in Order of Battle.
er having routed ȳ Enemy.
e place where ȳ Enemy repuls'd us
e Enemy's Army.

G The Place where ȳ Cavalry was engag'd.
H The Enemy's Retreat.
I The Third Intrenchment begun.

ments on the Plain; which ſucceeded very happily, and there- 1709.
by all the Enemy's Infantry of the Left Wing were ruin'd. General Withers, with 19 Battalions attack'd the Enemy, in another Intrenchment, beyond the Woods of Taiſniere and Great Blaguiere, with the like Vigour and good Succeſs. Thirty-ſix Dutch Battalions, commanded by the Prince of Naſſau-Friezeland (or Orange) and Baron Fagel, who attack'd the Enemy's Right, poſted in the Wood of La Merte, and in an Opening, cover'd with three Intrenchments, met with greater Reſiſtance, and loſt Abundance of Men, before they could penetrate into the Intrenchments. The Fight was here deſperate; but the Dutch ſoon drove the Enemy from off their advantageous Ground into their Intrenchment, taking their Colours. They, likewiſe, drove them out of their firſt Intrenchment; but as they were marching on to the ſecond, they were charg'd with a great deal of Vivacity, by the Enemy, and obliged to retire to their former Poſts; (I ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more below, of the Prince's Conduct in this Part of the Action;) the Duke of Marlborough, hereupon, order'd Lieutenant-General Withers to march, with the Body under his immediate Direction to ſuſtain them; But, upon farther Deliberation, and Notice that the Lieutenant-General was actually engag'd with the Enemy, and that all Things went well on the Right, his Grace thought fit rather to preſs on the Advantages there, than to hazard a new Motion towards the Left, in the Heat of the Action. As ſoon as the Enemy's Left went to retire, and draw off their Cannon, the Duke of Marlborough commanded the Earl of Orkney, with 15 Battalions to attack them, and force them from their Intrenchments in the Plain, between the Woods of Sart and Janfart, with Directions, if he ſucceeded, to poſt himſelf there, and cover the Horſe, as they ſhould file off, thro' the Woods into the Plain, in order to charge the Enemy's Cavalry, which were there drawn up. This was executed, with ſuch Reſolution and Succeſs, that after a ſhort Diſpute, the Enemy quitted thoſe Intrenchments; which gave the Horſe an Opportunity to enter them. And tho' the firſt Squadrons, led by the Prince of Heſſe, had much ado to form themſelves, and were put into ſome Diſorder, by the French King's Houſhold Troops, yet being immediately rallied, by the Duke of Marlborough, and ſeconded by the Squadrons of Prince Eugene's Army, they advanced together into the Plain. Being fierce cover'd by their own Foot, and having form'd themſelves into very good Order, they charg'd the Enemy's Cavalry, who being ſoon broke and defeated, their whole Army fell into Diſorder, and made off towards the Plain of Bavay, leaving ſome of their Cannon behind them. The Allies made a good Uſe of the Beginning of the Victory, and all their Troops moved on with freſh Reſolution. General Vink having, with the Horſe, ſurrounded

1709. ſurrounded ſeveral Battalions of the Enemy's Right, ſummon'd them to ſurrender Priſoners of War; but the French, being cover'd by a Moraſs, made their Retreat along the Edge of a Wood; Three Regiments of Daniſh Cavalry falling, at the ſame Time, on the Enemy, made a terrible Slaughter among them, till having gain'd a ſecond Wood, they found Means to eſcape. Eighteen Squadrons, being detach'd to endeavour to diſperſe them in their Retreat towards Quievrain, met their whole Left Wing, on this Side the little River Quaiſnau, conſiſting of about 100 Squadrons, commanded by the Marſhal Bouflers, in Perſon, and perceiving only at firſt the Enemy's Rear, poſted at the Corner of a Wood, the Dragoons made up to them, and drove them, without Reſiſtance; but Colonel de la Lippe, and a Cornet, advancing too far, were taken, without being perceived by their own Men. The Wood being forc'd, the 18 Squadrons advanc'd into the Plain; but perceiving before them the Enemy's whole Left Wing, in three Columns, one of which retreated in good Order, the other two in ſome Confuſion, they made a ſhort Halt, and were ſomewhat ſurprized to ſee the Enemy face about, and draw up in Order of Battle. However, this ſmall Body of the Confederate Horſe kept their Ground, and poſted themſelves upon an Eminence, with the Wood of Elonge on their Right, expecting to be attack'd; but they immediately perceiv'd that the Enemy made a Stand, with no other Deſign, than to paſs a Gutter, that was in their Way to a Defilee, leading to Bavay, which they gain'd before the Allies, who purſued them full Gallop, could come up with them. However, the latter follow'd the Chaſe as far as the Village of Quievrain, where the French having poſted a Brigade of Foot, and, at the ſame time, ſome of their Squadrons poſting themſelves on an advantageous Ground, near the little River Haiſneau, the Confederates thought fit to give over the Purſuit, and ſo the Enemy paſs'd that Rivulet, and march'd unmoleſted to Bavay. The reſt of their broken Army retired in great Confuſion, ſome to Maubeuge and Valenciennes, and others to Condé, leaving the Allies in Poſſeſſion of the Field of Battle, 16 of their Cannon, 20 Colours, 26 Standards, and other undiſputable Marks of Victory; not to mention abundance of Priſoners. Some of theſe were taken in the Action, others, in the Purſuit, and the far greater Number, the next Morning, in Bavay, and other neighbouring Places, either Wearineſs or their Wounds not permitting them to follow the Groſs of their Army, which having, that Night, paſſed the Rivulet of Renelle, encamp'd with their Right at Queſnoy, extending their Left towards Valenciennes.

The Allies gain the Victory.

Bravery of the Confederate Troops.

The Confederate Generals, upon Viewing, after the Battle, the advantageous Poſts, from whence they had driven the Enemy, were themſelves aſtoniſh'd, to ſee what Difficulties they had ſurmounted;

ſurmounted; and, indeed, all the Troops, as well Officers as Soldiers, ſhew'd as great Reſolution, Intrepidity and Firmneſs, in this obſtinate Action, as were ever known, in theſe latter Times, or ſtand recorded, in Antient Hiſtory. The Enemy, whether encouraged by their Intrenchments, or animated by the Shame of their former Defeats, fought with a Bravery beyond what was expected from them, from half an Hour paſt eight in the Morning, till half an Hour paſt two in the Afternoon. They were, however, at length, forced to yield to the ſuperiour Courage, and good Fortune of the Allies, whoſe Generals, the great Duke of Marlborough, the brave Prince Eugene, the gallant Count Tilly, and the Prince of Naſſau, were, during the whole Fight, continually at the Head of their Troops, in the hotteſt of the Fire: And Monſ. Goſſinga, was not wanting to animate the Soldiers by his Example. 1709.

I muſt not omit a Teſtimony of the Bravery of the Prince of Naſſau, as given by Monſ Rouſſet, who (he ſays) fought by his Highneſs's Side during the whole Action, and received two Wounds in it. " This young and intrepid Hero (ſays he) commanded the Dutch Infantry, which formed the Left Wing of " the Confederate Army. He led them on, not to the Combat, " but to fight with Intrenchments; for the Enemy had, in this " Place, three, one behind the other, fenced with Cannon loaded with Cartridges. The firſt Line advanced boldly, with " their Muſkets on their Shoulders, to within a ſmall Muſket-" ſhot. The Prince, who had only forty Battalions under his " Command, was to drive, from their Intrenchments, eighty " Battalions, ſupported by the Troops of the King's Houſhold, " and commanded by the Marſhal de Bouflers, and the Count " d'Artagnan, who very well deſerved a Marſhal's Staff, for his " gallant Behaviour in this Action. He was expoſed to an infernal " Fire, which covered the Earth with dead Corpſe round about " him: And, at the very Beginning of the Action, he loſt the " valiant Count Oxenſtiern. He forced, however, the firſt and " ſecond Intrenchment, and had enter'd the third, and made " himſelf Maſter of the Enemy's Grand Battery, if his Troops " had been numerous enough to encounter the Torrent of Men, " which Monſ. d'Artagnan poured in upon him, with ſuch " Fury, that his Troops were obliged to retreat ſome Paces. " The Prince, perceiving this, took a Colours of the Regiment " of Mey, and, with as much Unconcernedneſs as Intrepidity, " carried it to the Intrenchment, and planted it there, calling " out to his Troops, *Hither, hither, my Friends, hither to me!* " By which Means he rallied the Line, which was repulſed, and " brought them to the Charge again: But being, at length, " overpowered with Numbers, he cauſed them to retire behind " the Hedges, till he had Intelligence that the Left Wing and

Monſ. Rouſſet's Encomium of the Prince of Orange.

1709. "the Center, had overthrown the Enemy; upon which, he "returned to the Charge, and forced his Way thro', into the "Plain, to gather his Share of the Laurels."

This wonderful Success, obtain'd under all the Difficulties that could be opposed in the Way of an Army, must, however, be acknowledg'd as owing principally to the Genius, Courage and Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough; "*A Consummate* "*Hero*, (says the Author of the Tatler) *who has lived not only be-*"*yond the Time, in which Cæsar said, he was arrived at a Sa-*"*tiety of Life and Glory; but also been so long the Subject of Pa-*"*negyrick, that it is as hard to say any thing new in his Praise,* "*as to add to the Merit which requires such Eulogiums.*

An Eulogium of the Duke of Marlboro', and the Army, from the Tatler.

"Had this Engagement (*says the same Author*) happen'd in "the Time of the old Romans, and such Things been acted "in their Service, there would not be a Foot of the Wood, "which was pierced, but had been consecrated to some Deity, "or made memorable by the Death of him, who expired in it, "for the Sake of his Country. It had been said on some Mo-"nument at the Entrance, Here the Duke of Argile drew his "Sword, and said, *March*. Here Webb, after having an ac-"compliſh'd Fame for Gallantry, exposed himself like a com-"mon Soldier. Here Rivett, who was wounded at the Begin-"ning of the Day, and carried off as dead, returned to the "Field, and received his Death. Medals had been struck for "our General's Behaviour when he first came into the Plain. "Here was the Fury of the Action, and here the Hero stood as "fearless as if invulnerable. Such certainly had been the Cares "of that State for their own Honour, and in Gratitude of their "Heroic Subjects. The Wood intrench'd, the Plain made "more impassable than the Wood, and all the Difficulties op-"posed to the *most gallant Army*, and *most intrepid Leaders that* "*ever the Sun shone on*, would have furnish'd Matter for the "ablest Pens to have recorded them in Eulogiums and Panegy-"ricks."

Great Numbers fell in this bloody Action; and the Allies frankly own'd, that they had above eighteen Thousand Men either killed or wounded, according to the underwritten Lists.

Of

1709.

Of Prince Eugene's Army.

Nations and Bodies.	Battalions.	Colonels killed.	Colonels wounded.	Lieut. Col. killed.	Lieut. Col. wounded	Majors killed.	Majors wounded.	Captains killed.	Captains wounded.	Subalterns killed.	Subalterns wounded.	Sergeants and Common Soldiers. kill'd.	Sergeants and Common Soldiers. wounded.	Total of kill'd and wounded.
Imperialists,	7		3	1	1			2	6	4	11	183	307	518
Danes,	8	1	1	1	2		2	5	9	8	42	519	694	1284
Saxons,	7	1	1	1	2		2	3	6	10	22	184	477	709
Palatines,	7	2		2	1	1	2	1	9	1	7	83	253	359
Dutch,	12				1	1	2	7	23	16	44	683	818	1599
Heſſians,	6		2		1	1	1	1	12	5	20	128	350	521
Wirtembergers,	3				1			1	2	11	15	120	272	422

Of the Duke of Marlborough's Army.

Nations and Bodies.	Battalions.	Colonels killed.	Colonels wounded.	Lieut. Col. killed.	Lieut. Col. wounded	Majors killed.	Majors wounded.	Captains killed.	Captains wounded.	Subalterns killed.	Subalterns wounded.	Sergeants and Common Soldiers. kill'd.	Sergeants and Common Soldiers. wounded.	Total of kill'd and wounded.
Britiſh,	19	4	2	4	3	1	3	13	26	13	61	541	341	1866
Prufſians,	18	2	4	1	1		6	2	17	9	33	294	294	1203
Hanoverians,	12		1	1	2		4	2	12	10	44	285	285	1417
Dutch,	30	6	6	5	11	5	14	42	116	85	242	2238	2268	8463
Sum Total,	129	16	20	16	27	9	36	79	238	172	541	3258	3359	13361

1709. Among the Killed were ſeveral Officers of Diſtinction, particularly General Count Lottum, General Tettau of the Pruſſians; Count Oxenſtiern, Lieutenant-General; the Lord Tullibardine, eldeſt Son to the Duke of Athol, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, in the Service of the States. Among the Wounded, were Prince Eugene of Savoy, ſlightly on the Head, as was alſo Brigadier May on the ſame Place; Lieutenant-Generals Spar, Wackerbaert, and Hamilton, and the firſt mortally; Brigadier Croonſtrom, Count Oxenſtiern's Adjutant, dangerouſly; and Monſ. Duyts, Adjutant to the Prince of Orange. His Highneſs himſelf had two Horſes kill'd under him, but eſcap'd unhurt; as did alſo the Duke of Argile, tho' he receiv'd ſeveral Muſket-Shots thro' his Clothes and Periwig. To be more particular as to the Britiſh Troops; Brigadier Lalo, a French Refugee, in great Favour and Eſteem with the Generals; Sir Thomas Pendergraſs, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot; Colonel Rivett, of the Guards; Colonel Cranſtone, Lieutenant-Colonel Arundel, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bethel, were reckon'd among the Slain. Lieutenant-General Webb, in the Beginning of the Action, received a very dangerous Wound, by a Muſket-Ball, that lodg'd itſelf near the Groin; Lieutenant-Colonel Ramſey, Major Laſhley, and Major Rew dy'd of their Wounds; but Lieutenant-Colonel Farmer, Major Chivers, and ſeveral others of inferiour Rank, ſurvived theirs.

Loſs of General Officers, &c.

The French were very induſtrious in leſſening and concealing their Loſs to the Public. But ſome private Accounts from their Army, own'd, that they had about 540 Officers killed on the Spot, and 1068 wounded; beſides 301 taken Priſoners; and the Number of their private Men killed, wounded or taken, was modeſtly computed at 15,000. Among their Slain were, Meſſieurs de Courſillon, de Chemerault, Palavicini, de Lautree, de Greberges, de Moret, and Sheldon, Lieutenant-Generals; Count de Beuil, Meſſieurs de Rouleau, de Rochebonne, and de Tournefort, Major-Generals; Count d'Agennes, Meſſieurs de Coaſquin, and de Stekenburg, Brigadiers, the Duke of St. Agnan, and Meſſieurs de Schaweſtein, de Salis, de Seignelay, the Chevalier de Croy, de Telegonde, de Molezum, Fitzgerald, de Barentin, St. Laurent, and the Duke of Charoſt. Among the Wounded was the Marſhal de Villars himſelf, who in the Heat of the Battle, receiving a Shot in the Knee, was obliged to leave the Command of the French Army to the Marſhal de Bouflers, the Duke de Guiche, the Chevalier de St. Toris: Meſſieurs de Conſlau, de Beaufremont, de Savigne, de Crauſat, de Monnefiers, d'Opeide, de Refugee, d'Albergotti, the Princes de Lambeſſi, and de Mombaſon, Meſſieurs de Brillac, de Tournemine, de Renly, de Berville, d'Antel, and de St. Hilaire.

Loſs of the French.

Upon

1709.

Upon the whole Matter, thoſe who judg'd impartially of this Battle, were of Opinion, that all Things conſidered, the Allies gained, indeed, a very remarkable and glorious Victory, but paid too dear for it; inſomuch that it might almoſt have been ſaid, as Pyrrhus ſaid, after the Defeat of the Romans, *One more ſuch Victory, and we are undone.* On the other hand, tho' the French were beaten from their fortified Camp, and loſt the Field of Battle, yet they retrieved Part of their former Reputation: But then their not attempting afterwards to relieve Mons, as it expos'd their Impotence, ſo did it make it appear that their Loſs was much greater than they pretended. It was obſerv'd, that this Battle was fought the ſame Day, on which Prince Eugene gain'd the famous Victory over the Turks, at Zenta on the River Tibiſcus, in Hungary, in the Year 1697. whereupon the Treaty of Carlowitz enſued.

Judgment of this Battle.

This famous Battle being over, the victorious Confederate Army was ordered to encamp a little beyond the Field of Battle, which was covered with the Bodies of Men dead, dying and wounded; and, on the twelfth of September, N. S. they returned to their old Camp, at Belian. The Duke of Marlborough took his Quarters in the Abby of Belian, Prince Eugene his in the Village of Quarignan, and Count Tilly his in the Village of Port Queſoy. The Allies were buſied the ſame Day in burying their Dead, and removing their wounded Men; and there having been a great many of the French Officers and Soldiers left wounded on the Field of Battle, and in the adjacent Houſes, the Duke of Marlborough let the Marſhals de Villars and Bouflers know, that he would allow them to ſend a Number of Waggons to fetch them off. They having accepted this Offer, and ſent the Chevalier de Luxemburg, a Lieutenant-General, with two hundred Horſe to Bavay, to meet the Confederate General Officer, who ſhould be appointed, with the like Numbers, to ſettle the Manner, and take the Paroles of Honour of the Officers who were carried off, with the Number of private Soldiers, to be afterwards accounted for, upon an Exchange; his Grace gave this Commiſſion to Lieutenant-General Cadogan, who having concerted every thing with the French Officer, returned to the Camp, and left an Officer and Commiſſary to take a Liſt of all that ſhould be found; and, according to their Deſire, the Enemy were allowed two Days for burying their Dead, and bringing off their Wounded.

The Confederate Army returns to their former Camp.

The Enemy allowed to bury their Dead, and carry off their Wounded.

This Battle was the more remarkable, in that it was, in Reality, a Battle between two ſeparate Armies on each Side. Prince Eugene commanded a compleat Army of 50,000 Men, with Wings of Horſe, on the Right and Left; and the Duke of Marlborough another entire Army, of which the Engliſh form'd the Right, and the Dutch the Left. On the other Side the Marſhal de Villars commanded a ſeparate Army of the French,

on

1709. on the Left, drawn up againſt that of Prince Eugene, and the Marſhal de Bouflers (who arriv'd at the French Camp the ſeventh) another, upon the Right, which engag'd that under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough.

Thankſgiving and Rejoycings in the Confederate Army

The fifteenth was celebrated, throughout the whole Confederate Army, as a Day of Thankſgiving to ALMIGHTY GOD, for the late wonderful Victory, and the Evening concluded with Salvoes of Artillery and Muſkets, and other military Rejoicings; and it is remarkable, that upon the firſt News of this Battle, and a fond Report that the French were victorious, Rejoicings were, likewiſe, made for it at Charleroy, Namur, and other Places; but they were ſoon undeceived, and their Joy was ſhort-lived. The ſixteenth, eighteen Battalions, which had ſuffered moſt in the Action, being order'd to go and recruit themſelves, ſome of them began their March to the Places aſſign'd them; and their Room was ſoon after ſupplied by four and twenty Battalions drawn out of the Garriſons, twenty of which were Dutch, and the other four Britiſh, viz. Hill's, Strathnaver's Grant's, and Wynn's.

Medals ſtruck on this Occaſion.

On this Occaſion the following Medals were ſtruck.

I.

On the Face, the Queen's Buſto, with her Majeſty's Title, as uſual.

On the Reverſe, is repreſented a Fight in a Wood, and Victory flying over it with Garlands of Laurels in her Hands, with this Motto:

CONCORDIA ET VIRTUTE.

In Engliſh,

By Concord and Fortitude.

In the Exergue:

GALLIS AD TASNIERE DEVICTIS, AUG. XXXI. MDCC IX.

In Engliſh,

The French vanquiſh'd at Taiſniere, Auguſt 31ſt, 1709.

The Dutch ſtruck another Medal, on this Occaſion, in Honour to the two Commanders in Chief.

On the Face are repreſented the Buſto's of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough facing one another, with their Titles over them.

The


ANNA · D · G · MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REGINA ·


CONCORDIA ET VIRTVTE
GALLIS · AD · TAISNIERE ·
DEVICTIS ·
AVG · XXXI ·
MDCCIX ·

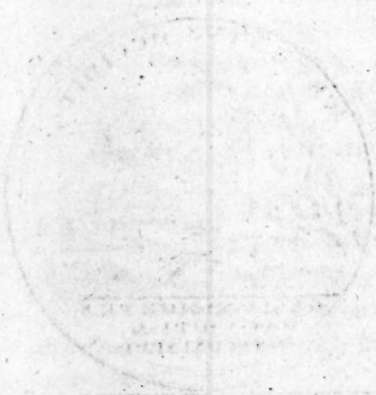

LVDOVICVS FRANC · ET · NAV · PR · SABAVD
IOHANNES DVX CLEVE · S · M · I · F ·


CRVENTVS OCCIDIT
GALLI AD MONTES
HAN · VICTI · A ·
DCCIX DXI SEPT





BRITISH
17 AP 66
MUSEUM





The Reverſe, repreſents a Landſkip, with a Tree almoſt ſtripp'd of its Leaves and Branches. At a Diſtance, the City of Mons, and behind it the Sun ſetting, very red, as it generally does after a Storm; with the Inſcription, 1709.

CRUENTUS OCCIDIT.

It ſets in a bloody Hue.

And in the Exergue:

GALLI AD MONTES HANNOVIÆ VICTI. A. 1709. 11 SEPT.

The French defeated, near Mons, in Hainault, Sept. 11, 1709.

Letters, and other Pieces, relating to the Battle of Blareignies, or Malplacquet.

A Letter from the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, *to Mr. Secretary* BOYLE.

From the Camp at Blareignies, September 11. N. S.

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to Mr. Secretary Boyle.

" AS ſoon as I had diſpatch'd my Letter to you on Saturday, from Havre, we were alarm'd with the Enemies marching to attack the Prince of Heſſe, upon which the whole Army was immediately put in motion, but it was next Day at Noon, before all the Troops could come up. In the Morning, they ſent out a Detachment of 400 Horſe to obſerve our March, which the Head of the Prince of Heſſe's Troops attack'd, and took the Colonel who commanded them, with the Lieutenant-Colonel, and ſeveral other Officers, and about fifty Priſoners. Upon Notice of our Army's lying on this Side the Hayne, the Enemy ſtretch'd out their Line, from Quievrain to the Right, which they continued to do the next Day, and yeſterday they poſſeſſed themſelves of the Wood of Dour and Blaugies, where they immediately began to intrench. This Motion of the Enemy kept our Army for two Nights under their Arms; and, in the Evening, as ſoon as the 21 Battalions, and four Squadrons, we were expecting from Tournay, were come within Reach, it was reſolved to attack them, and the neceſſary Diſpoſitions being made, we accordingly began at eight this Morning. The Fight was maintained with great Obſtinacy, till near twelve o'Clock, before we could force their Intrenchments, and drive them out of the Wood into the Plain, where their Horſe was all drawn up, and ours advancing upon them, the whole Army

" engag'd,

1709. " engag'd, and fought with great Fury till paſt three in the Af-
" ternoon, when the Enemy's Horſe began to give Way, and
" to retire towards Maubeuge and Valenciennes, and part of
" them towards Condé. We purſued them to the Defilee by
" Bavay, with great Slaughter, all our Troops behaving them-
" ſelves with the greateſt Courage. We are now encamp'd
" on the Field of Battle. You may believe the Loſs muſt have
" been very great on both Sides. We have a good Number of
" Officers Priſoners, but as I ſend this Expreſs by Lieutenant-
" Colonel Graham, who carries a Letter to the Queen, I muſt
" refer you to my next for further Particulars. In the mean
" time, I heartily congratulate you upon this great Succeſs,
" and am truly,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful,

Humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

P. S. " I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that we took St. Gui-
" ſlain yeſterday in the Evening, Sword in Hand, and made
" the Garriſon, conſiſting of 200 Men, Priſoners of War.

The next Day his Grace wrote a congratulatory Letter on this Occaſion, to the States General, who returned the following Anſwer.

SIR,

A Letter from the States General to the Duke of Marlboro'.

" WE have receiv'd the Letter of your Highneſs, dated the
" 12th Inſtant, and we return you Thanks for your
" obliging Congratulation, on the compleat Victory obtain'd by
" the Arms of the Allies, the Day before, after the moſt hard
" and obſtinate Fight that ever was heard of. Our Deputies
" acquainted us with the Particulars of the whole Action, and
" have not forgotten to let us know how much your Highneſs
" has contributed to the gaining of that Victory, and what is
" due to your Valour. If Glory attends the Greatneſs of Dif-
" ficulties and Dangers ſurmounted, that which you have ac-
" quir'd, on this great Occaſion, muſt exceed all other; and
" this Day alone is ſufficient to render your Name immortal,
" tho' it was already ſo, by your preceding Victories. We
" congratulate you thereupon with all our Hearts, and praiſe
" the LORD of Hoſts, for that glorious Succeſs. We hope
" that the Enemy, being at laſt ſenſible, that all their Forces
" aſſembled together, their Intrenchments, nor any Advantage
" of

1709.

" of Ground, are not capable to withſtand the Conduct and in-
" comparable Valour of the Generals, and the Intrepidity and
" unparallel'd Bravery of the Troops of the Allies, will think
" of giving Satisfaction to all, in order to ſettle a general Peace.
" We pray GOD to bleſs more and more your Enterprizes, and
" are with the greateſt Eſteem and Sincerity,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's

Moſt Affectionate, to do you Service,

The STATES GENERAL of the united Provinces of the Netherlands.

Signed,

Hague, September 16, 1709. G. HOEUFF.

And, by their Order,

F. FAGEL.

The Particulars mentioned in the foregoing Letter, which the Field Deputies of the States remitted to their High Mightineſſes, were the following:

A Letter to their High Mightineſſes from the Field-Deputies, ſent by Major-General Groveſtein.

High and Mighty Lords,

" WE have the Honour heartily to congratulate your High Mightineſſes on a very glorious, but bloody Battle, which began this Morning, at half an Hour paſt eight, and ended at two in the Afternoon; when we had driven the Enemy from their Intrenchments. The Bearer will give your High Mightineſſes a verbal and more circumſtantial Relation. We ſhall have the Honour, by the next Poſt, to ſend your High Mightineſſes the farther Particulars. We remain, &c.

The Field-Deputies Letter to the States General.

J. V. RANDWYCK.

From the Field of Battle, Sept. 11. W. HOOFT.

S. V. GOSLINGA.

1709. Major-General Groveſtein left the Army, the eleventh, at ten o'Clock at Night; and at his Arrival in the Hague, gave their High Mightineſſes the following verbal Account.

Major-Gen. Groveſtein's Verbal Relation of the Battle of Malplacquet

"THE Enemy's Army advancing, the ninth of September, to Longueville, and our Army, upon Advice of it, marching from Bougnies towards Bleron, it was judg'd convenient to defer attacking the Enemy, till the Arrival of the ſix and twenty Battalions from Tournay, who, in the Night, between the tenth and the eleventh, join'd us, and then it was reſolved to attack the Enemy, the next Morning.

"In the mean time, the Enemy had poſted their Left Wing towards Blaugies, having before them the Woods of Blaugies and Sart; their Center was before Erquennes and Taſniers, and their Right Wing had in Flank the Wood of Janſart. The open Ground between the two Woods was about 3,000 Paces broad; An Intrenchment was thrown up croſs it, and before that Intrenchment was a Village, covered ſtrongly by Hedges and Ditches; and the Woods, on both Wings were fell'd and entrench'd, and Cannon were in the Avenues.

"The Enemy having made this Diſpoſition, our whole Army, which faced them, at a ſmall Diſtance, mov'd towards them, the eleventh, in the Morning early. The Signal was given, by firing fifty Cannon, for attacking the Enemy at once, on all Sides: That is to ſay, General Schulenburg, with the Troops from Tournay, was drawn up to the Right of the Wood of Sart; the Infantry of the Prince of Savoy's Army, along the great Road, which paſſes thro' that Wood; General Lottum, with Part of the Foot of the Right Wing, to the Left of the ſame Wood; the reſt of the Infantry of that Wing, conſiſting chiefly of Hannoverians, had in Front the Lines, in the Opening between the Village and the ſaid Wood. The Infantry of the State, commanded by the Prince of Naſſau, ſome Battalions excepted, who attacked the Wood of Janſart, had, in Front, the Lines between the Village and that Wood. The Horſe of the whole were poſted behind the Foot, to ſupport and ſecond them, where the Ground would permit.

"At the Signal, all moved together, and began the Attacks with incredible Bravery; and with ſuch Succeſs at the Wood of Sart, that after an Hour's Reſiſtance, the Enemy, at all the three Attacks there, were driven out of the Wood, and out of their Intrenchments. On the Left, between the Village, and the Wood of Janſart, the Fight laſted longer; and our Men there, having three Intrenchments before them, forced the two firſt, but, in the Attack of the third, were repuls'd by the great Fire of the Enemy. However, rallying

"again,

" again, and the Right Wing having, in the mean time, made 1709.
" themſelves Maſters of the Wood of Sart, and coming to flank
" the Intrenchments, between the two Woods, the Enemy
" quitted thoſe Intrenchments. This gave the Horſe Opportu-
" nity to break into the ſaid Intrenchments; and tho' the firſt
" Squadrons, which enter'd, were repuls'd, yet all the Caval-
" ry broke thro', advanc'd into the Plain, and there charg'd
" the Enemy's Horſe; whereupon the Enemy's whole Army
" fell into Diſorder: Our Left Wing having, in the mean time,
" made themſelves Maſters of the Intrenchments, in the Wood
" of Janſart, which was facilitated by ſome of our Squadrons
" falling upon the Enemy's Flank there.

" The Enemy's Troops being thus brought into Diſorder, their
" Infantry were entirely put to the Rout, on all Sides, leaving
" behind them their Cannon, and what elſe they had, and made
" off to the Plain of Bavay. The Prince of Savoy, who was
" ſlightly wounded in the Head, in the Beginning of the Action,
" the Duke of Marlborough, and Count Tilly, were, during
" the whole Fight, on the Right and Left Wings, continually
" at the Head of the Troops, in the hotteſt of the Fire, lead-
" ing them on; the Field-Deputies animated the Troops, all
" the while, by their Preſence, and Monſieur Goſlinga, had a
" Horſe ſhot under him. All the Generals, Officers, and Sol-
" diers, ſhewed, in this bloody Battle, as great Reſolution,
" Daring, and Firmneſs, as ever were ſeen, or ever can be ex-
" pected from valiant Men. The Fight was very obſtinate,
" from half an Hour paſt eight in the Morning, till half an
" Hour paſt two in the Afternoon; and the Enemy was ſo ad-
" vantageouſly poſted, that when the Battle was over, we won-
" der'd how we had ſurmounted ſuch Difficulties. Great Num-
" bers fell, on both Sides; but it is yet impoſſible to have any
" exact Account of the Killed and Wounded, &c. In the mean
" time, it is certain, the Enemy's whole Infantry is ruin'd.
" How many Priſoners, Cannon, Colours, Standards, Kettle-
" Drums, &c. are taken, was not known when I came away;
" but the Number cannot but be great, and the Particulars will
" be ſent by the ſucceeding Poſts. This Victory is as glorious
" as any obtained this War, for which ſufficient Thanks cannot
" be return'd to the Almighty.

The farther Particulars remitted to the States, the Reader will ſee in the following Letter:

1708.

A Letter of the Field-Deputies of the States to their High Mightineſſes. Dated from the Camp before Mons, September 14. *N. S.*

High and Mighty Lords,

A ſecond Letter of the Field-Deputies to the States General.

"WE have had only the Honour to congratulate your "High Mightineſſes, on the moſt glorious Victory ob- "tained over the Enemy, by the Troops of the States, and "thoſe of the High Allies, without being able to give any "Particulars of that important Action. The Enemy was for- "ced to retire with as much Precipitation as Conſternation, "behind Queſnoy, where, according to our Advices, they are "now actually aſſembling their Army. Our Cavalry purſued "them hard by Bavay, where, and in the neighbouring Places, "they made all their wounded Men Priſoners of War, with- "out including thoſe who were found in the Field of Battle, of "whom Liſts ſhall be made, which we ſhall have the Honour "to tranſmit to your High Mightineſſes. The Troops of the "Houſhold of the French King were for the greateſt Part "ruin'd. We have taken a great Number of Colours and "Standards, and amongſt others, the firſt Standard, call'd La "Cornette Blanche, with 15 Pieces of Cannon or more. The "Marſhal de Villars is dangerouſly wounded in the Knee, or "Thigh, by a Muſket-ſhot. The Number of their Slain, Wound- "ed, and Priſoners, cannot be yet known; nor can we yet give an "account of the Loſs of the Troops of the State. Your High "Mightineſſes cannot but be ſenſible, that the Enemy could not "be forc'd from three Intrenchments, well provided with Can- "non, without a conſiderable Loſs; but the Glory and Honour "the Troops of your High Mightineſſes have gained in this Bat- "tle, with an incomparable Valour, which the Prince of Savoy "and the Duke of Marlborough cannot ſufficiently praiſe, will "give an immortal Name to the Forces of your High Mighti- "neſſes. It has not been poſſible hitherto to make any Liſt of "the Officers and Soldiers, killed or wounded, becauſe ſeveral "of the latter die every Day. Mean time we beſeech, that "your High Mightineſſes will give us leave, with all Reſpect, "to repreſent to you, how neceſſary it will be, for retrieving the "Loſs ſuſtained, that your High Mightineſſes ſhould earneſtly "recommend to the States of the reſpective Provinces, to have, "in the filling of the Vacancies of the chief Officers and Subal- "terns, that have been killed, all poſſible Regard to the Pro- "viſional Nomination, to be made by the Generals and the re- "ſpective Colonels. We are perſuaded, that we need not re- "preſent to your High Mightineſſes the Conſequences thereof,

"it

" it being, in our Opinion, the only Means for preſerving Glory " and Emulation among ſuch valiant Troops. We add here the " Diſpoſition we have made, in Concert with the Generals, un- " der the Approbation of your High Mightineſſes, for exchang- " ing the greateſt Part of the Regiments that were in the Fight, " with thoſe that are, at preſent, in their reſpective Garriſons. " To-morrow being appointed for a Thank-giving-Day, on " which the uſual Salvo's are to be made, for this great Victory, " we promiſe ourſelves that your High Mightineſſes will not take " it ill, that we cauſe the ſaid Solemnity of Thanks and Re- " joicings to be obſerved in Tournay, to-morrow come Seven- " night. We Remain, &c. 1709.

Sign'd,

J. V. RANDWICK.

W. HOOST.

S. V. GOSLINGA.

P. F. VEGELIN VAN CLAERBERGEN.

General, Count Tilly, likewiſe wrote two Letters, one of the eleventh, to their High Mightineſſes, and the other of the ſixteenth, to Mr. Secretary Fagel, giving a particular Account of this glorious Action; but to avoid Repetition, I ſhall only mention a Circumſtance or two, which are omitted in the former Letters. Extracts of two Letters from Count Tilly to the States General.

He ſays, 1. " That not long before the Battle, the Marſhal " de Villars received his laſt Re-inforcements, namely, the Bo- " dy under Monſieur d'Artagnan, which had encamp'd between " Bethune and La Baſſée, join'd by all the Infantry that could " be drawn out of the Garriſons of Ypres, Aire, and other Places, " on that Side; ſo that he much out-number'd the Allies, in " Battalions and Squadrons.

2. " That the Fire was, indeed, very violent every-where, " but more eſpecially at the Attack of the Infantry of the States, " who ſuffered much, becauſe of the double Intrenchments which " were on that Side; ſo that it was impoſſible to carry them, " notwithſtanding the good Conduct and Bravery of the Prince " of Naſſau, and the Vigour of the Officers and Soldiers, who " may all be ſaid to have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, the laſt Batta- " lions, who ſupported, advancing with the ſame Courage as " thoſe who had ſuffer'd firſt. The Infantry of the Right Wing " (continues he) made all imaginable Efforts, likewiſe, and ſoon " poſſeſs'd themſelves of ſome Poſts, but were ſtopp'd by other

1709. " Intrenchments, where the Fire continued very hot, till about " two in the Afternoon, when the Fire of our Infantry began to " be ſuperiour, &c.

3. " The Enemy *(ſays he, in his Letter of the ſixteenth,)* con- " tinued their Retreat; one of their Brigades of Foot retired " towards Condé: Three others were, the next Day, before " Valenciennes, at the Time the Gates are uſually opened. The " preceeding Day, the Prince of Liege cauſed Te Deum to be ſung " in Valenciennes, believing the Enemy had the Victory. Good " Part of the Infantry of their Right Wing retired towards " Maubeuge; but the Groſs of their Horſe and Foot, who were " in the Main Body of the Army, having paſs'd the Defilees of " Amfroidpré, halted between Warnies and Commines, and, the " ſame Night, paſs'd the Rivulet of Renelle, encamping, with " their Right, at Queſnoy, and extending their Left towards " Valenciennes, along Quirimin and Simeon. They ſtill re- " main in the ſame Poſts. The Marſhal de Villars finding him- " ſelf very ill of the Wound he received in his Knee, the Mar- " ſhal de Bouflers, who was with their Army in the Fight, has " taken upon him the Command of it.

I ſhould now proceed to give my Readers a Letter or two, written on the other Side of the Queſtion; but ſhall beg Leave firſt to mention an Incident, with regard to this Battle, which will not only give a Light to one Circumſtance of it, but furniſh me with an Opportunity of doing Juſtice to a Gentleman of great Worth, whom I have had the Honour perſonally to know; I mean Lieutenant General (afterwards Count) Rantzau.

Reflections on the Conduct of Lieutenant-General Rantzau.

There was a Report ſpread in the Army, and was written by ſome, from the Hague, to the Army; " That this General- " Officer refuſed to march with the Battalions of Hannover, to " the Aſſiſtance of the Troops of the States, altho' his High- " neſs the Prince of Frieſland had ſent him his Order to do it; " and that this Refuſal was the only Cauſe of the great Loſs " ſuſtain'd by the Dutch Infantry." To clear himſelf from this Aſperſion, the Lieutenant-General wrote a Letter to the Baron de Bulau, General in Chief of the Elector of Hannover's Forces in Flanders of which the following is a Tranſlation:

His Juſtification.

" I cannot *(ſays he, having premiſed the Report,)* forbear to " expoſe to all the World the Falſity of that Calumny, and, " in order thereunto, I ſhall give an exact Account of every " Thing that happened at my Poſt, from the Beginning of the " Battle to the End of it, and of my Conduct therein, with the " four Battalions of Hannover. His Highneſs, the Prince of " Frieſland may remember, that the Morning a little before " the Battle begun, when I had the Honour to meet him, he

" aſk'd

" aſk'd me, what Orders I had? And that I anſwered, I had 1709.
" none, and expected that he ſhould order me, whether I ſhould
" regulate myſelf, according to my Right or Left. His High-
" neſs told me, thereupon that, in all Appearance, it was to
" the Right, and that I ſhould do well to regulate myſelf ſo, ac-
" cordingly. The Major of Brigade brought me, in that very
" Inſtant, the Diſpoſition of the Attack on the Right. Not
" long after, obſerving that the Troops of the States attack'd, a
" ſecond time, the Intrenchment of the Enemy, and that they
" met with very great Difficulties, I ſent to their Aſſiſtance,
" *(without being required to do it by any Body,)* the Battalions of
" Gauvain and Tecklenburg, which, with the Forces of the
" States, got into the Enemy's Intrenchment, and forced them
" to quit it. It was there, that thoſe two Battalions had all
" their Officers either kill'd or wounded, excepting one Enſign,
" in that of Gauvain, and Captain Limburg, with a Captain-
" Lieutenant, in that of Tecklenburg.

" Notwithſtanding thoſe Troops had forced the Enemy's In-
" trenchment, they continued to make a great Fire from their
" Line, which was before me; upon which I cauſed the other
" two Battalions, that were with me, to make a Motion on the
" Right, to endeavour, if poſſible, to diſlodge the Enemy from
" that Poſt. At that time, Monſieur Goſlinga came full Gal-
" lop to me, and aſked me, whether I would not advance;
" whereupon I anſwered, that he might ſee I was advancing, and
" deſired him to order the Pruſſians, on my Right, to make the
" ſame Motion, and march forwards as I was doing; becauſe I
" was not able to maintain myſelf, with two Battalions only.
" Monſieur Goſlinga ſtopp'd a Moment, and then went away
" with Precipitation; becauſe the Enemy had forced our Left
" to abandon the Intrenchments. I maintained, however, the
" Poſt I had gained in Advancing, notwithſtanding the great
" Fire the Enemy made upon me, from a hollow Way, by which
" the Regiment of du Breuil had above forty Men kill'd in the
" firſt Diſcharge. In the mean time, Prince Eugene ſent me
" twice Orders, by his Aid de Camp, to return to my former
" Poſt, which I did accordingly. Quickly after, that Prince,
" and the Duke of Marlborough paſs'd by my Poſt, towards
" the Left, and Monſieur de Vinck, Lieutenant-General, brought
" me Orders from them, not to quit the Poſt where we were,
" till my Lord Duke himſelf ordered us to march. We con-
" tinued, accordingly, there, till all the Horſe and Foot of the
" Right advanced, and then we did the ſame, puſhing on the
" Enemy, and drove them from the hollow Way, where they
" made ſtill a Stand, till at laſt the Battle ended.

" The Loſs of the four Battalions, I had with me, will ap-
" pear, by examining the Liſts; which will ſhew, that they

1709. " have ſuffered very near as much, as the other Battalions which " were commanded for the Attack. And ſince they write from " the Hague, that the Prince of Frieſland ſent to me, to deſire " Succours, for ſeconding the Troops of the States, I declare " it is a notorious Falſity. That Prince may have given ſuch " Orders to ſomebody; but I maintain, that no Body ſaid a " Word to me of it. I, therefore, only deſire, that they would " tell me the Name of the Perſon, who was appointed to bring " me that Order, and ſee whether he will dare to ſay, that he " gave me any. The Want of this Circumſtance will ſhew the " Injuſtice and Wrong they have done me, in publiſhing ſuch " Calumnies at the Hague. By theſe Means, I ſhall diſcover " the Author of thoſe Impoſtures, to look upon him as the vileſt " and moſt diſhoneſt of all Men, for having endeavour'd, by a " falſe Report, to blacken as well my Reputation, as that of " thoſe Battalions.

" I have Reaſon to flatter myſelf, that your Excellency, who " commands, in chief, his Electoral Highneſs's Troops, will " not ſuffer, that they ſhould be unjuſtly run down; but that, " on the contrary, your Excellency will give a full Account of " this Affair to my Lord Duke, and deſire him, that it may be " examined into, by his Order, that the Generals may judge, " whether, on this Occaſion, the leaſt Fault can be laid, either " upon thoſe Troops, or upon myſelf.

I am, &c.

This Letter, which Monſ. de Bothmar, his Electoral Highneſs's Envoy Extraordinary at the Hague, communicated to the Miniſters of the Congreſs, together with the Declaration, which the Prince of Frieſland, and other Generals, made thereupon, convinced the World of the Malice of ſuch who gave Birth to that falſe Report. I come now to the French Letters, I promiſed.

I ſhall begin with two Letters from the Marſhal de Bouflers to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, one written the Day of the Battle, the other two Days after; thro' the Vanity and Adulation of which, the Reader will, however, ſufficiently ſee the Advantage the Confederate Army had over that of the Enemy; and the greater the Reſiſtance on that Side was, which the Marſhal extols above the Skies, the greater was the Glory of the Allies, in ſurmounting ſo great Difficulties, and obtaining a Compleat Victory, in Spite of ſo much Valour and Conduct; and as for what he pretends of the great Superiority in Number of the Confederate Troops, that is already obviated.

Two

Two Letters, from the Marſhal de Bouflers, to the King of France. 1709.

I.

SIR,

A Letter from the Marſhal de Bouflers to the French King.

"THE Marſhal de Villars has, this Day, received a conſi-
"derable Wound; but the Surgeons ſay, there is no Dan-
"ger. It is a great Affliction to me, Sir, that I am unfortu-
"nately obliged, to ſend you the News of the Loſs of a new
"Battle; but I can aſſure your Majeſty, never was Misfortune
"attended with greater Glory. All your Majeſty's Troops
"have acquired the greateſt Reputation, as well for their Valour,
"as for their Firmneſs and Obſtinacy, not yielding at laſt, but
"to the Enemy's Superiority (*of Courage, and not Number*)
"having all done perfect Wonders. All the Marſhal de Villars's
"Diſpoſitions were entirely good, and the beſt that could be
"made by the moſt accompliſhed and experienc'd General. He
"behaved himſelf, in the Action, with all imaginable Bravery
"and Activity; and, beſides his good Example, gave all poſſi-
"ble good Orders; but his Valour, and Want of Care of his
"Perſon, occaſioned his Wound, which was very prejudicial to
"the Affair of this Unfortunate Day.

"He did me the Honour to entruſt me with the Right, and
"himſelf took Care of the Left. We repulſed the Enemy more
"than three or four Times, at both Attacks, with incredible
"Bravery, on the Part of the Troops; but the Center being
"ſomewhat expoſed, we were forced to carry Troops to the
"Left, where they were very much wanted; and the Enemy
"march'd ſo many Horſe and Foot againſt the Center, where
"there were none but Horſe to oppoſe them, that we were o-
"blig'd to yield to the infinitely ſuperiour Number, and pro-
"digious Efforts of the Enemy, after having charg'd them,
"however, at leaſt ſix times, with the braveſt Horſe, and, with
"the greateſt Vigour, puſhed and broke two or three of the E-
"nemy's Lines, who had been entirely beaten, were it not for
"their Infantry, by whoſe Favour they rallied, and ſo return-
"ed upon our new-raiſed Cavalry. I can aſſure your Majeſty,
"that the Enemy's Loſs is three times greater than ours; and
"that they can make no other Advantage of this Unfortunate
"Action, than gaining the Field of Battle. And, I think, I may
"alſo aſſure your Majeſty, That this ill Succeſs will not coſt
"you an Inch of Ground; but that, on the contrary, whenever
"your Majeſty ſhall think fit to make Peace, the Enemy will
"have ſome Reſpect for your Troops, and, perhaps, be more
"tractable, as fluſh'd as they are with Advantages, owing to
"their good Fortune, which may, hereafter, turn Sides. I can-

1709. " not now give your Majeſty any Particulars of this Action; but " will endeavour to ſend them to-morrow or next Day. I can " only aſſure your Majeſty, that all the General-Officers did " their Duty perfectly well, and with the greateſt Bravery and " Skill; but Monſ. d'Artagnan, who commanded the Right of " the Foot, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a particular Manner, as well " by his Valour, as his good Orders. He had three Horſes " kill'd under him, and received four Blows upon his Cuiraſs. " The Duke de Guiche, who was alſo on the Right, a little for- " warder than Monſ. d'Artagnan, behaved himſelf, likewiſe, " with all poſſible Skill and Bravery, and received a Muſket-Shot " in his Leg. The Marquis d'Hautefort, and Monſ. de la Frai- " zilliere, who were alſo on the Right, and in Monſ. d'Artag- " nan's Rear, ſhewed the ſame Valour, and Capacity. Monſ. " de Gaſſion, who commanded the Right Wing of the Horſe, did " Wonders, at the Head of your Majeſty's Houſhold, and " ſhew'd, on this Occaſion, his Courage and Ability, having " puſh'd and defeated more than once, two or three of the E- " nemy's Lines, Sword in Hand. The Gens d'Armes, Light- " Horſe, Muſketeers, and Horſe-Grenadiers did alſo Wonders. " The Prince de Rohan, and Monſ. de Vidame, did all that " could be expected from Perſons of the greateſt Valour. The " Gendarmerie did Wonders alſo; and the Marquis de la Va- " liere was every where, and charged with all poſſible Bravery, " at all the different Charges. The Cavalry behaved them- " ſelves very well, and all the Troops, as well as the Foot, " ſtood, with an incredible Firmneſs, one of the briſkeſt Canno- " nades that ever was. All the Foot did Wonders, and diſtin- " guiſh'd themſelves.

" The Chevalier de St. George behaved himſelf, during the " whole Action, with all poſſible Bravery and Vivacity. I ſay " nothing of your Majeſty's Left, becauſe I was not there; but " I know that all the General-Officers, and all the Troops, ani- " mated by the Marſhal de Villars's Preſence and Example, be- " haved themſelves with all poſſible Valour.

" I hope the whole Army will be re-aſſembled to-morrow, " behind the Rivulet of Renelle, between Queſnoy and Valenci- " ennes; and I believe, I may tell your Majeſty, that it will be " very conſiderable, and in a Condition to diſpute the Ground " with the Enemy. Never was a Retreat, after ſo long, bloody, " and obſtinate a Fight, made with more Order and Firmneſs.

" I do not believe, that the Enemy took twenty Men from us; " ſo that all they have, they took in the Action. Nor do I be- " lieve, that we have loſt any Standards or Colours, or at leaſt but " very few; and I am told, that we have ſome of the Enemy's. " They followed us in Battalia, and in very good Order, as " far as the Defilee of Givri; but with Reſpect, not daring to

" attack

" attack us, *(Very probable, indeed!)* The Diſorder I am in, 1709.
" thro' Fatigue, Wearineſs and Pain, and the Orders I muſt
" give for the Army and the Country, not permitting me
" to write to your Majeſty a longer Account of this Unfortu-
" nate but glorious Action, I will endeavour to make up the
" Defect to-morrow.

" I have forgotten, perhaps, to ſpeak to your Majeſty of the
" Men and Troops, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, as much as
" thoſe above-mention'd; but ſhall endeavour to make it up
" to-morrow or next Day; for they no leſs deſerve your Ma-
" jeſty's Eſteem than the others.

" Monſ. de St. Hilaire play'd the Artillery perfectly well,
" and behaved himſelf with all poſſible Courage and Activity,
" during the whole Action, which began at ſeven in the Morning,
" and did not end till two in the Afternoon. Some Priſoners
" ſaid, that Prince Eugene received a conſiderable Wound, but
" this is not certain. I ſend herewith the Names of the prin-
" cipal General-Officers, who, I am told, are killed or wound-
" ed; but I believe there are ſeveral others, whom we are not
" yet informed of.

" I heartily wiſh your Majeſty may be ſatisfied with my Zeal
" and good Intentions, I did all that poſſibly I could, to pro-
" duce more happy Effects.

I am,

SIR, &c.

The Marſhal de BOUFLERS.

" Officers kill'd. Meſſieurs de Chemerault, Palavicini, de
" Beuil, de Croni, and Staremberg.

" Wounded. The Marſhal de Villars ſhot in the Knee; the
" Duke de Guiche, in the Leg; Monſ. Albergotti, in the
" Thigh; Monſ. de Tournemine's Leg broken and cut off;
" Monſ. de Courcillon's Thigh cut off; Meſſieurs d'Angennes,
" de St. Agnan, de Zele, and de Gondrin

From the Camp at Queſnoy,
Sept. 11, 1709.

This Liſt of Officers killed and wounded, is but a very ſmall Part of that which was printed at the Hague, by Paul Scheltus, Printer in Ordinary to the States, which contains ſeveral Hundreds, with their Names and Employs, too tedious to inſert here.

Two Days after, the Marſhal wrote the following Letter to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

If,

1709.

II.

A ſecond Letter from Marſhal de Bouflers to the French King.

SIR,

"YOUR Majeſty may have ſeen, by my Letter of the eleventh Inſtant, the Unfortunate Succeſs of the Action, which happened, that Day; and with how much Glory, for your Majeſty's Troops and Arms, that Misfortune was attended. I may, in Truth, aſſure you, Sir, that the Glory of that Day, is beyond whatever I have ſaid, or can ſay to your Majeſty; who will learn it even from the Enemy's Relations, which cannot ſufficiently extol and commend the Boldneſs, Valour, Firmneſs, and Obſtinacy of your Majeſty's Troops, of which they have ſeverely felt the Effects. Inſtead of owning, they have been well beaten, they only acknowledge they bought, too dear, the Field of Battle, which the Number of their Troops, infinitely ſuperiour, forced us to yield to them. In ſhort, the Series of Misfortunes, which, for ſome Years paſt, has befallen your Majeſty's Arms, *had ſo humbled the French Nation, that one hardly dared to own one's ſelf a Frenchman:* But I dare aſſure your Majeſty, that the French Name was never more in Eſteem, nor, perhaps, *(this perhaps is ſeaſonable enough)* more dreaded, than it is at preſent, in all the Confederate Army.

"Prince Eugene, and my Lord Marlborough own, that there are, on both Sides, above 25 or 26,000 Men kill'd; at leaſt, 18 or 20,000 were of theirs, which is unanimouſly confirm'd to me, not only by all ſuch of our Officers, who, being Priſoners have been ſent back, with much Courteſy; but by ſeveral Expreſſes I have ſent into their Army; and even by Mr. Sheldon, a Brigadier, who was taken Priſoner, near Boſſu, doing his Duty with Valour, at the Head of 400 Horſe, and who was in their Army, during the Action. Prince Eugene and my Lord Marlborough carried him with them, all over the Field of Battle. He tells us, it was dreadful to ſee ſuch a vaſt Number of dead Bodies (which he ſays amounted to 15 or 1600) tho' many of them had already been buried. They ſpeak with Admiration of our fine Retreat, of its good Diſpoſition, and the Boldneſs with which it was made. They ſay, they have acknowledg'd in this Action the antient Frenchmen, and find they only want to be well led. *(An excellent Compliment upon himſelf, who was the Leader in this Action!)* The Enemy had, in this Action, 162 Battalions, and 300 Squadrons, with 120 Pieces of Cannon; ſo that they were ſuperiour by forty Cannon, and two and forty Battalions. My Lord Marlborough, and the other General-Officers, told Mr. Sheldon, that they hop'd this Action would ſoon procure a

"Peace:

" Peace: And he ſays, he had heard ſeveral Engliſh Officers, 1709.
" ſpeaking together in their Language, highly commend the
" Valour that appear'd, on our Side, in this Action; and ſay-
" ing, ſince the French have recover'd their Bravery, we will
" now be Friends again. Mr. Sheldon, who will forthwith re-
" pair to Verſailles, may have the Honour to acquaint your Ma-
" jeſty with ſeveral other Particulars, both of what he has ſeen,
" and of what he has been told by my Lord Marlborough, who
" is his great Friend.

" The ſaid Lord offer'd Mr. Sheldon all the Money he might
" deſire, to aſſiſt our Wounded Priſoners; but he accepted only
" of fifty Piſtoles, which he diſtributed as Occaſion required.
" Prince Eugene declares, that of all the Actions he has ſeen,
" none were ſo ſharp, ſo bloody, nor ſo obſtinate as this. Above
" all Things, they beſtow infinite Praiſes on the Charges your
" Majeſty's Houſhold Troops made; which, indeed, are beyond
" human Nature, and above all Expreſſion.

" The Enemy's Army marched yeſterday, in the Afternoon, to-
" wards Mons, which they are going to beſiege. They reckon
" this Enterprize will employ them till the latter End of this
" Month; and that they ſhall undertake nothing more, after
" this Conqueſt; both by reaſon of the advanced Seaſon, and
" becauſe their whole Infantry were defeated, and ruined in this
" Battle. *(How came they then to conquer!)*

" I could not get the Account of the Number of the Kill'd and
" Wounded on our Side; I only know, that it is very conſider-
" able; which it is very difficult to avoid, in ſuch terrible, long,
" and obſtinate Actions. It coſt us a great deal, and we cannot
" but with Concern lament the Loſs of ſo many brave Men of
" Merit: But we muſt account a great Victory, the having re-
" trieved and reſtored the Honour of the whole Nation.

" Your Majeſty's whole Army is re-aſſembled between Queſ-
" noy and Valenciennes, encamp'd in very good Order, in a
" Line, and very well *diſpoſed to begin another Action, if your Ma-*
" *jeſty's Service ſhould require it: (Why did not they then relieve*
" *Mons?)* And inſtead of being caſt down, I can aſſure your
" Majeſty, they look more audacious. *(As the Lions at Smith-*
" *field-Bars.)* The Front of the Camp ſtretches near three
" Leagues, and is certainly *very reſpectable.* As Men who
" were thought dead come in daily, and therefore I could not
" get an exact Account of the Kill'd, Wounded or Priſoners;
" nor conſequently the Employments that are vacant, I ſhall
" not have the Honour to propoſe any thing to your Majeſty in
" Favour of any Body; nor even to give you an Account of di-
" ſtinguiſh'd Actions, till I am better acquainted with the
" whole; which will be as ſoon as poſſible.

" The

1709. " The Marſhal de Villars has pitch'd on the Marquis de Nan-
" gis, to carry to your Majeſty the Enemy's Colours and Stand-
" ards, which have been gather'd up, *(but not taken,)* and
" which already amount to a pretty good Number. The ſaid
" Marquis ſhewed to me ſome *Reluctancy (well he might!) to*
" *accept this Commiſſion; by reaſon of the Misfortune we had to*
" *loſe the Field of Battle:* But this Battle, and our Retreat, have
" ſo much the Air of a Victory, and the Enemy's prodigious
" Loſs, looks ſo like a Defeat, that I have perſuaded him to
" gratify Monſ. de Villars's Deſire: Nor is any Body more ca-
" pable to give your Majeſty a better Account than the ſaid
" Sieur de Nangis. Tho' he fought only at the Left Wing, he
" had an entire Knowledge of the general Diſpoſition before the
" Action, by reaſon of his Parts and military Genius, which
" makes him form true Notions, both of what he has ſeen, and
" of what has been related to him, by credible Perſons.

" I here ſubjoin the Account of the Quarters which I am told
" the Enemy are to take before Mons: As ſoon as I ſhall have
" certain Intelligence of their new Poſture and Diſpoſition, I
" may, perhaps, advance nearer them, to ſtreighten them in
" their Subſiſtence.

" I likewiſe ſubjoin here a Letter, which Monſ. de Grimaldi,
" Governour of Mons, writes to the Marſhal de Villars, by
" which your Majeſty will ſee he acquaints him, That *the Ene-*
" *my's Left Wing, which was enguged with our Right, was en-*
" *tirely defeated. (And yet that very Right Wing run away!)*

" It is certain, that the Enemy ſuffered extremely in this *Un-*
" *fortunate, but Glorious Action.*"

Remarks on theſe Letters.

It is hard to ſay, whether theſe Letters contain more Inſtances of Vanity and Flattery, or more Inconſiſtencies. I have juſt hinted at ſome few; but they are too palpable to need any Illuſtration. I ſhall therefore, only aſk; " If the French Officers
" and Troops perform'd ſuch Wonders, as even ſurpaſs'd hu-
" man Nature (as Monſ. de Bouflers expreſſes himſelf) what
" muſt not thoſe Officers and Troops of the Confederate Army
" have done, who ſubdued theſe ſupernatural Perſons, and drove
" them from the Field of Battle, their fortified Camp, and
" treble Intrenchments? Surely they muſt have been ſomething
" more than ſupernatural!" And as for the pretended Superiority of Number of the Confederate Troops, tho' it be not ſo in Fact; yet ſuppoſing it to be Truth, and that they had been twice the Number, the Advantages of the Enemy's Camp, as well with Regard to the Situation as the Fortifications of it, rendered the Attempt very hazardous, and the Glory of the Victory incomparable. In the Marſhal's Account of this Action, we muſt make ſome Allowance for the Vivacity of a French Genius, and the Neceſſity he lay under of blinding the old King his Maſter,

Maſter, and hiding his Loſs: And, indeed, he trifles ſo egregi- 1709.
ouſly with him, that it is difficult to account for his Want of Reſpect to his Sovereign; unleſs we will ſuppoſe he believed his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in the State of Dotage; and that the moſt palpable Falſities, when covered with glavering Flattery, would go down.

We have theſe Letters very prettily epitomiz'd in the *Tatler*, in the following Words:

SIR,

"THIS is to let your Majeſty underſtand, That to your "immortal Honour, and the Deſtruction of the Confede- "rates, your Troops have loſt another Battle. Artagnan did "Wonders, Rohan perform'd Miracles; Guiche did Wonders; "Gattion perform'd Miracles; the whole Army diſtinguiſhed "themſelves, and every Body did Wonders. And to conclude "the Wonders of the Day, I can aſſure your Majeſty, that tho' "you have loſt the Field of Battle, you have not loſt an Inch "of Ground. The Enemy marched behind us with Reſpect, and "we ran away from them as bold as Lions."

The ſame epitomized by the Tatler.

Monſ. de Villars wrote to the French King much in the ſame Strain, tho' in different Terms: And they agreed perfectly, in ſaying a great many fine Things one of the other: But, in the Midſt of theſe Encomiums mutually beſtowed upon each other, it viſibly appear'd, that there was a Miſunderſtanding between them, at the Bottom, and that they judg'd very differently of the Merit of the Action. Monſ. de Bouflers attributed a great Part of it to himſelf, on account of his handſome Retreat, by which, he inſinuated, that he ſaved the French Army from an entire Defeat. Monſ. de Villars did not lay ſo great a Streſs on that; but gave broad Hints, that if he had not been wounded, and obliged to quit the Field, Victory, which, according to him, declar'd, for a long Time, in favour of the French, would have remain'd on that Side: To confirm which, he added, "Your "Majeſty's Troops are more courageous and more daring now, "than they were before the Battle. They deſire nothing more "than to face the Enemy again, and as I hope to be ſoon in a "Condition to get on Horſeback, if I am favour'd with your "Majeſty's Command, I ſhall endeavour to convince your Ene- "mies, that the great Quantity of Blood they have ſhed, does "but animate your Troops to a ſecond Combat." The Duke of Berwick, in my Opinion, ſpoke much more reaſonably of the Matter, when having been to view the Field of Battle, and being ſurprized at the extraordinary Intrenchments he found there, he declared, That, *if the French had been beaten in that Poſt,*

Extract of the Marſhal de Villars's Letter to the French King.

1709. *Poſt, it would be a great Raſhneſs to attempt a Battle in open Field.*

I ſhall add two remarkable Letters more, one from an Officer of Diſtinction in the French Army, and another written by an Officer in the Confederate Army; which taken together ſeem to give a better Idea of this famous Battle, and to ſet Matters in truer Light, than any of the former.

From the Camp between Queſnoy and Valenciennes, Sept. 17, 1709.

A Letter from an Officer of Diſtinction in the French Army.

"IT was the eleventh Inſtant, between ſeven and eight "o'Clock in the Morning, when *the Army of the Allies at-"tack'd our's with ſo much Fury, that, for a Hundred Years paſt, "there has not been a more bloody Action, than was fought that "Day, and will be memorable to all ſucceeding Ages.*

"The Engliſh begun the Attack by the Wood of Sart, which "we had fill'd with Foot, and *perfectly well intrenched*; "but they met not with ſuch Reſiſtance as ſhould have been "made, ſince the Event of the Day depended much on the "Succeſs of that Attack. However few of thoſe who ſuſtained "it, eſcap'd: For the Enemy were ſo *Fierce and Blood-thirſty, that "they hack'd in Pieces, whatever came in their Way; and even "dead Bodies, when their Fury found no more living.*

"The Dutch were not ſo lucky, at our Right, becauſe all our "Infantry there did Wonders; and were not forced till after "they had defended their Intrenchments for five full Hours, "with the moſt violent Fire. It is certain the Enemy ſuffer'd "extremely on that Side; being repuls'd and broken ſeveral "times; and there it was, that *Heroical Actions were per-"form'd on both Sides.*

"Neither the Advantage of the Ground, nor three Intrench-"ments one within another, were able to diſhearten our "*dreadful Enemies, whom we ſaw advancing, all diſcovered, "not like Men, but Devils*; nor were Diſcharges of twenty "Pieces of Cannon, fired directly at once into their Battalions, "able to break them, altho' they carried off whole Ranks.

"Valour ſhined on our Side, as much as poſſible; the Ge-"nerals did not ſpare themſelves; but gave a good Example to "the Troops, by a moſt extraordinary Obſtinacy in not yield-"ing the Victory, which we thought to be entirely ours, when "a great Body of the Enemy's Cavalry, againſt the Center of "our Army, was broke, and routed by the King's Houſhold "Troops: But the Enemy's Generals, having put themſelves "at their Head, brought them up again to the Charge, with ſo "much Fury, that they ſoon after broke our Center, at the "very ſame time that our Right began to yield to the Efforts "of the Enemy's Left; and ours to be driven from their In-

"trenchments

" trenchments in the Woods. *Victory, hereupon, declared against* 1709.
" *us, and we were forced to yield to ſuch terrible Efforts.* Never
" were our Troops ſeen more animated to do their Duty, nor
" better order'd and contriv'd, than that which the Marſhals de
" Bouflers and de Villars made. But *when God does not fight*
" *with Men, all is to no Purpoſe.*

" The King ought to be ſatisfied with his Troops on this Oc-
" caſion. The Enemy did undoubtedly loſe the beſt Part of
" their Infantry, and ours ſuffered extremely. We reckon,
" that *we left, at leaſt,* 7,000 *dead, on the Field of Battle, and*
" *we have above* 10,000 *wounded.*

" We cannot yet dive into the true Reaſon why the Enemy
" did not ſhew more Ardour in purſuing us; but it is believed it
" muſt be the Loſs of their Infantry. We did certainly make
" one of the fineſt Retreats that ever was made, in the Memory
" of Man, before a victorious Army: But it is certain alſo, that
" the Enemy gave us all the Time for it, and purſued us only
" for Form-ſake.

" This was, however, contrary to our Expectation and Ap-
" prehenſion; ſince, as I have ſaid before, when the Enemy
" broke us in the Center, between the two Woods, our Army
" was divided, the Right not being able to join the Left; be-
" cauſe the Enemy form'd themſelves immediately, as far as
" the Hedges of Taiſnieres: And it was with Reaſon we fear'd,
" that the Left would be ſurrounded, becauſe it was broken. It
" was not above half an Hour paſt two when the Fight ended,
" and the Enemy had ſtill a great Part of the Day left; but we
" made a pretty good Uſe of the Time, ſince before the Sun was
" down, we had already paſs'd Bavay, and were conſequently
" out of Danger.

" We then perceived that our Left was not purſued any more
" than we on the Right, and that the Enemy were entirely ſa-
" tisfied with the Field of Battle. In the mean time, we ſaw
" all their Horſe, on the Heights of Taiſnieres, in the Form of
" a Creſcent, and we were ſtill ignorant of their Deſign towards
" five o'Clock: But having ſent out for Intelligence, we had
" Advice that they halted there. This News gave us indeed
" a great deal of Joy, ſince it gave us, likewiſe, Time to
" breathe.

" The Enemy have taken no other Priſoners, but the Wound-
" ed that could not follow, and thoſe, who, being ſpent, re-
" tired to Bavay. *We reckon* 1200 *Officers wounded, among*
" *whom are many of Diſtinction.* The Marſhal de Villars, who,
" by his extraordinary Valour, gained much Glory in this Ac-
" tion, will have much ado to recover, but Guiche, Albergotti,
" and ſeveral others are ſafe.

1709. " *The Troops of the King's Houſhold have loſt ſeveral Stand-*
" *ards, and a Pair of Kettle-Drums*; but it is certain, they have
" performed whatever could be expected from them. *The Eu-*
" *gene's and Marlborough's ought to be very well ſatisfied with us,*
" *during that Day, ſince till then they had not met with Reſiſtance*
" *worthy of them. They may ſay, with Juſtice, that nothing can*
" *ſtand before them*; *and, indeed, what ſhall be able to ſtem the*
" *rapid Courſe of thoſe two Heroes, if an Army of an* 100,000
" *Men of the beſt Troops, poſted between two Woods, trebly en-*
" *trench'd, and performing their Duty, as well as any brave Men*
" *could do, were not able to ſtop them one Day? Will you not then*
" *own with me, that they ſurpaſs all the Heroes of former Ages?*
A noble Teſtimony from an Enemy.

A Letter written by an Officer in the Confederate Camp before Mons.

A Letter from an Officer in the Confederate Army.

" I Send you, herewith, a Letter, *(meaning the foregoing)*
" which you may communicate to your Friends, who will,
" undoubtedly be glad to ſee it, after the other Letters and Re-
" lations, which have already been publiſh'd. *It was ſent by a*
" *Perſon of Note and Merit, who holds a conſiderable Rank in*
" *the French Army, to a Man of Diſtinction, his Friend*; *ſo*
" *that we may depend upon what he ſays to our Advantage. As*
" *for the Enemy's Loſs, it is at leaſt as great as he makes it*;
" and thoſe who would have made you believe, that we loſt a
" great many more Men than the French, are certainly miſ-
" taken; for they make their Computations upon the Liſts
" that have been publiſh'd of the Loſs of ſome Regiments; and
" argue, that if the other Bodies have ſuffered in Proportion,
" our Loſs muſt be greater than was ſaid at firſt: But you will
" find by the true Liſt, which I ſend you here enclos'd, that
" the Loſs of the other Troops is not anſwerable to that of the
" Dutch Battalions which were in our Left, and even of theſe,
" there are more killed and wounded in Writing, than in Rea-
" lity, the Officers not failing to take Advantage of ſuch an Op-
" portunity to augment their Number, becauſe the States allow
" them a certain Sum of Money for each Man kill'd and wound-
" ed; and therefore, they ſet down, in their Liſts, all the Men
" that are wanting in each Company, or have deſerted ſince
" the laſt Review. This made Prince Eugene ſay, very ingeni-
" ouſly, when he ſaw theſe Liſts, *It was pleaſant enough, that ſe-*
" *veral Regiments, which wanted many Men before the Battle,*
" *appear'd now to have been compleat.* Therefore, Sir, you may
" abate one full fourth Part of the Kill'd in ſeveral Bodies,
" without Fear of being miſtaken; and you may reſt aſſured,
" that moſt of the Wounded are ſo but ſlightly. I ſend you
" herewith the general Liſt of both, in the whole Infantry of
" the

" the Army; and as for the Horſe they have ſuffer'd ſo little, 1709.
" that it is not worth the while to make a Liſt of them. I re-
" main,

SIR, *&c.*

	Kill'd.	Wounded.
Colonels	16	20
Lieutenant-Colonels	16	27
Majors	9	37
Captains	76	238
Subalterns	169	441
Serjeants, Corporals, and Private Men	5258	11944
	5544	12706
		5544
Total of the Kill'd and Wounded,		18250

I ſhall ſum up my Account of this Action, in the Words of Biſhop Burnet, who gives the the beſt Abridgment of it, I have ſeen.

" After this Siege (*viz.* that of Tournay) was over, (*ſays the* Biſhop Bur-
" *Biſhop,*) Mons was inveſted, and the Troops march'd thither, net's Ac-
" as ſoon as they had levell'd their Trenches about Tournay: count of this Action.
" But the Court of France reſolved to venture a Battle, rather
" than to look on, and ſee ſo important a Place taken from
" them. Bouflers was ſent from Court to join with Villars, in
" the Execution of this Deſign: They poſſeſs'd themſelves of a
" Wood, and intrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that in ſome
" Places there were three Intrenchments caſt up, one within an-
" other. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene ſaw
" plainly it was not poſſible to carry on the Siege of Mons,
" while the French Army lay ſo near it; ſo it was neceſſary to
" diſlodge them. The Attempt was bold, and they ſaw the
" Execution would be difficult, and coſt them many Men. This
" was the ſharpeſt Action in the whole War, and laſted the
" longeſt. The French were poſted ſo advantageouſly, that our
" Men were often repulſed; and, indeed, the French maintained
" their Ground better, and ſhewed more Courage, than appear'd
" in the whole Courſe of the War: Yet, in Concluſion, they
" were driven from all their Poſts, and the Action ended in a
" *Compleat Victory.* The Number of Slain was almoſt equal on
" both Sides, about 12000 of a Side. We took 500 Officers
" Priſoners, beſides many Cannon, Standards and Enſigns. Vil-
" lars was diſabled by ſome Wounds he received, ſo Bouflers made
" the Retreat, in good Order. Military Men have always talk'd
" of this, as the ſharpeſt Action in the whole War, not without

1709. " reflecting on the Generals, for beginning ſo deſperate an At-
" tack. The French thought it a ſort of Victory, that they had
" animated their Men, to fight ſo well behind Intrenchments,
" and to repulſe our Men ſo often, and with ſo great Loſs. They
" retired to Valenciennes, and ſecured themſelves by caſting up
" ſtrong Lines, while they left our Army to carry on the Siege of
" Mons, without giving them the leaſt Diſturbance."

An Obſervation of Monſieur Rouſſet's.

To this I ſhall add (and therewith conclude my Relation of this memorable Battle,) an Obſervation of Monſieur Rouſſet's: " In
" the Opinion *(ſays this Officer and Author)* of the whole World,
" our Generals were guilty of an irreparable Fault, in not at-
" tacking the ninth, but delaying it, in Expectation of ſix and
" twenty Battalions, and ſome Squadrons; while, in the mean
" time, by giving the Enemy Time to intrench themſelves,
" which was what we had infallibly to expect from a General ſo
" accuſtomed to it as the Marſhal de Villars, we weakened our-
" ſelves, in Proportion as the Enemy grew more formidable.
" Beſides, we thereby gave him all the Time he could wiſh, to
" penetrate into our Diſpoſition, to re-call ſeveral Detachments,
" which did not join him till the tenth, and, in ſhort, to render
" all thoſe Places impenetrable, thro' which only our Troops
" could break into the Plain. In the Council of War, which
" was held the ninth, the Deputies of the States General were
" of Opinion, that the Siege of Mons ſhould be immediately
" undertaken, without giving the Enemy Battle; but that
" if they ſhould come to attack us, in that Caſe, we ſhould
" retreat from them; and of this Opinion were moſt of
" the Generals. Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlbo-
" rough, were of Opinion to attack the Enemy, before they
" began the Siege, and they brought over the Deputies to be of
" the ſame Mind; but then, as well they, as the Duke of
" Marlborough, inſiſted, that the Attack ought to be made im-
" mediately, not to give the Marſhal de Villars Time to fortify
" his Camp. Prince Eugene was not, however, to be diſſuaded
" from the Reſolution he had taken, to wait for the Detach-
" ment from Tournay. A fatal Delay, which occaſion'd the
" Ruin of the whole Body of the Dutch Infantry, which alone
" loſt near 10,000 Men, more than 700 of whom were Officers,
" at the Attack of the Intrenchments.

Of Monſieur Du Mont.

Monſieur Du Mont ſays, It was a Misfortune to the Allies, that they did not give Battle the ninth; for then, probably, the Victory would have been more compleat, and have been obtain'd with a leſs Loſs of Blood: The Enemy was then on the other Side of the Wood, in the Plain; there was Room to come at them thro' the Intervals. They had not had Time to intrench themſelves, and the Advantage of the Ground would have been pretty near equal.


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There is one Thing particularly remarkable in this Battle, which is ſo uncommon, that we ſhall hardly find it parallel'd; I mean, that the Conquerors ſhould loſe as many, if not more Men, than the Conquered, and yet keep the Field of Battle, with all the Marks and Trophies of the moſt compleat Victory. 1709.

F. Daniel, who is not the moſt impartial of Hiſtorians, pretends, that the Confederates loſt 30,000 Men, in this Action, and the French but 20,000. And that the latter retreated quietly, and without Interruption to Queſnoy, carrying with them two and thirty Colours or Standards: Which does not very well agree with the other Circumſtances of this Battle: But, if it had been true, it would have been juſt the Caſe of the Spaniards after a Battle loſt by Charles V. if we may believe Sandaval, his Hiſtorian, who has put in the Title of one of his Chapters; *The Victorious Spaniards fly.* And of F. Daniel.

The Marſhal de Villars, tho' wounded (as I have obſerved above) in the Knee, and obliged to reſign the Command to the Marſhal de Bouflers, could neither by his Grief for the Defeat, nor the Pain of his Wound, overcome his uſual Vanity; for, it is reported, that when the News was brought him, he cried out with an *Alas! Villars was not there; he could not be every where!*

On Occaſion of the French endeavouring ſo artfully to conceal the Loſs they ſuſtained at Malplacquet, the following Medal was ſtruck. A Medal ſtruck on the Endeavours of the French to conceal their Loſs at Malplacquet.

On the Face is repreſented a Stage-Monarch, holding out the Shield of Pallas, fondly believing it capable to render him invincible, and in vain endeavouring to ſkreen himſelf, thereby, from the Thunder darted at him by a Nymph. This Nymph, who is deſign'd to repreſent the Armies of the Allies, leans on a Bundle of Arrows, the Emblem of Union and Force. Between theſe two Figures, is a third of a Nymph in Chains, crown'd with a Mural Crown, to repreſent the City of Mons; over all theſe is the Inſcription:

NEC CASTRA, NEC MUNIMENTA.

Neither Camps nor Intrenchments can ſkreen you.

And, in the Exergue;

POSTSCENIUM AUTUMNI.

The Autumnal Poſtſcene.

To underſtand this, the Reader muſt call to mind, that the Poſtſcene is the Back-part of the Stage, whither the Actors retire, after a Play, to diveſt themſelves of their aſſumed, and ap-

1709. pear in their natural, Forms. This Device, therefore, alluding to the Repreſentation above it, ſignifies as much as, *This is the true State of Things:* And as the taking of Mons was the laſt Scene of the Tragedy of this Year; ſo from thence we may form a juſt Judgment of what preceded, and reflect on the Circumſtances of Things as they really were, diveſted of the Tinſel and Gloſs, with which the French endeavoured to cloath them.

The Reverſe, repreſents the Coloſſus of Rhodes, that enormous Statue of the Sun, (the Symbol of France) which was reckon'd one of the Wonders of the World; with the following Inſcription:

MOLE RUIT SUA.

His own Weight occaſions his Fall.

Which is farther explained in the Exergue, in the following Words:

MONTES HANNONIÆ, GALLIA LABENTE, RECUPERATI, 23 OCTOB. 1709.

Mons, in Hainault, retaken by the Decay of France, October 23, 1709.

Than which no greater Marks could be, than theſe ſucceſſive Loſſes, which the French endeavour'd ſo induſtriouſly to conceal.

CHAP. XVII.

The Siege of Mons, *and other Tranſactions, to the Concluſion of the Year,* 1709.

1709. THE Confederate Generals having reſolved to lay Siege to the important Town of Mons, the Capital City of Hainault, and the late Reſidence of the Elector of Bavaria; which the Retreat of the French had now left a free Paſſage to; Lieutenant-General Cadogan, with Monſ. Vegelin, one of the Deputies of the States, went, on the eighteenth of September, N. S. to haſten the March of the Artillery and Ammunition-Waggons deſigned for that Enterprize: A great Number of Horſes were ſent from the Army, to aſſiſt in bringing up the ſame to the Camp; and, the nineteenth, the Duke of Marlborough removed his Quarters to the Caſtle of Havre.

Preparations for the Siege of Mons.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, having taken the neceſſary Meaſures to ſecure the March of the Artillery, and appointed


Troyille
Morat
Citadel
A


An
Exact Plan of
MONS
is humbly Dedicated
to ye Right Hon.ble
the EARL of
STAIRS,
by his most Obedt Serv.t
Tho: Lediard
D
EXPLICATION
A Bartamont Gate
B Gueritte Gate
C Havre Gate
D Nimy Gate
E The Park Gate
F Ravage Gate
A Scale of Fathoms
100
200
300
I. Harrinde

appointed the Generals that were to command in this Siege, under the Prince of Orange-Naſſau, the latter gave an Account of the Diſpoſitions made thereto, and the Progreſs thereof, till the ſeven and twentieth, in the two following Letters to the States General. 1709.

High and Mighty Lords,

A Letter from the Prince of Orange to the States General.

" I Received with due Reſpect your High Mightineſſes Letter of the 16th Inſtant, in which you expreſs your Satisfaction in my Conduct, ſhewn in the Battle of Taiſnieres, (or Malplacquet;) and as this Declaration is very acceptable to me, ſo it ſhall animate me, for the future, not to regard any Pains or Trouble, but ever to ſacrifice my Life in the Service of your High Mightineſſes, in Hopes to deſerve your Favour and Affection more and more.

" The Siege of Mons being reſolv'd upon, I have the Honour to command it, and under me, of the Infantry, the Lieutenant-Generals Pettendorff, Rantzau, and Dohna; the Major-Generals, Lord North and Gray, Sacken, Els, Ammama, and Ivoy; the Brigadiers Evans, Earl of Orrery, Weecks, Horſt, Rechteren, and Ockinga. Of the Cavalry, Lieutenant-General Schulemburg; the Major-Generals Stain, Chanclos, and Cheus; and the Brigadiers Fabricius and Hunderbein.

" The moſt Part of the thirty Battalions, and thirty Squadrons, appointed for the Siege, being arrived in this Camp, I repaired hither, on the twentieth Inſtant, and the Projects of the Directors of the Approaches, in reſpect to the Attacks, being approved on, it was, with the Advice of the Field-Deputies of your High Mightineſſes, and the Princes of Savoy and Marlborough, reſolved to open the Trenches, to-morrow Night, if every thing requiſite and neceſſary thereto be ready in two ſeveral Places, viz. at the Gate of Bertamont, where the chief Attack will be, and the Gate of Havre. This Evening, 100 Soldiers, and 100 Workmen are ordered to poſſeſs themſelves of a Mill, on the Trouille, and thereby to cut off the Enemy's Proviſions on that Side. The Sieur Dru de Caſtillon, Captain of the Regiment of Guethem, and a Peaſant who offered himſelf voluntarily, have been ordered to drain the Inundations, between St. Guiſlain and Mons, to execute which 150 Pioneers, with a ſufficient Guard to ſupport them, are commanded, and they are to begin that Work to-morrow.

" Thirty Squadrons, under the Command of a Lieutenant-General, two Major-Generals, and two Brigadiers, have been ordered to guard the Artillery hither, which is to break up from Bruſſels to-morrow; all the other Poſts are, for their better Security, aſſigned to the Commanding Officers.

1709. "In the mean time, nothing is omitted for making the ne-
"ceſſary Preparations, to continue this important Siege, with
"a happy Succeſs, &c.

Sign'd,

J. W. F. Prince of ORANGE and NASSAU.

From the Camp before Mons,
Sept. 23, 1709.

The other Letter, dated September 26, was as follows:

Another Letter from the Prince of Orange to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

"ON the twenty-third, I had the Honour to give your
"High Mightineſſes an Account of my Arrival in this
"Camp, and what had been done to that Time, in the Pre-
"paration towards the proſecuting of this Siege.

"The Perſons, who were ordered to drain the Inundati-
"ons between Condé and Mons, did ſo happily execute their
"Orders, that the Water, on one Side, is already fallen above
"ſix Foot.

"The Deſign of cutting off the Mills on the Trouille has,
"likewiſe, had good Succeſs, the Garriſon therein, conſiſting
"of four and twenty Men, under the Command of an Offi-
"cer, ſurrendered Priſoners of War, without any Reſiſtance;
"whereupon a Beginning was made, to draw off the Water,
"on that Side, likewiſe.

"Laſt Night, at half an Hour after nine, the Trenches
"were opened at the Attack of Bertamont, with all the Suc-
"ceſs imaginable. A Parallel of 550 Foot was drawn before
"the Horn-work of that Gate, with a Line of Communicati-
"on, from the Village of Hyron, to the Parallel aforeſaid,
"and another was begun, from the Height of the Road of Ba-
"vay; but the Time falling too ſhort, it could not be joined
"to the other. We had, on this Occaſion, three Men killed
"and one Major, one Captain, one Subaltern, one Engineer,
"and four and fifty common Soldiers wounded. On the At-
"tack of the Gate of Havre, Engineer de Boeffe run a Paral-
"lel along the Foot of the Glacis, but an unforeſeen Accident
"incapacitated him to draw a Communication with his Line
"on the Rear, which was the Reaſon that it could not certain-
"ly be known what Number were killed and wounded on
"that Side. I was only inform'd, that Lieutenant General
"Cadogan, his Aid de Camp, and another Officer, who ad-
"vanced too near, were wounded.

"The Engineer Rietquetſeler, with 300 Soldiers, 100 Pi-
"oneers, four Pieces of Cannon, and the neceſſary Ammuni-

"tion

" tion and Faſcines, were ordered to make themſelves Maſters 1709.
" of the Redoubts of Nimy; but the Men and other Requiſites
" not being ready, time enough, laſt Night, that Deſign was
" deferr'd till to-morrow Morning, &c.

Sign'd,

J. W. F. Prince of ORANGE and NASSAU.

P. S. " After the concluding of theſe, I received Advice,
" that the Redoubt of Nimy had been forced this Day, where-
" in were found two Pieces of Cannon, five and twenty Men,
" an Officer, and a Subaltern. This Afternoon the Enemy
" made a Sally upon our Trenches, on the Attack of Havre,
" with 300 Men, on which Occaſion, the Engliſh Regiment
" of Hill had about ſixty Men kill'd and wounded; but being
" ſuſtained by the Regiment of Prince Albert, the Enemy was
" obliged to retire, with ſome Loſs.

The ſeven and twentieth, Lieutenant-General Wilks join'd the Army, with five Battalions and ten Squadrons from Duillemont. The two Days following, the Beſiegers carried on their Approaches as much as the Badneſs of the Weather could allow of, and finiſh'd their Batteries. The thirtieth, another Convoy of Ammunition and Artillery being arrived, two and thirty Pieces of Cannon were brought to the Batteries, at the Attack of the Gate of Bertamont, and ſixteen to thoſe at the Gate of Havre. It is remarkable, that the Allies made no Lines of Circumvallation, at this Siege: A plain Mark they were no Ways apprehenſive of the Enemy; nor did not think them ſo formidable as the Marſhal de Villars endeavoured to perſuade the King his Maſter, that they were. Continuance of the Siege.

The firſt of October, purſuant to the Diſpoſition made the Night before, Major-General Ivoy, with a Detachment, advanced, in the Morning, to attack the Horn-work and the Redoubt, without the Park-gate, which cover'd the Mills, where the Beſieged uſed to grind their Corn. In this Service, four Cannon and two Hawbitzers were uſed, which had not fired above three Rounds, when the Enemy ſeeing the Confederates, who had marched a conſiderable Way up to the Waiſt in Water, ready to make an Aſſault, yielded themſelves Priſoners of War, to the Number of four and fifty Men, one Captain, and two Lieutenants; but the Officers were permitted to return into Town.

By the taking of theſe Works, in which the Beſiegers found forty Sacks of Meal, two Pieces of Cannon, and ſome Ammunition, they became Maſters of a Sluice, which was of great Uſe for letting out the Water; and, the ſame Day, they began

1709. gan to fire from ſix and twenty Pieces of Cannon. The ſecond, nothing paſt of any Moment. The third, the Weather being become fair, the Beſiegers obliged the Enemy to quit a ſmall Redoubt, on the Right of the Gate of Havre, and continued their Approaches, with very little Loſs, at both Attacks, till the eighth, when they were not above ten Paces from the Counterſcarp of the Horn-work, at the Gate of Havre, which they attack'd that Day, and after half an Hour's Reſiſtance, lodg'd themſelves on the Cover'd Way, with the Loſs only of ſixty Men, kill'd and wounded, and, among the latter, Colonel Hara, of the Engliſh Artillery, and Captain Petit of the Guards. They perfected their Approaches, lodg'd themſelves on the Cover'd Way of the Horn-work, at the Gate of Bertamont, and begun to batter the Face of that Work, from two Batteries, of twelve Pieces of Cannon each.

From the eighth, to the ſixteenth, nothing happen'd worthy of Notice, only that the Beſiegers continued to bombard the Place. The ſixteenth, in the Morning, 400 Grenadiers, ſuſtained by 500 Fuſileers, and 700 Workmen, attack'd the ſecond Counterſcarp of the Horn-work, at the Gate of Havre, which the Enemy quitted, after a ſhort Reſiſtance; and, thereupon, the Allies made a good Lodgment, and removed their Batteries to the Palliſadoes, to batter the Horn-work in Breach. At ſeven, in the Morning, they began, with a great Diſcharge of Bombs and Grenadoes, to attack the Horn-work of Bertamont, by which the Enemy were ſo much annoy'd, that when the Beſiegers had mounted the Breach, they found, to their great Amazement, that the Beſieged had quitted both the Ravelin and the Horn-work, and they lodg'd themſelves therein with very little Loſs. They took, at the ſame time, a little Out-work, on the Right of the Horn-work, without loſing one Man, and in it, a Lieutenant and fifteen Soldiers, Priſoners.

They began, the eighteenth, at the Attack of Bertamont, to remove the Batteries into the Horn-work, in order to batter the Baſtions, and continued to work on them, with all poſſible Diligence. The nineteenth in the Morning, their Batteries began to fire, upon the Face of the Horn-work, at the Gate of Havre, and continued to do ſo, with very good Succeſs, till the twentieth, about Noon, when the Breaches being almoſt practicable, and the Beſiegers making Preparations for an Attack, they were prevented by the Enemy's beating a Parly, and hanging out white Flags, at both Attacks, to ſignify their Deſire to capitulate. Hoſtages were, hereupon, exchanged, and the Enemy having ſent to Monſieur de Sonnegar, Major-General, Monſieur Grimaldi, a Brigadier, and Monſieur Lellier, the Allies,

The Garriſon of Mons beats a Parly.

Allies, on their Side, ſent into the Town, Major-General Ranck, Brigadier Ockinga, and Colonel Alberti. 1709.

The French Hoſtages, having dined with the Prince of Naſſau, near the Bertamont Attack, went, in the Afternoon, to the Duke of Marlborough's Quarters, where Prince Eugene was, at the ſame time; and having deliver'd in their Propoſals, conſiſting of two and twenty Articles, returned into the Town, in the Evening, with their Highneſs's Anſwer. They came out again the next Morning; and, after ſome Debates, accepted ſuch Terms, as the Confederate Generals thought fit to grant them: By which they were allowed to march out, with other Marks of Honour, but without Cannon or Mortars. The Capitulation agreed on.

The Articles were ſign'd, about ten at Night, at Prince Eugene's Quarters, by that Prince, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Field-Deputies of the States-General, on the one Part, and General Grimaldi, Governour of the Town, on the other: And, immediately after, 500 Men took Poſſeſſion of the Gate of Nimy. The Reduction of this important Place, after the memorable and bloody Battle of Malplacquet, was a plain Demonſtration, that the Allies obtain'd, in that Action, ſomething more ſubſtantial, than the Name of a Victory; ſince the Enemy, who had hazarded a Battle, to prevent the Siege of this Town, did not make the leaſt Motion to relieve it; notwithſtanding the Aſſurances given by the Marſhals de Villars and Bouflers to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he would not loſe an Inch of Ground by that Action; and their Boaſts of marching towards the Confederate Army, if the King's Service required it. The Town of Mons ſurrenders. Reflections on this Conqueſt.

The twenty-third, the Garriſon march'd out with all the Marks of Honour allowed them by the Capitulation; beſides which, the Confederate Generals granted them two Pieces of Cannon, and one Mortar, by way of Compliment. The whole did not exceed 100 Men, the reſt being either Sick or Wounded, and a great Number of Walloons, and others, having ſtayed behind, in the Town, to liſt themſelves in the Service of the Allies. Count Dohna, who was appointed to command in that Place, march'd in, at the ſame time, with a Detachment of Troops, which were to be in Garriſon during the Winter. Of the Britiſh Troops, employed in this Service, Colonel Hill received a Hurt in his Side; Colonel Clayton was dangerouſly wounded in the Eye, and Colonel Foxton, and Major Mortimer were kill'd.

The following Medal was ſtruck on this Occaſion.

On the Face, the Queen's Buſto, with her Title as uſual. On A Medal ſtruck on this Occaſion.

1709. On the Reverſe, the Town of Mons, and Victory flying over it, with a Laurel Garland in her Right Hand, and a Palm-Branch in her Left, with this Inſcription,

MONTIBUS IN HANNONIA CAPTIS.

In Engliſh,

Mons in Hainault taken.

And in the Exergue, the Date of the Year, M DCC IX.

The Confederate Army goes into Winter-Quarters.

The Advancement of the Seaſon, not admitting of any farther Undertaking, the Winter-Quarters were ſettled, and, the ſix and twentieth, the Army paſs'd the Haiſne, and came to Thiuries, where they remained the next Day, which was celebrated as a Thankſgiving to Almighty God, for the taking of Mons. The eight and twentieth, the Troops ſeparated, to march into their reſpective Winter-Quarters; the Britiſh for Ghent; the Danes for Bruges; the Pruſſians for the Maeſe; and the reſt for Bruſſels, Lovain, and other Parts. This done, the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, ſet out for Bruſſels, and went from thence to the Hague.

The Duke of Marboro' and Prince Eugene go for the Hague.

The following Medal was ſtruck on the progreſſive Succeſs of this Year.

A Medal ſtruck on the progreſſive Succeſs of the Year 1709.

On the Face a Buſto of her Majeſty, with her Title as uſual.

On the Reverſe, a Monument of Trophies, at the Foot of which are two Figures, repreſenting Mars and Hercules, holding two Shields, repreſenting, one the Battle of Malplacquet, and the other the taking of Mons. Over them, in another Shield, is repreſented the Siege of Tournay, and above them all Fame hovers, and trumpets out theſe Exploits. With the Inſcription:

TURRIS, CASTRA, MONTES VICTI.

Tournay, the Camp of Taiſnieres, and Mons won.

And in the Exergue:

VICTORIA PACIFERA, ANNO 1709.

Victories productive of Peace, Anno 1709.

To prevent any Surprize from the French, during the Winter, the following Generals were ordered to ſtay in Flanders, and

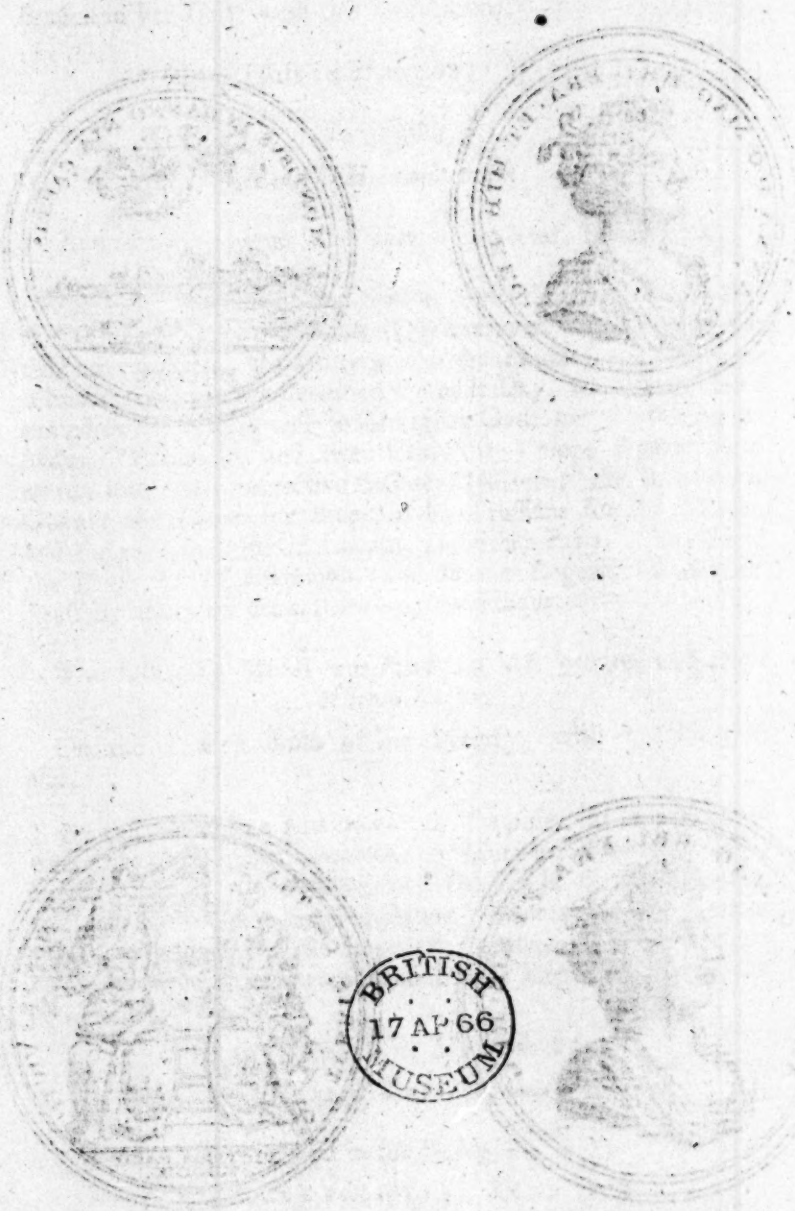

ANNA D·G·MAG·BRI·FRA·ET HIB·REG.


MONTIBVS IN HANNO NIA CAPTIS
MDCCIX.

555


ANNA D·G·MAG·BRI·FRA·ET HIB·REG.


TVBRIS CASTRA MONTES VICTI.
VICTORIA PACIF.
MDCCIX.



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and the adjacent Countries, *viz.* In the Conqueſts, in Flanders, the General, Earl of Albemarle; Lieutenant-General Murray, and Major-General Chanclos. At Bruſſels, the Lieutenant-Generals Dompré, Prince William of Heſſe, Prince d'Auvergne, Villate, and Vander Beck; the Major-Generals Keppel, Ranck, Schmettau, and Quarter-Maſter-General Ivoy. At Mons, Lieutenant-General Dohna, and the Major-Generals Els and Hamilton; at Liege, General Count Tilly, the Lieutenant-Generals Dopf, La Lecq, and Heyde; and the Major-Generals Du Portail, and the Prince of Wirtemberg; at Malines, the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, General, and the Lieutenant-General, Earl of Athlone; at Louvain, Lieutenant-General Hompeſch, and Major-General Schlippenbach; at Mazeick, Lieutenant-General Wittinghoff. 1709.

The Duke of Marlborough having written to the States General to congratulate them on the taking of Mons, and acquaint them that the Seaſon would not allow of Beſieging Maubeuge, as was intended, their High Mightineſſes return'd the following Anſwer.

SIR,

"ALTHO' we were already informed, by our Deputies, "of the taking of Mons, and the Reduction of the Pro- "vince of Hainault, the Letter, whereby your Highneſs con- "gratulates us on that happy Succeſs, has not been, for all that, "leſs acceptable to us. We look upon this Conqueſt as one of "the Fruits of the laſt Victory, and of your Labours; and we "rejoice the more at it, becauſe (beſides its own Importance) it "muſt convince all the World, that the Advantage, as well as "the Glory, of the laſt Battle remain on the Side of the Allies. "We congratulate, with all our Hearts, your Highneſs thereup- "on. If the Seaſon permitted to go as far as your good Will, "we might ſurely promiſe ourſelves, that the Valour of your "Highneſs would procure us new Advantages, before the End of "the Campaign; but ſeeing the Seaſon of the Year does not allow "of any farther Action, this muſt be deferr'd to next Spring; "unleſs the Enemy prefer Peace to War, upon more equitable "Conditions, than they have hitherto expreſſed. We are, "with much Eſteem, and truly, &c. The States General's Letter to the Duke of Marlboro'.

The Duke of Marlbourough having ſettled the Repartition of the Winter Quarters, arrived, as I have ſaid above, at the Hague, the third of November, as did Prince Eugene, the ſeventh. The twelfth their Highneſſes had a long Conference with ſeveral Deputies of the States, in which Prince Eugene, who ſpoke firſt, made the following Repreſentation: Conferences at the Hague.

"That

1709. Prince Eugene's Speech.

" That tho' there was Reaſon to hope, that the glorious Victory, and other great Advantages obtained, the laſt Campaign, would induce the Enemy to comply next Winter, with ſuch Terms, as might ſecure a good and ſure Peace, to prevent thereby the Continuation of the War, and ſave the great Charges they muſt be at, to bring their Army into the Field, the next Campaign; yet, as this was ſtill uncertain, there was an abſolute Neceſſity to take, in Time, and without any Delay, the neceſſary Meaſures for being early in the Field, the next Spring, in order to act with more Vigour than ever. That, above all Things, it was neceſſary, to make ſufficient Magazines of Forage, Corn, Meal, and other Neceſſaries, in the moſt convenient Frontier-Places, that the Troops might be aſſembled, ſubſiſted, and put in a Condition to act, even before there was Graſs on the Ground; and that a ſufficient Number of Waggons be provided, for tranſporting to the Army, Bread and other Neceſſaries, the Troops having been more than once in great Streights, the laſt Campaign, and having for ſome Days been without Bread, for want of Waggons, of which the Field-Deputies of their High Mightineſſes had been Witneſſes. That Magazines were indiſpenſably neceſſary, to prevent the Enemy's being in the Field before them, in the Spring, and to take ſuch advantageous Poſts as might enable the Allies to penetrate into the French Territories, without being put to the Neceſſity to hazard a dangerous Battle, and attack them in their ſtrong Intrenchments. That it was alſo neceſſary, to have double the Number of Waggons they had before, for tranſporting Bread and other Neceſſaries, from the Frontier-Places to the Army, becauſe otherwiſe, they could not advance at any Diſtance from the ſaid Frontiers, and penetrate into the Dominions of France, how fair an Opportunity ſoever they had for it; and leſs ſtill at preſent than before, becauſe the Enemy's Territories afforded no Proviſions to ſubſiſt an Army. That, therefore, he earneſtly recommended theſe two Articles of Magazines and Waggons, as two Things, without which they could not promiſe to themſelves to obtain the Advantages that might be expected from the next Campaign, in caſe they were obliged to continue the War. Concluding, with deſiring them, that the Contracts for furniſhing the Imperial and Palatine Troops, with Bread and Forage, might be performed and executed without any Delay, for preventing all Inconveniences and Diſorders.

The Duke of Marlborough's Speech.

The Duke of Marlborough ſpoke next, on the ſame Heads, and recommended with the utmoſt Earneſtneſs, the Articles relating to the Magazines and Waggons; adding, " That being " obliged to go for England, he left there General Cadogan, who " was impowered to ſettle with the Council of State, the Con-

" tracts


ANNA · AUGUSTA.


VALLO · GALLORVM · DIRVTO
SALVS PROVI
ET · DVACO · CAPTO ·
MDCCX.

B. Cole Sculp.





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" tracts for the Subſiſtence of the Imperial and Palatine Troops, 1704.
" and other Affairs, which were to be regulated, in Concert,
" between Great Britain and the States. His Grace repreſented
" afterwards, the abſolute Neceſſity of recruiting and re-eſtab-
" liſhing the Forces, with all poſſible Speed, and renewing
" the Capitulations with ſuch Troops, which without a new A-
" greement, could not continue their Service; concluding, that
" it was alſo highly neceſſary to regulate, in Time, the Rout of
" the Heſſian Troops, that were marching into their own Coun-
" try, that they might return, without any Delay, as ſoon as
" Occaſion ſhould require.

The Subject of this Conference having been reported to the Aſſembly of the States General, their High Mightineſſes reſolved to concur in every thing that was, or ſhould be propos'd, for making the utmoſt Efforts, the next Campaign, in order to bring the War to the deſired Concluſion.

The Confederate Miniſters had ſeveral other Conferences together, in which it was warmly inſiſted, on the Part of Great Britain and Holland, that ſince the Empire made ſuch great Demands on France (as the Reſtoration of the three Biſhopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and all Alſace and Franche Comte) its Members ought to furniſh their full Quota's towards this neceſſary War. To which Prince Eugene anſwered: " The Em- Another Speech of Prince Eugene's.
" perour thought the Thing ſo reaſonable, that He would rea-
" dily take any Meaſures, in Concert with his Allies, to com-
" pel the reſpective States and Princes of the Empire to the punc-
" tual Performance of their Duty and Engagements; it being
" well known to all the World, that his Imperial Majeſty was
" not wanting in ſetting them an Example; ſince he furniſh'd
" ſeveral Thouſands of Men, and conſiderable Sums of Mony
" more than his Quota." They alſo conſulted together about proper Means to extinguiſh the War in the North; or at leaſt, to prevent its ſpreading into the Empire, and any Ways affecting the Grand Alliance.

The Campaign in the Netherlands was no ſooner at an End, than the French Court thought fit to make new Advances, towards ſetting a Negotiation for a Peace on foot again. To this End Signior Foſcarini, the Venetian Ambaſſador, who came to Holland, about this Time, took a Turn to Amſterdam, to feel the Pulſes of the Burgomaſters of that City. On the other hand, Monſieur Pettecum, Reſident of the Duke of Holſtein, at the Hague, who had been employ'd the laſt Winter, under-hand, in the Negotiation of Peace, and had ſince continued to hold a Correſpondence with the Marquis de Torcy, made ſome new Overtures, on the Part of France, and deſired Paſſes for their Commiſſioners, to come to the Hague. The Imperial, Britiſh, and Dutch Miniſters, having taken this Matter into Conſideration, France makes new Advances towards a Peace.

1709. tion, and a Report of their Conference having been made to the Aſſembly of the States General, their High Mightineſſes refuſed the Paſſes, but conſented, that Monſieur de Pettecum ſhould go to the French Court, purſuant to their Deſire, to know what farther Offers they had to make. The States came to this Reſolution of Mr. Pettecum's Journey to Paris, not that they laid any great Streſs upon the Succeſs of it; but barely to obviate any evil Impreſſions that the Emiſſaries of France might endeavour to make in the Minds of the People, in Caſe they ſhould have refus'd it. That Miniſter accordingly ſet out for Paris, about the Middle of November; where he ſtaid about ten Days. Not many Days after, the Duke of Marlborough ſet out for London, and Prince Eugene for Vienna.

Monſieur Pettecum goes for that End to Paris.

The Duke of Marlborough departs for England.

Monſieur Pettecum was received at the Court of France with more Reſpect than was due to a Miniſter of ſo inferiour Rank; and with an affected Oſtentation, to make the murmuring and half-famiſh'd People believe, that Peace was near; not without ſome vain Inſinuations, that he was ſent by the Allies themſelves, to make Advances towards it: tho' nothing is more certain, than that he had no ſuch Power or Direction given him on their Parts. He conferred for ſome Days, with the Marquis de Torcy, and the other French Miniſters, tho' unſucceſsfully; and having received a Preſent for the Trouble and Expences of his Journey, he returned to the Hague, on the ſeventh of December, without having, in the leaſt, forwarded the Buſineſs for the ſake of which he undertook this Journey, and without bringing with him the leaſt ſhadow of any thing to ground an Accomodation upon. On the contrary, he produced a Writing drawn by order of Monſ. de Torcy, dated the 27th of November, in which the Views of the Court of France were too viſible to want an Expoſitor. The Subſtance of it was: "That the Preliminary Articles, having "been form'd with a View only of preventing, if poſſible, the "Campaign which was then upon the Point of being open'd, "as that had not ſucceeded, they were now out of the Queſtion. "That the King did not think himſelf tied down by them, ſince "they were not accepted of with in the Time limited; but, if "the Allies were willing, the King gave his Conſent to employ "the Winter in treating of a Peace which ſhould be concluſive; "*That if the Form of the Preliminaries was but annihilated, he "would agree to retain the Subſtance*; and that on the Foundation of what was therein granted to the Allies, he conſented "that the Treaty ſhould be renew'd, to begin the firſt of January next enſuing; and that according to the cuſtomary Method of all Treaties, the Execution of this ſhould commence "after the Ratifications were exchang'd.

Monſieur Petecum returns to the Hague.

This was the Anſwer Mr. Pettecum brought, which proved no ways anſwerable to the Expectations which he had flatter'd them with:

with. For instead of the King of France having declared (as he had endeavour'd to make them hope) that he accepted of all the *Preliminary Articles*, one only excepted, he now rejected them all. *By offering to retain the Substance, tho' the Form was set aside*, they overthrew all that had been agreed upon, and the French reserved to themselves full Liberty to dispute anew upon every Article, and to lay hold of every Opportunity which such a Discussion of Things might offer, to excite Differences, and to raise Jealousies between the States and their Allies. 1709.

Resolution of the States General.

These Proposals having been examined by the Heer Van Welderen, and other Deputies of the States General, and a Report thereof made to their Assembly, they were unanimously rejected, with Disdain. A vigorous Resolution was thereupon taken, on the fourteenth of December, in which, among other Things, they said, " That for several Reasons therein inserted, " the Answer brought by the Sieur Pettecum was not satisfac- " tory; and that the Preliminary Articles ought to be insisted on, " especially as there was no Difficulty rais'd, on the Part of " France, but only on the seven and thirtieth Article, and it was " the general Opinion, that an Expedient might be sought, to " give Satisfaction to all Parties. That the Sieur Pettecum be- " ing returned, not only without any such Expedient, but with " an Answer in which there is not the least Mention made of the " Proposals made before, and, in which France recedes entirely " from the Foundations, which were agreed to with a com- " mon Consent, and with a Proposal to enter into a formal " Negotiation of Peace, without settling and adjusting any thing " before hand, contrary to the Declaration made on the Part of " France, even by the last Letters; viz. That all the Preliminary " Articles should remain firm as they were settled, only with " such Alterations in the Terms of Execution, which the Course " of Time had made necessary, except only the seven and thir- " tieth Article; nothing could be concluded; *But that the E- " nemy was not sincerely disposed to agree to a good and safe Peace, " and that little Regard was to be had to the Assurances of their " good Intention and Inclination in that Respect; seeing the Effects " agreed so little with their Words; but rather, that all was con- " certed and designed to sow, if possible, Mistrusts and Jealousies be- " tween the States and their Allies, while they were resolved to " continue the War, as it appeared by all publick Advices*, &c. " That therefore it would be necessary, above all Things, to " make Use of the utmost Efforts, without the least Delay or " Loss of Time, to get in a Readiness all that was requisite, " for beginning the next Campaign early, before the Enemy " are in a Condition to take the Field, and pushing on the same " with Vigour, &c. That for the End and Purpose aforesaid,

1709. "Letters ſhould be written to the Emperour, the Diet of the "Empire at Ratiſbon, the Confederate Circles, as alſo to the E-"lectors and Princes of the Empire, and likewiſe to her Majeſty "of Great Britain, and the Duke of Savoy; and that their "Imperial and Great Britannick Majeſties ſhould be deſired, "that Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Prince and Duke of "Marlborough might come thither very early, in the Spring, "before the End of February, to conſer about the Operations of "War, and concert, in Time, the neceſſary Meaſures for the "Campaign.

They write to the Q. of Great-Britain.

According to this vigorous Reſolution, the States General wrote Letters to all their Allies; and particularly one to the Queen of Great Britain, dated the ſeven and twentieth of January, ending with the following Words, in Honour to the Duke of Marlborough.

"We have another Requeſt to add, which is, That your Ma-"jeſty would be pleas'd to ſend hither the Prince and Duke of "Marlborough betimes; and, if poſſible, before the End of Fe-"bruary, that we may have the Benefit of the Wiſe Counſels of "that Great General, in concerting, in due Time, the Operations "for the next Campaign, as well as reap the Advantages of his "incomparable Valour, in the Execution thereof; we remain, &c.

This was the Language in which the States, who had ſuch Experience of him, always ſpoke of this Great Man; and, that the Queen, herſelf, had, at leaſt then, the ſame Opinion of him, we may ſee by her Anſwer to their Letter, which, for the ſake of Connexion, I ſhall inſert here; tho' otherwiſe, it more properly belongs to the enſuing Chapter.

The Queen's Anſwer to the Letter of the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

"OUR good Friends, Allies, and Confederates. We "have ſeen, by your Letter of the 27th of this Month, "the reaſons which have moved you to deſire us to ſend back "the Duke of Marlborough, as ſoon as poſſible: We agree with "you, that there is a Neceſſity of taking all poſſible Precautions, "againſt the Deſigns of our Enemy; and as *we, ourſelves, are "entirely ſatisfied of the Capacity, and ſignal Services of the ſaid "Duke of Marlborough*, we are very glad to find, that your Sen-"timents, with Regard to him, ſo perfectly agree with ours. "We, therefore, in Conformity to your Deſire, immediately "order'd him to be ready to return to Holland, as ſoon as it "might be neceſſary; and he will not fail to be with you, with-"in the Time you have propoſed, to concert with you *the ne-"ceſſary Meaſures, and to put them in Execution, with his accuſtom-*

"ed

" *ed Prudence and Vigour.* To conclude, we pray God, to have 1709.
" you, High and Mighty Lords, our good Friends, Allies, and
" Confederates, in his holy Keeping.

Written at our Court at St. James's, the 31ſt of January, of the Year 1710-11, and, of our Reign, the ninth.

Your very good Friend, &c.

It being evident, that the Court of France aimed at nothing more than to gain Time, and amuſe the Allies, with a ſpecious Negotiation, the Queen of Great Britain reſolved, likewiſe, to exhort all her Allies, to a vigorous Proſecution of the War; particularly thoſe, who, during the whole Courſe of it, had been moſt backward, in ſeconding her Majeſty's extraordinary Efforts, and eſpecially, on the ſix and twentieth of December, to the General Diet of the Empire, aſſembled at Ratiſbon.

The Queen writes to the Diet of Ratiſbon.

Purſuant to the Method I have taken in former Years, I ſhall now give a brief Account of what paſs'd this Year, in other Parts abroad; and firſt, in Spain, this Summer paſs'd over, without any conſiderable Action: There was, indeed, an Engagement, on the the Frontiers of Portugal, in which the Portugueſe behaved themſelves very ill, and were beaten; and which occaſion'd the Loſs of three Regiments, chiefly Engliſhmen, which were taken Priſoners, together with their Officers: Among whom were Major-General Sankey, the Earl of Barrimore, and Brigadier Pearce. The Spaniards, however, did not purſue the Advantage they had by this Action; for they, apprehending that our Fleet might have a Deſign upon ſome Part of their Southern Coaſt, were forced to draw their Troops from the Frontiers of Portugal, to defend their own Coaſt; tho' we gave them no Diſturbance on that Side.

Affairs in Spain and and Portugal.

The King of France, to carry on a Shew of a Deſign for Peace, withdrew his Troops out of Spain; but at the ſame Time, took Care, to encourage the Spaniſh Grandees, and to ſupport his Grandſon: and ſince it was viſible, that either the Spaniards, or the Allies, were to be deceived by him, it was much more reaſonable to believe, that the Allies, and not the Spaniards, were to feel the Effects of his fraudulent Proceedings. The French General, Beſons, who commanded in Arragon, had, indeed, Orders not to venture on a Battle, for that would have been to act too groſs and open, to be, in anywiſe, palliated; but he continued all this Summer commanding their Armies. In Catalonia, Staremburg, after he received Re-inforcements from Italy, advanced towards the Segra, and having, for ſome Days, amuſed the Enemy, he paſſed the River. The Spaniards deſign'd to give him Battle; but Beſons refuſed to engage; this provoked

1709. the Spaniards ſo much, that King Philip, after having writ to Monſieur Beſons, thought it neceſſary to leave Madrid, and go to the Army: Beſons produced his Orders from the King of France, to avoid all Engagements, with which he ſeemed much mortified. Staremburg advanced, and took Balaguer, and made the Garriſon Priſoners of War; with which, the Campaign, on that Side, was at an End.

In Dauphiny. Nothing of Importance paſs'd on the Side of Dauphiny: The Emperour continued ſtill to refuſe complying with the Duke of Savoy's Demands, about ſome Territories in the Duchy of Milan, which were to have been deliver'd to him: So he would not make the Campaign in Perſon, and his Troops kept on the Defenſive. On the other hand, the French, as they ſaw they were to be feebly attack'd, were too weak to do any thing more, than to cover their own Country.

In the North. The Northern Affairs having no immediate Connexion with thoſe of the Grand Alliance, in which the Duke of Marlborough was principally concerned, I have only mention'd them, on occaſion of his Grace's Journey into Saxony, in the Year 1707. The fatal Turn of thoſe Affairs, to the Diſadvantage of the King of Sweden, which happen'd this Year, being, as it were, the Conſequence of the Counſels and Meaſures which were thought to be concerted when the Duke was there, and in which, it was believ'd, he had no ſmall hand, I ſhall juſt hint at them. This great but unfortunate Monarch, having reſolved to invade Muſcovy, and being flush'd with the Succeſs he had met with in Poland, thinking to dethrone the Czar, with the ſame Eaſe as he had done Auguſtus, engaged himſelf ſo far into the Ukraine, that there was no Poſſibility of his Retreating; and this brought ſuch a Cataſtrophe on his Affairs, as he was never able to diſentangle himſelf from, till Death put a Stop to the Career of his Intrepidity.

The Battle of Pultowa. He engaged a great Body of Coſſacks to join him, who were eaſily drawn to revolt from the Czar: He had met with great Misfortunes, in the End of the foregoing Year, but nothing could divert him from his Deſigns againſt Muſcovy: He paſs'd the Nieper, and beſieged Pultowa: The Czar march'd to raiſe the Siege, with an Army much ſuperiour in Number to that of Sweden; but the King of Sweden, who had not forgotten the Battle of Narva, where he triumph'd with a far greater Inequality of Number, reſolved to venture on a Battle, in which he received ſuch a total Defeat, that he loſt his Camp, his Artillery, and Baggage: A great Part of his Army got off, for the preſent; but being cloſely purſued by the Muſcovites, and having neither Bread nor Ammunition, they were all made Priſoners of War. The King himſelf, with a ſmall Number about him, paſſed the Nieper, and got into the Turkiſh Dominions, where he ſettled,

and

and was under a ſort of voluntary, tho' unavoidable Confinement, at a Town of Moldavia, call'd Bender. This fatal Day ſet Auguſtus again on the Throne of Poland, and freed the Allies from all Apprehenſions of this enterprizing Prince's intermeddling between them and the common Enemy. 1709.

The Conſequences of it.

On this Occaſion, the Czar ſhew'd the Duke of Marlborough a very ſingular Inſtance of the Eſteem he had for him, by ſending a Captain of his Guards expreſs to acquaint him of this Victory.

The Czar ſends a Captain of his Guards to the Duke of Marlboro' with Advice of it.

Having thus taken a View of the moſt material Tranſactions abroad, during the Year 1709, I ſhall now mention ſuch domeſtick Occurrences as regard this Hiſtory, which happened in the ſame Space of Time.

Upon Advice of the Glorious Action and Compleat Victory of Malplaquet, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of the Loyal City of London, in their Formalities, waited on the Queen at Windſor, on the tenth of September, with an Addreſs of Congratulation on that Account, of which the Beginning was as follows:

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"IN all Humility, we preſume it cannot but be acceptable "to your Majeſty, to receive the repeated hearty Congratu- "lations of your moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, upon ſuch ſig- "nal and reiterated Inſtances of the Divine Goodneſs ſhowered "down on your Sacred Head, in bleſſing the juſt Arms of your "Majeſty and your Allies, under the auſpicious Conduct of thoſe "Renowned Generals, the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince "of Savoy, with ſuch ſurprizing and uninterrupted Succeſſes.

Addreſs of the City of London to the Queen.

"Scarce had we enjoyed the Satisfaction we received upon the "News of the Reduction of the ſtrong and important Fortreſs of "Tournay, but we were moſt agreeably ſurprized with the Ac- "count of a glorious and compleat Victory over the whole French "Army, notwithſtanding the Advantage of Ground, and Obſti- "nacy of the Enemy, not to have been overcome, but by the "Perſonal Courage of your Great General, &c.

The ſeventeenth of the ſame Month, the Lord Mayor, and the reſt of her Majeſty's Commiſſioners of Lieutenancy for the City of London, preſented an humble Addreſs to her Majeſty, on the ſame Occaſion, of which, the following Paragraphs may be worthy of the Reader's Notice:

Moſt Dread Sovereign,

"WE think ourſelves infinitely happy, that we have Leave "once more to approach your Royal Perſon, to expreſs "(as well as the Exceſs of it will give us Leave) our unfeigned

Addreſs of the Lieutenancy.

1709. "Joy for, and humbly to congratulate your Majeſty upon the "great and ſurprizing Progreſs made by the victorious Armies "of your Majeſty and your Allies, led on by thoſe conſum-"mate Generals, the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince of "Savoy, towards the glorious End propoſed by your Majeſty, "an honourable and a laſting Peace.

"None but ſuch daring Troops, covetous of Glory, ani-"mated by the Example of your undaunted General (after a "fatiguing Siege ſo gloriouſly finiſhed) could have been induced "ſo ſpeedily and chearfully to have encountered, and ſo bravely "overcome, the ſeeming unſurmountable Difficulties ſtanding "between them and Victory.

"But to ſuch Armies, ſo conducted, in ſuch a Cauſe, and "under the auſpicious Influences of ſuch a Princeſs, nothing is "impoſſible, &c.

A General Thankſgiving appointed.

The third of October, her Majeſty in Council, ordered Proclamations to be iſſued, for a general and publick Thankſgiving, to be obſerved on the twenty ſecond of November, for the ſignal and glorious Succeſs of her Majeſty's Arms, and thoſe of her Allies, this Campaign.

The Duke of Marlboro' arrives at St. James's.

The eighth of November, the Duke of Marlborough landed at Alborough, in Suffolk, from Holland, and, on the tenth, came to St. James's.

The Parliament of Great Britaid meets.

The fifteenth of November, the Parliament of Great Britain met, and the Queen being come to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons ſent for up, her Majeſty made a gracious Speech to both Houſes, in which, among other Things, ſhe took Notice of the late Glorious Campaign, and the great and important Succeſſes thereof.

And in particular obſerv'd, that the Campaign, notwithſtanding the Backwardneſs of the Seaſon, had been, at leaſt, as glorious for the Allies, as any of thoſe which have preceded it. GOD ALMIGHTY (added ſhe) has been pleaſed to bleſs us with a moſt remarkable Victory, and with ſuch other great and important Succeſſes, both before and after it, that France is thereby become much more expoſed and open to the Impreſſion of our Arms, and conſequently more in need of a Peace, than it was in the Beginning of this Campaign. Our own late Experience (continued ſhe) may fully convince us, that a Peace is not to be depended on any other Way, than by being in a Condition to compel them to ſuch Terms, as may be ſafe and honourable for all the Allies.

The Commons vote Thanks, and a Congratulatory Compliment to the Duke of Marlborough.

The firſt Thing the Commons did, on the firſt Day of their Sitting, after they had voted an Addreſs to her Majeſty, was the coming to this unanimous Reſolution. "That the late Vic-"tory obtained by his Grace, the Duke of Marlborough, and

"the

" the other great and important Succeſſes of the laſt Campaign, 1709.
" were ſo remarkable, that this Houſe thought itſelf obliged
" to expreſs how ſenſible they were of the Honour and Advan-
" tage which this Kingdom, and the whole Confederacy had
" received by his eminent Services; and that Mr. Comptroller,
" Mr. Secretary Boyle, Mr. Chancellour of the Exchequer,
" Mr. Onſlow, Lord Coningſby, Mr. Nevil, Lord William
" Powlet, Mr. Craggs, Mr. Compton, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Dol-
" ben, Sir Charles Hedges, Lord Lumley, and Sir Charles Cox,
" ſhould give his Grace the Thanks of this Houſe, and congra-
" tulate his Grace's Safety and Return to Great Britain." The Committee appointed by the Commons, having, on the 22d of November, waited on his Grace with this Reſolution, his Grace was pleaſed to make the following Anſwer:

" IT is a very great Honour and Satisfaction to me, that the His Grace's
" Houſe of Commons is pleaſed to take ſo much Notice of Anſwer.
" my Endeavours to ſerve the Queen and my Country.

" I cannot be juſt to all the Officers and Soldiers, who have
" ſerved with me, unleſs I take this Occaſion to aſſure you, that
" their Zeal and Affection for the Service, is equal to the Cou-
" rage and Bravery they have ſhewn during this whole War.

Both the Lords and the Commons took Occaſion, in their Addreſſes to her Majeſty, to ſhew the Senſe they had of the great Services performed by his Grace. The Lords, in theirs, ſay: " The laſt Campaign was ſo very glorious, whether we conſider " the Strength of the Towns which were taken, or the Diffi-" culty and Importance of the Victory, which was obtained, " that we beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty upon the con-" tinued Succeſs of your Arms, and thoſe of your Allies, under " your General, the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe Conduct is " worthy of the Chief Command, in ſo juſt a War, and whoſe " Valour is equal to the Bravery of his Troops." And the Commons, in their Addreſs, ſay: " We beg Leave to congratulate " your Majeſty upon the continued Succeſſes of the laſt Cam-" paign, particularly the Victory obtained near Mons, by the " Troops of your Majeſty, and thoſe of your Allies, under the " Command of the Duke of Marlborough. A Victory ſo re-" markable in all its Circumſtances, as muſt convince your Ene-" mies, that the Courage and Reſolution of your Troops, con-" ducted by ſo great a General, are ſuperiour to the greateſt " Difficulties." They likewiſe take Notice how much they were obliged, by theſe glorious Succeſſes, to expreſs their Senſe of the " Honour and Advantages, which this Kingdom, and the " whole Confederacy had received by his eminent Services:" And aſſure her Majeſty, " that they would enable her to carry on the " War in ſuch a manner, as ſhould oblige the common Enemy

1709. "to accept Peace on such Terms, as should be a lasting Security "to her Majesty and her Allies."

The House of Lords having ordered the Lord High Chancellour to return Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough, for his eminent Services in the last Campaign; his Lordship at his Grace's first Appearance in that August Assembly, this Session, discharg'd his Commission, by a Speech, to the following Effect:

The Lord Chancellour returns the Duke of Marlboro' the Thanks of the House of Lords.

"That he was commanded by the Lords, to give his Grace "the Thanks of that House, for his continued and eminent Ser- "vices, to her Majesty and the Publick, during the last Cam- "paign. Of which nothing could be greater said, than what "her Majesty (who always speaks with the utmost Certainty "and Exactness) had declared from the Throne; *That it had "been, at least, as glorious as any which have preceded it.* But "that this Repetition of the Thanks of that august Assembly, "had this Advantage of the former, that it must be looked "upon as added to, and standing on, the Foundations already "laid on the Records of that House, for the preserving his Me- "mory fresh to all future Times. So that his Grace had also "the Satisfaction of seeing this everlasting Monument of his Glo- "ry rise every Year much higher." *To which his Lordship added his Wishes,* "That God might continue, in a wonderful "Manner, to preserve so invaluable a Life, that he might not "only add to that Structure, but finish all with the Beauties and "Ornaments of an honourable and lasting Peace.

To which his Grace replied, with his wonted Modesty and Self-Denial,

His Grace's Answer.

"I Look upon it as the greatest Mark of Honour I could re- "ceive, that your Lordships are pleased to take Notice of "my Endeavours to serve the Queen and my Country. I beg "Leave to do Justice to all the Officers and Soldiers, who have "serv'd with me. It is not possible for Men to shew more Zeal "for her Majesty's Service, or greater Bravery, than they have "done."

These great Acknowledgements from both Houses of Parliament, which the Duke of Marlborough had the Satisfaction to meet with almost every Year, for so many Years together, were so Glorious, and so far exceeding the Examples of former Reigns, that it is no Wonder, if it stirred up the Rage of many Persons, who having no Hopes of ever attaining to so high a Pitch of Honour and Reputation, could not forbear looking on his Grace's Glory with envious Eyes, the Effects of which we shall now soon see.

The

1709.

The Parliament in the mean time, had not ſat a Month before they had granted all the neceſſary Sums for the Service of the enſuing Year, amounting, in all, to the Sum of 6,384,266 *l.* 7 *s.* A vaſt Sum indeed; but as it was afterwards objected againſt the Duke of Marlborough, that he puſh'd the War in Flanders, at a greater Expence than was neceſſary, and it has not, perhaps, been ſo well diſtinguiſhed by ſome, what Part of this, and other immenſe Sums raiſed upon the Publick, were employed for this Service, and what for others, it may not be foreign to my Purpoſe to obſerve, in this Place, that not quite one fourth Part of the Supply granted this Year went towards ſupporting the Charge of the War in Flanders; notwithſtanding that was the only Side where it was carried on with any great Succeſs, and where we moſt diſtreſſed the Enemy.

Sums granted for the War in Flanders. With Reflections thereupon.

Before I conclude this Book, I muſt take Notice, that the Duke of Marlborough was, this Year, appointed Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Oxfordſhire.

The Duke of Marlboro' made Ld. Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Oxfordſhire.

END of BOOK V.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

TRANSACTIONS during the Years 1710, and 1711.

CHAP. I.

The State of Affairs in England; *the Negotiation for a Peace at* Gertruydenberg; *and the Change of the Miniſtry in* England.

1710. I SHALL begin my Relation of the Tranſactions of this Year, with ſome farther Account of Occurrences at Home, and eſpecially in Parliament, as far as they had any Regard to the Duke of Marlborough.

The Houſe of Commons having been informed by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, a Member of their Houſe, of the Advances made by France, towards the renewing a Negotiation of Peace, and that the States-General were inclin'd to grant Paſſes to French Plenipotentiaries, to come to Holland, for that Purpoſe; they reſolved to preſent an Addreſs to her Majeſty, *That ſhe would be pleaſed to ſend the Duke of Marlborough forthwith into Holland.* This Addreſs having been drawn by a Committee, reported to the Houſe, and agreed to, was ſent to the Lords, for their Concurrence; and their Lordſhips having readily join'd in it, both Houſes, on the 18th of February, preſented the ſaid Addreſs to her Majeſty, being as follows:

"Moſt

1710.

Addreſs of both Houſes deſiring that the Duke of Marlboro' be ſent into Holland.

"Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, having Reaſons to believe, that the Negotiations of Peace will ſuddenly be renewed in Holland, and being juſtly apprehenſive of the crafty and inſinuating Deſigns of our Enemy, to create Diviſions among your Allies, or by amuſing them with deceitful Expectations of Peace, to retard their Preparations of War, do think ourſelves bound in Duty, moſt humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, of how great Importance, we conceive, it is, to the Intereſt of the common Cauſe, that the Duke of Marlborough ſhould be abroad at this Juncture.

"We cannot but take this Opportunity, to expreſs our Senſe of the great and unparallel'd Services of the Duke of Marlborough, and with all imaginable Duty, to applaud your Majeſty's great Wiſdom, in having honoured the ſame Perſon with the great Characters of General and Plenipotentiary, who, in our humble Opinion, is moſt capable of diſcharging two ſuch important Truſts.

"We therefore make it our humble Requeſt to your Majeſty, that you would be pleaſed to order the Duke of Marlborough's immediate Departure for Holland, where his Preſence will be equally neceſſary, to aſſiſt at the Negotiations of Peace, and to haſten the Preparations for an early Campaign, which will moſt effectually diſappoint the Artifices of our Enemies, and procure a ſafe and honourable Peace for your Majeſty and your Allies.

To this Addreſs the Queen returned the following Anſwer:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Am ſo ſenſible of the Neceſſity of the Duke of Marlborough's Preſence in Holland, at this critical Juncture, that I have already given the neceſſary Directions for his immediate Departure; and I am very glad to find, by this Addreſs, that you concur with me in a juſt Senſe of the Duke of Marlborough's eminent Services.

The Duke of Marlboro' departs for the Hague.

Agreeable to her Majeſty's Promiſe, as well to the States, as her Parliament, his Grace ſet out, the very next Day, for Harwich, and landed in Holland, the ſeventh of March, N. S. after a difficult Paſſage, having been three Days at Sea, and lain rolling about three Leagues from Shore, from ſeven in the Morning, till two in the Afternoon. But as this great Man (among other Virtues) was more eſpecially famed for his Serenity of Mind;

1710. Mind; ſo, on this Occaſion, he was obſerved not to be, in the leaſt, uneaſy. Before I proceed to give an Account of the Duke of Marlborough's Proceedings at the Hague, I ſhall continue to give ſome farther Account of Tranſactions at home, as they were prefatory to the great Change in the Miniſtry, which ſoon after enſued.

Some Days before the Addreſs I have mentioned above was drawn up, when probably the Nation was in Expectation of ſome ſuch Thing, and perhaps the Change of the Miniſtry, which ſoon after enſued, ſuſpected, the Author of the TATLER, ſpeaking of the Glory of the Times, in relation to England, has the following memorable Paragraph.

A remarkable Paſſage in the Tatler.

"If I ſee a General commanding the Forces of his Country, "whoſe Victories are not to be parallel'd in Story, and who is "as famous for his Negotiations as his Victories; and, at the "ſame time, ſee the Management of a Nation's Treaſury in "the Hands of one, who has always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a "generous Contempt of his own private Wealth, and an exact "Frugality of that which belongs to the Publick; I cannot but "think a People, under ſuch an Adminiſtration, may promiſe "themſelves Conqueſt abroad, and Plenty at home. If I were "to wiſh for a proper Perſon to preſide over the public Coun-"cils, it ſhould certainly be one as much admir'd for his univer-"ſal Knowledge of Men and Things, as for his Eloquence, "Courage, and Integrity in the exerting of ſuch extraordinary "Talents.

The fifth of April, the Parliament was prorogued, and, ſoon after, the Queen made a Step, which gave Occaſion to ſevere Reflections: The Duke of Shrewſbury, the Repreſentative of the antient and noble Family of Talbot, Earls of Shrewſbury, ſo famous in the Reigns of our Edwards and Henries, had left England, in the firſt Year of the Queen's Reign, as it was ſaid, becauſe a warmer Climate was neceſſary for his Health. He ſtaid ſeveral Years at Rome, where he became acquainted with a Roman Lady; who, upon his Return to England, followed him to Augſburg, where ſhe overtook him, and declared herſelf a Proteſtant, upon which he married here there, and came back with her to England, in 1706. A late Author ſays, it was thought (by the Party he moſt favour'd) that his leaving England, and living ſo long out of it, while we were in ſo much Danger at home, added to his Marriage, gave juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion *(of his Principles, I preſume, he means;)* but he had formerly ſo eſtabliſhed his Principles, as to this Point, as to put them out of Doubt. He was, indeed, brought up in the Roman Catholick Perſuaſion; but when he came to riper Years, he reaſon'd himſelf out of it, at a Time when it was reviving in England, and might have been of Service to him; and he took ſo much Pains to diſtinguiſh

Character of the Duke of Shrewſbury.

tinguish Right from Wrong, before he declared his Opinion, on either Side, that it is to his Converſion we owe the beſt Pieces that ever were wrote, in the Controverſies publiſhed by Dr. Tillotſon. The Duke of Marlborough, and the Lord Godolphin, liv'd ſtill in Friendſhip with him, and ſtudied to overcome the Jealouſies ſome had of him. He ſeem'd not to be concern'd at the Diſtance, in which he was kept from Buſineſs: But a few Days after the Parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the Matter to any of her Miniſters, took the Chamberlain's White Staff from the Earl of Kent (whom, in Recompence, ſhe advanc'd to be a Duke) and gave it to the Duke of Shrewſbury, who was again ſworn of her Privy Council, and afterwards enter'd into all the Meaſures of the new Miniſtry for obtaining a Peace. This Step occaſion'd no ſmall Uneaſineſs; it being from thence concluded, that a total Change of the Miniſtry would quickly follow; and it was believed, (ſays the ſame Author) there was a ſecret Management between him, and Mr. Harley, with the new Favourite. The Queen's Inclination to the latter, and her Alienation from the Ducheſs of Marlborough, began now to appear more and more, and broke out upon many, tho' trivial, Occaſions. The Ducheſs retir'd, hereupon, from Court, and was ſeen no more at it in this Reign. The Duke of Shrewſbury *(continues our Author)* gave the Miniſters very poſitive Aſſurances, that his Principles were the ſame they had been, during the laſt Reign, and were in no Reſpect altered; upon which he deſired to enter into Conferences with them; but there was now again, thought at leaſt, to be too much Ground given for Suſpicion. 1710.

He is made Lord Chamberlain.

The Ducheſs of Marlboro' retires from Court.

It will be time now to take a view of what was doing all this while in Holland, with regard to the Negotiations for a Peace. Tho' all Thoughts of a Treaty ſeem'd to be at a ſtand, towards the Concluſion of the foregoing Year; yet, upon the vigorous Reſolutions taken in Great Britain and Holland, for the Continuance of the War, the Court of France thought fit to make farther Overtures of Peace. In order to this, the Marquis de Torcy ſent, on the ſecond of January, another Project to Monſieur Petteçum, which conſiſted of five Articles, importing in Subſtance:

Negotiations for a Peace.

I. "That immediately after the Signing of the Peace, his "moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would acknowledge King Charles III. "as King of the whole Monarchy of Spain. And not only "withdraw all the Succours he had given his Grandſon, but "alſo not ſend him any Aſſiſtance, for the future, and forbid his "Subjects to liſt among his Troops; as alſo, conſent, that no "Part of the Monarchy of Spain ſhould ever be united to "France.

Farther Overtures made by France.

1710. II. "That, as for the Emperor and the Empire, the King of "France would reſtore the Town and Citadel of Straſburg, and "the Town of Briſac; content himſelf with the Poſſeſſion of "Alſace, according to the literal Senſe of the Treaty of Munſter; "leave the Empire the Town of Landau; raze the Fortifica- "tions he had cauſed to be built on the Rhine, from Baſil to "Philipſburg; and acknowledge both the King of Pruſſia, and "the Elector of Hannover.

III. "That, as to England, he would acknowledge Queen "Anne, and the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, reſtore New- "foundland, and agree to a mutual Reſtitution of all that had "been taken in the Weſt-Indies, on both Sides, demoliſh the "Fortifications of Dunkirk, and ruin the Harbour thereof; and "conſent to the Pretender's leaving France.

IV. "That, as to the States General, he would yield to "them, for a Barrier, all the Places ſpecified in the twenty- "ſecond Article of the Preliminaries; and confirm what he had "offered to them with reſpect to their Trade: And,

V. "As for the Duke of Savoy, that he was willing to grant "the Demands for him, by the Allies; but that he, likewiſe, "demanded, that the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria, ſhould "be reſtored to their Eſtates and Dignities.

Rejected by the Allies. This Project being rejected by the Allies, the French reſolved to make farther Overtures, and diſpatch'd a Cabinet-Courier to the Hague, with a Letter from the Marquis de Torcy, to Monſieur Pettecum, importing:

Others propoſed. "That the French conſented, that the Preliminaries, which "were concerted the Year before, ſhould be the Foundation of "the future Treaty; and had appointed the Marſhal d'Uxelles, "and the Abbot de Polignac, his Plenipotentiaries, to treat "with the Allies of an Equivalent, for the ſeven and thirtieth "Article, relating to the Evacuation of Spain; and that the "ſaid Miniſters would be ready to meet thoſe of the Allies, at "Antwerp, or any other Place, if the Allies would but ſend "the neceſſary Paſſes.

This Courier arriv'd the ſecond of February, N. S. at the Hague, and his Diſpatches were communicated, the ſame Day, by Monſieur Pettecum, to the Grand Penſionary, who communicated them, likewiſe, the next Day, to the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, and the Queen of Great Britain. Several Conferences being hereupon held, between theſe Miniſters, and the Deputies of the States-General, in which Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen aſſiſted; the French Courier was ſent back, the thirteenth of the ſame Month, with an Anſwer from Mr. Pettecum, to the Marquis de Torcy's Letter, importing:

"That,

1710.

" That, the last Declaration of the Court of France being in " uncertain and ambiguous Terms, the Allies required his moſt " Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould declare, in plain and expreſſive " Words, that he conſented to all the Preliminaries, except the " ſeven and thirtieth Article; which done, the Allies would " ſend Paſſes to his Miniſters, to treat of an Equivalent for the " ſaid Article.

Reſolution of the Allies.

The French Court was not long in reſolving, ſo earneſtly did they, at leaſt, appear, at that time, inclinable to a Peace; for, on the twentieth, another Courier came to the Hague, with a ſatisfactory Anſwer; and, on the twenty-third, was ſent back, with the Paſſes for the French Plenipotentiaries. There now ſeemed to be ſome Hopes, that the French were in earneſt; however, as the States foreſaw the ill Effects of ſuffering the French Miniſters, to come into their Country, who, by their Agents, were every where ſtirring up the People againſt the Government, as if they were prolonging the War, without a Neceſſity, they, therefore, appointed Gertruydenburg, to be the Place, to which the French Miniſters were to come, to treat with the Deputies, whom they ſhould ſend to meet them. Antwerp was, indeed, the Place firſt propoſed; but the French ſhew'd an Unwillingneſs to treat there, or in any other Town belonging to the Spaniſh Netherlands, without doubt, out of Compliment to King Philip.

Paſſes granted for the French Plenipotentiaries.

The ninth of March, N. S. the French Plenipotentiaries came to Antwerp, where they deſired that Monſieur Pettecum ſhould meet them, before they entered into Conference; but this was refuſed them: They, therefore, went on board a Yacht prepared for them at Moerdyke; where Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, the Deputies of the States for this Treaty, ſoon after met them, and had a Conference with them. The next Day, they had another, for ſeveral Hours, after which the Deputies ſet out for the Hague, to make their Report to their High Mightineſſes, and the French Plenipotentiaries went to Gertruydenberg.

They arrive at Gertruydenberg.

Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, being returned to the Hague, on the eleventh of March, where the Duke of Marlborough was arrived ſome Days before, had a Conference, the next Morning, with his Grace, in the Preſence of the Lord Townſhend, Count Zinzendorff, the Grand Penſionary, and the Deputies of the States, where they reported what had paſſed between them and the French Plenipotentiaries; which, however, gave them very little Satisfaction. The ſame Day, to prevent any Jealouſies among the other Miniſters of the Allies, the Deputies of the States communicated to the Pruſſian Plenipotentiaries what had been tranſacted at Moerdyk. And, the next Day, the ſame was made known, in a more ſolemn Manner, to all the Miniſters

A Report made of the firſt Conferences.

1710. Miniſters of the Allies. They were all deſir'd, at the ſame time, as there was no great Proſpect of the Treaty coming to any thing, to uſe their Intereſt with their reſpective Maſters, that their Troops might be in a Readineſs, to begin the Campaign, as early as poſſible, as the moſt effectual means to force the common Enemy to accept ſuch Conditions, as might ſecure a ſafe and laſting Peace.

To give a particular account of the Subject Matter of Debate, in every Day's Conference, from the twenty firſt of March, the Time they began again, till the latter End of July, when they entirely broke off, would be too tedious, and keep me too long from Matters of more Importance, and more eſſentially belonging to this Hiſtory, whereas this may be ſaid to be only relatively ſo. I ſhall, therefore, only give my Readers a ſummary Account of what was propoſed and inſiſted on by the Plenipotentiaries on one Side, and the Deputies on the other, without any Regard to Time or Order.

A ſummary Account of the enſuing Conferences

The French propoſed, that the Dominions in Italy, with the Iſlands, ſhould be given to one of the Competitors for the Spaniſh Monarchy, without naming which: Tho' it was underſtood, that they meant King Philip: The Deputies did not abſolutely reject this; but ſhewed, that the Emperour would never conſent to part with Naples, nor give the French ſuch Footing in Italy; and of this the French ſeem'd ſenſible. The firſt Conference ended upon Return of the Courier, whom they ſent to Verſailles. They moved for another Conference: And upon ſeveral Propoſitions, there were ſeveral Conferences renewed. The French King deſiſted from his Demand of Naples, but inſiſted on that of the Places on the Coaſt of Tuſcany. However, at length they went off from that too, and inſiſted only on Sicily and Sardinia. The Partition ſeeming now to be ſettled, the Deputies preſs'd the French Plenipotentiaries to give them ſolid Aſſurances of King Philip's quitting Spain, and the Weſt-Indies; to this, upon Notice firſt given to the Court of France, they anſwer'd, That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would enter into Meaſures, with the Allies, to force him to it. Many Difficulties were ſtarted, about the Troops to be employ'd, what their Number ſhould be, and who ſhould command them; but, after all, it appear'd that the Execution would be impracticable. It was then propoſed, that the French ſhould pay a Sum of Mony annually, during the War with Spain; but there, again, new Difficulties aroſe, both in ſettling the Sum, and ſecuring the Payment: The French offer'd for the latter, the Bankers of Paris; but theſe were no Security; becauſe they would all be oblig'd to break whenever their King might have a mind they ſhould. In ſhort, it was evident, by all their Proceedings, that they deſign'd only to divide the Allies, by this Offer of a Partition, to which the States conſented; and for which the

French hoped, the Houſe of Auſtria would have been enraged againſt them. The French demanded an Aſſurance of the Deputies, that no other Articles ſhould be inſiſted on, but thoſe in the Preliminaries; this the Deputies abſolutely refuſed; for they had reſerved a Power, by one of the Preliminaries, to all the Allies, to make farther Demands, when a Treaty ſhould be opened: They ſaid, indeed, that they themſelves would demand no more; but they could not pretend to limit the reſt of the Allies from their juſt Demands. This was another Artifice, to provoke the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy; as if the States intended to force them to accept of ſuch a Peace as they ſhould preſcribe. In another Conference, the States rejected the Offer of a Sum of Money, for carrying on the War in Spain, and, therefore, inſiſted on it, that the French ſhould explain themſelves on the Subject of evacuating Spain and the Weſt-Indies, in Favour of King Charles III, before they could declare their Intentions, with relation to the Partition; and added, that all farther Conferences would be to no Purpoſe till that was done. 1710.

The French were now reſolved to break off the Negotiation; and, therefore, thought proper to call this Demand of the States a formal Rupture of the Treaty; and, upon Return of an Expreſs, which they had ſent to Verſailles, after ſeveral Letters had paſs'd between them and Monſieur Pettecum, for Decency's Sake, they wrote a long Letter to the Grand Penſionary, in the Form of a Manifeſto; and ſo returned back to France, in the End of July. This is an Abridgment of the Account publiſhed of this Affair, as well by our Miniſters as by thoſe of the States. The French, on their Side, publiſhed nothing; for they were unwilling to let the Spaniards know that they ever entered upon any Treaty, for a Partition of their Monarchy, much leſs for evacuating Spain. Whether France ever deſigned any thing, by all this Negotiation, farther than to quiet their own People, and to amuſe and divide the Allies, is yet a Secret; "But if they really intended a Peace, the Reaſon of their "going off from it (ſays a late Author) muſt have been the "Account they then had of our Diſtractions in England; which "might make them conclude, that we could not be in a Con-"dition to carry on the War." By theſe Diſtractions, I preſume, that Author means the Diſputes which happen'd, that Winter, upon the Trial of Doctor Sacheverel, whether the Church was in Danger; and the Change of the Miniſtry.

Some Remarks on this Treaty, and the ill Succeſs of it.

Thus much, at leaſt, I have thought it neceſſary to ſay of this Matter; becauſe the Miſcarriage of this Treaty was, among other things, afterwards unjuſtly laid at the Duke of Marlborough's Door, as if broke off by his Influence, that he might protract the War, for his own private Intereſt: But how unreaſonable it was, even but to ſuggeſt, and much more ſo, to aver

1710. this, I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew more particularly below. In the mean time, as this Treaty ſpun out to ſo great a Length, and at laſt came to nothing, I ſhall add a few Remarks upon it. This Treaty was managed, as I have ſhewn above, by the Marſhal d'Uxelles, and the Abbot de Polignac, on the Part of France; and the Deputies of the States, Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, on the Part of the Allies, without the Intervention of any other Miniſters; and the Count de Zinzendorff, the Imperial Miniſter, having twice deſired to aſſiſt, and be preſent at the Conferences, it was refuſed by the Dutch; whereupon, he ſent an Expreſs to Prince Eugene, who was then in the Army, to know his Opinion therein; who adviſed him to follow the Example of the Britiſh Miniſters, whoſe Miſtreſs was ſatisfied to leave it wholly to the Wiſdom and Integrity of the States General: But for what Reaſon this was done, and whether the Dutch dealt unfairly by their Allies, in this Negotiation, as many, in England, then had a Jealouſy they did (tho' I hope without a Cauſe) I ſhall not pretend to determine. The laſt Conference, which the French Plenipotentiaries, and the Deputies of the States, had on this Matter, broke off with Heats and Unkindneſs; and Monſieur Vanderduſſen having us'd ſome warm Expoſtulations about it, the Abbot de Polignac replied, in very high Terms, reproaching the Dutch with Ingratitude towards the Crown of France, which had been their main Support, upon their Defection from Spain.

That I may not be thought partial, I ſhall add a Line or two, what has been ſaid, on the other Side of the Queſtion.

Thoſe who think the Dutch dealt unfairly by us, in this Treaty, and broke it off, when it was upon the Point of being concluded, are apt to aſk; "How long would Spain have "been able to have reſiſted the united Force of the Allies, "without the Aſſiſtance of France; if it could be ſuppoſed "that King Philip would have refuſed to comply with what "his Grandfather had ſtipulated for him, and thereby ha"zarded loſing even Sicily and Sardinia, as well as his other "Dominions? Beſides, the Barrier Towns, which were agreed "to be deliver'd up to the Emperour and the Dutch, would "have required ſome Years to conquer; and had the French "been never ſo inſincere, as was pretended, the Allies would "have gained ſuch an Addition of Strength by them, as would "have render'd France much leſs formidable than it had been. "Had it been our Caſe, and the Fortune of War had reduced "us to a Neceſſity of abandoning King Charles, and the "French had inſiſted, that the Allies ſhould not only not aſſiſt "him, but turn their Arms againſt the Prince they had ſet up, "would it not have been thought a moſt extravagant Demand? "and if it would, was it not much more unreaſonable to deſire

"the

" the French King, to enter into a War with King Philip, to whom he was so nearly allied, by the Ties of Blood, as well as all other Engagements?" 1710.

" We had, indeed, (say they) so long talk'd of the boundless Ambition and exorbitant Power of France, that we affected to have a Dread of it, even after that Kingdom was reduced so low, that our own General gave out, they could not make head against us another Year.

" Every Proposal, that was said to come from France, was still condemned, as unreasonable, before it was examin'd; and if the Reasonableness was so conspicuous, that it could not be denied, then we were taught to exclaim against their Insincerity.

" In short (continue they) some of the Powers engag'd in the Grand Alliance, were such Gainers by the War, the Charge whereof was born by their Neighbours, that any Peace whatever must have been to their Disadvantage; and, therefore, it is not to be thought strange, if they talk loudly of the Enemy's Insincerity, and rejected all their Proposals: The daily Acquisition of new Dominions, at the Expence of others, possibly put such a Bias upon their Judgments, that they might, in some Measure, believe what they affirmed."

Remarks made by the French.

The French, who retort the Insincerity they are charg'd with upon the Dutch, say, it was evident they did not act ingenuously, because they would not suffer the Conferences to be held at the Hague. They knew the Populace, who were impatient for a Peace, would there have discovered the Insincerity of their Rulers; who yet remember'd the Dissatisfaction, which appeared in them, upon Monsieur de Torcy's leaving the Hague, the foregoing Years, and that they then assembled, in a tumultuous Manner, to press him not to depart, till a Peace was coucluded. For this Reason (say they) the Dutch insisted, that the French Plenipotentiaries should not come farther than Gertruydenburg, till the Preliminaries were concluded, which, they very well knew, France could never accept of; and then, they could insinuate to the People, that it was France refus'd a Peace, tho' very reasonable Conditions were offered. Till now, the Courts of Vienna and London were accused of having raised Difficulties to obstruct the Peace; but now the Publick began to be undeceived, and it plainly appeared, that those who were at the Head of the Government in Holland, were not so weary of the War as their Subjects. Their Disingenuity was likewise visible, when they proposed to hold Conferences, which they had not so much at Heart, as they would have had it believed. The Interest of the House of Austria served to countenance the Ambition they had of encreasing their own

1710. Power. They were for taking Advantage of the Troubles of Europe, and the Misfortunes of France, to appropriate to themſelves the reſt of the Low-Countries, and the whole Trade of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, that they might thereby be enabled to give Laws to Europe. This was the View of the Dutch, and they ſhew'd it plain enough, by their Conduct, in the Conferences at the Hague and Gertruydenburg. They opened the Eyes of all the Powers concerned, and even of their own Allies. Theſe, and the like, I ſay, were the Reaſonings of the Partiſans of France.

It was, however, obſerved, that, from this Time, the French were no more deſirous of a Peace, and that they talk'd of it with more Indifference: Whether it was, that they flattered themſelves with a Diverſion from the North; or whether it was, as a late Author obſerves, the Diviſions which began to break out at the Court of Great Britain, that made them hope ſome happy Revolution in their Favour. It is certain (as Father Daniel intimates) that, as Matters went afterwards, the Allies had Cauſe to repent of their not accepting the Offers made them at Gertruydenburg; but there is, on the contrary, (as le Clerc remarks) all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that they had not repented, if it had not been for ſome unforeſeen Events, which produced a ſtrange Change in the Face of things; and, by raiſing the forlorn Hopes of the French, was the Occaſion of the Allies loſing the principal Advantages, which they had Grounds to promiſe themſelves, from the glorious Succeſſes of the War.

That the French had ſome Reaſon to flatter themſelves with a Diverſion from the North, the Reader will ſee by the following Piece:

Extract of a Letter from the Lord Stairs, to the Duke of Marlborough, from Warſaw, March 29, 1710.

Extract of a Letter from the L. Stairs to the D. of Marlboro.

"IN my Opinion, our chief Attention ſhould be, on the Body of the Swediſh Troops, which is in Pomerania, and to take effectual Meaſures, that they remain in a State of Inaction: For if the King of Sweden ſhould return, ſhould happen to reinforce that Body, and, ſetting aſide every other Conſideration, ſhould take it in his Head, to place himſelf, with this re-inforced Body, in the very Heart of the Empire, he would not want Money; and having Money, he would find Means to raiſe as many Men as he ſhould deſire, of which we have already had Experience. It would be unneceſſary to ſay any thing, what would be the Conſequences of ſuch a March. In my Opinion, it would require little

more

" more than a Reſolution, which ſeems, itſelf, to agree pretty " well with the Humour of the King of Sweden." 1710.

Before I enter into a Relation of the Tranſactions of this Campaign, I ſhall juſt take a farther View of the great Change in the Face of Affairs at home, that I may afterwards continue the Affairs of War, in one Connexion, to the End of the Year.

The Queen's Intention to make a Change in her Miniſtry began now to break out: The fourteenth of June, ſhe diſmiſſed the Earl of Sunderland from the Office of Secretary of State, without aſſigning any Malverſation on his Part, and gave the Seals to the Lord Dartmouth. A Change of the Miniſtry in England begun.

" William Legg, Lord Dartmouth, the Son of that Lord " Dartmouth who commanded the Fleet in the Reign of King " James II. When Queen Anne acceeded to the Throne, he " was ſworn of her Privy Council, and made one of the Lords " Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations; he then took a " great deal of Pains in his Office, which promis'd fairly to- " wards an Advancement; and now he was made Secretary of " State, and likewiſe conſtituted Keeper of the Signet of Scot- " land in Commiſſion with James, Duke of Queensberry: On " the 5th of September, of the following Year, he was advan- " ced to the Dignity of Viſcount Lewiſham, in Kent, and Earl " of Dartmouth. In 1713, he was appointed Lord Keeper " of the Privy Seal; and, on the Demiſe of Queen Anne, was " one of the Lords Juſtices of Great Britain, High Steward " of Dartmouth, and one of the Governours of the Charter- " Houſe. Character of the Lord Dartmouth.

This began to cauſe ſome Uneaſineſs both at home and abroad; but her Majeſty, to put a Stop to, or at leaſt to leſſen it, told her Subjects here (particularly the Governour of the Bank) and gave Orders to her Miniſters abroad, to aſſure her Allies, that *She would make no other Changes.* So the Matter has been repreſented on one Side; but on the other Part, it is ſaid, particularly with regard to the Bank, (that Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Governor; Nathaniel Gould, Eſq; Deputy-Governor; Francis Eyles Eſq; and Sir William Scawen, two of the Directors, thought fit to make their Application to the Duke of Newcaſtle, Lord Privy Seal, to whom, having repreſented the Dangers likely to attend the Change of the Miniſtry, his Grace introduced them to the Queen. Her Majeſty, having given them a gracious Hearing, was pleaſed to tell them, that ſhe, ſome time before, reſolved to remove the Earl of Sunderland, for particular Reaſons of State; but *that ſhe had not yet determined to make any other Changes; and that whenever ſhe ſhould, ſhe would take Care, that the publick Credit might not be*

1710. *injured thereby*: And this (ſay they) gave Occaſion to the Report, that her Majeſty aſſured them ſhe deſigned to make no other Alteration. She likewiſe, ſay the former, ſaid the ſame thing herſelf, to the Miniſters of the Emperour and the States, reſiding here: Theſe concurr'd to expreſs their Joy in this Reſolution of the Queen's, *not to make any farther Change*, and added to it their Advice, that ſhe would not diſſolve the Parliament, as it began to be ſurmis'd ſhe would. This (ſays a late Author) was repreſented by thoſe, who had never been vers'd in the Negotiations of Princes in an Alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's Councils; tho' nothing (adds he) is more common, than for Princes to offer mutual Advices, in ſuch Caſes.

Some Reaſons alledg'd for the Removal of the Earl of Sunderland

But to be more particular in this Matter; with regard to the Removal of the Earl of Sunderland, a cotemporary Author obſerves; that, at leaſt, ſome colourable Pretences were not wanting for it; among which (adds he) the moſt plauſible was this.

"Some time after the Death of the late Earl of Eſſex, the "Queen deſigned to have beſtowed the Regiment of Dragoons, "lately commanded by his Lordſhip, on Colonel Hill, a Gentle- "man, who, beſides the Intereſt of Mrs. Maſham, his Siſter, had "a farther Recommendation to her Majeſty's Favour, as ha- "ving been Page of Honour to Her. And yet more, upon "Account of his gallant Behaviour and good Conduct, at the "Battle of Almanza, where he contributed very much to the "rallying and preſerving the broken Remains of the Confe- "derate Infantry. On the other hand, the Duke of Marl- "borough having promiſed that Regiment to Lieutenant-Gene- "ral Meredith; and it being ſuppoſed, that this was a Trial "of Power, between his Ducheſs, and the growing Favourite, "his Grace, with his Lady, abſented himſelf from Court, "and retired for ſome Days, to his Lodge in Windſor Park. "It being given out, that his Grace was ſo diſguſted, that he "deſigned to lay down his Command, the chief Lords then "in the Miniſtry, conſidering what a vaſt Prejudice the Loſs "of ſo great a General and Politician would be to the common "Cauſe, made their Application to the Queen, to incline her "to alter her Reſolution about the Diſpoſal of the Regiment "before-mentioned; but her Majeſty remained fix'd in her "firſt Choice, and inſiſted on her Prerogative. Mrs. Maſham "(continues my Author) being looked upon as the ſecret Op- "poſer of the old Miniſtry, a Deſign was laid to procure a "Vote from the Houſe of Commons to have her removed from "her Majeſty's Bed-chamber, which was to have been moved "the twenty-third of January; but upon a Hint thereof, it "was timely prevented, by Colonel Hill's throwing himſelf at

"her

" her Majeſty's Feet, and begging he might not be the Occaſi- 1710.
" on of any Uneaſineſs to her Majeſty; but that ſhe would be
" graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow the Favour, ſhe intended him,
" upon ſome other Officer. The Queen granted his humble
" Requeſt, and ſending for ſome Lords, (particularly, as it has
" been ſaid, the Lord Sunderland) told them, ſhe would find
" another way of rewarding Colonel Hill.

The Ducheſs of Marlborough, in her Account of her Conduct, &c. relates this Matter ſomething differently:

" The Queen (ſays ſhe) on the 20th of January, ordered Lord
" Godolphin to write to the Duke, *that he might diſpoſe of the*
" *Regiment, as he himſelf thought fit*; and to deſire him to come
" to Town: But before this reached Lord Marlborough, he
" had written the following Letter to the Queen:

Madam,

" BY what I hear from London, I find your Majeſty is
" pleaſed to think, that when I have reflected, I muſt be
" of Opinion, that you are in the Right in giving Mr. Hill the
" Earl of Eſſex's Regiment. I beg your Majeſty will be ſo juſt
" to me, as not to think I can be ſo unreaſonable, as to be mor-
" tified to the Degree that I am, if it proceeded only from this
" one Thing; for I ſhall always be ready, and glad to do every
" Thing that is agreeable to you, after I have repreſented what
" may be a Prejudice to your Service. But this is only one of the
" great many Mortifications, that I have met with: And, as
" I may not have many Opportunities of writing to you, let me
" beg of your Majeſty to reflect what your own People, and the
" reſt of the World, muſt think, who have been Witneſſes of
" the Love, Zeal and Duty, with which I have ſerved you,
" when they ſhall ſee, that after all I have done, it has not
" been able to protect me againſt the Malice of a Bed-cham-
" ber-Woman. Your Majeſty will allow me, on this Occaſion,
" to remind you of what I writ to you, the laſt Campaign, of
" the certain Knowledge I had of Mrs. Maſham's having aſſur'd
" Mr. Harley, that I ſhould receive ſuch conſtant Mortifica-
" tions, as ſhould make it impoſſible for me to continue in your
" Service. God Almighty, and the whole World, are my
" Witneſſes, with what Care and Pains I have ſerved you for
" more than twenty Years, and I was reſolved, if poſſible, to
" have ſtruggled with the Difficulties to the End of this War:
" But the many Inſtances I have had of your Majeſty's great
" Change to me, has ſo broke my Spirits, that I muſt beg, as
" the greateſt and laſt Favour, that you will approve of my re-
" tiring, ſo that I may employ the little Time I have to live,
" in making my juſt Acknowledgments to God, for the Protec-
" tion he has been pleas'd to give me: And your Majeſty may

1710. "be aſſured, that my Zeal for You and my Country is ſo great, "that, in my Retirement, I ſhall daily pray for Your Proſperi- "ty, and that thoſe who ſhall ſerve You as faithfully as I have "done, may never feel the hard Return that I have met with.

"The Queen (ſays the Ducheſs) wrote him an Anſwer, ex- "preſſing ſome Concern at ſeveral Parts of his Letter; aſſuring "him, without entering into Particulars, that he had no Grounds "for Suſpicion, and deſiring him to come to Town.

But to return to my co-temporary Author;

"Her Majeſty (ſays he) however, reſenting this, and ſome o- "ther Matters concurring, from which it was ſuggeſted, that "ſome Perſons in the Miniſtry endeavoured to engroſs all the "Authority, ſhe reſolved to make ſome Changes, and to begin "with the Perſon, who was ſuppoſed to have been the chief Pro- "moter of the Deſign to deprive the Queen of Mrs. Maſham's "Attendance. The Seals were, hereupon, taken from the Earl "of Sunderland; but becauſe no formal Neglect or Error, in the "Diſcharge of his Office, could be objected againſt him; and it "might appear ungracious to diſcharge a Nobleman of an un- "blemiſh'd Character, and ſo near a Relation to the Duke of "Marlborough, with ſeeming Diſpleaſure, it was thought fit to "mitigate his Diſgrace by a Penſion: But when Word was "brought him, that her Majeſty, as a Teſtimony of her royal "Favour, and of her being fully ſatisfied in his Lordſhip's Ser- "vices, deſign'd to preſent him with 3000 l. per Annum, to be "ſettled upon him for Life, to make up, in ſome Meaſure, the "Loſs of the Office of Secretary; his Lordſhip, with the Ge- "neroſity of an old Roman, hardly to be parallell'd in theſe
He refuſes a Penſion. "corrupt Times, anſwered; *he was glad her Majeſty was ſatis-* "*fied he had done his Duty; but if he could not have the Honour* "*to ſerve his Country, he would not plunder it.* Before his Lord- "ſhip was removed, the Queen was ſome time in Suſpence a- "bout the Choice of a Perſon to ſucceed him: But the Earl of "Powlet, to whom the Seals were firſt offered, having declin'd "ſo fatiguing an Employment, the Lord Dartmouth, one of "the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, and Son- "in-law to the Earl of Nottingham, was thought, at this Junc- "ture, a fit Perſon to be Secretary of State, into which Office "he was ſworn, on the fifteenth of June.

On Occaſion of the Removal of the Earl of Sunderland, ſe- veral great Men, who feared that the Duke of Marlborough might in Diſguſt quit the Service, immediately wrote him the following joint Letter:

My

1710.

My Lord, June, 14. 1710.

A Letter to the Duke of Marlboro' from eight great Men.

"WE ſhould not have given your Grace the Trouble of "this joint Letter, but for the great Concern and Un- "eaſineſs in which we find you on account of my Lord Sun- "derland, by your Letter of the 20th to my Lord Treaſurer, "which he has communicated to us. That Letter, as moving "and as reaſonable as it was, has not hinder'd the Seals, from "being taken, this Morning, from my Lord Sunderland. No "Wonder then, if the utmoſt Endeavours, which could be uſed "to prevent it, and the ſtrong Arguments which have been "made of the evil Conſequences that muſt attend ſuch Steps, "both at home and abroad, have met with ſo little Succeſs. We "find ourſelves ſo much afflicted with this Misfortune, that we "cannot but be extremely ſenſible of the great Mortification "this muſt give you, at this critical Juncture, where you are, "every Moment, hazarding your Life in the Service of your "Country, and while the Fate of Europe depends, in ſo great "a Degree, on your Conduct and good Succeſs: But we are al- "ſo as fully convinced, that it is impoſſible for your Grace to "quit the Service, at this Time, without the utmoſt Hazard to "the whole Alliance; and we muſt, therefore conjure you, by "the Glory you have already obtain'd, by the many Services "you have done your Queen and Country, by the Expectation "you have juſtly rais'd in all Europe, and by all that is dear and "tender to you at home, whoſe chief Dependance is upon your "Succeſs, that you would not leave this great Work unfiniſh'd; "but continue at the Head of the Army. This we look upon "as the moſt neceſſary ſtep that can be taken to prevent the Diſ- "ſolution of this Parliament. Your Grace's Compliance with "this our earneſt Requeſt would be the greateſt Obligation to "us, and all that wiſh well to our Country: And you may de- "pend upon it, that the contrary will be the greateſt Satisfac- "tion to your Enemies. We are, my Lord,

Your Grace's
Moſt Humble and
Obedient Servants,

COWPER, C.	DEVONSHIRE,
GODOLPHIN,	ORFORD,
SOMERS,	HALLIFAX,
NEWCASTLE,	H. BOYLE.

Her Grace's ſuppoſed Right Honourable Antagoniſt, after having borrow'd a Copy of this Letter, and inſerted it in, *The other*

1710. *other Side of the Queſtion*, accompanied with ſome Reflections on the Subject of it, proceeds:

"And as to the humble Petition of the ſeven great Lords, "and the Secretary of State, to the Duke of Marlborough; be- "ſeeching his Grace not to deprive the Confederate Army of "his Almighty Protection, it ſeems only to prove more undeni- "ably; *That the Influence of the Marlborough Family was grown "ſo formidably extenſive, that it was become alike dangerous, either "to connive at its Continuance, or to endeavour to reduce it within "proper Bounds.*

That I may not be again accus'd of Partiality, I ſhall forbear making a Reflection, which would otherwiſe very naturally ariſe in Anſwer to the above Concluſion, and leave the Reader to judge for himſelf.

The Removal of my Lord Sunderland, who was ſo nearly allied to the Duke of Marlborough, as it had an immediate Effect on the Funds and the Publick Credit at home, ſo it gave an Alarm to all the Courts concern'd in the grand Alliance.

The Emperour and the States, interpoſe in Favour of the Miniſtry

The Emperour and the States General were apprehenſive, that the Duke of Marlborough would either be removed, or ſo far diſguſted, as to lay down his Command, which might bring a great Prejudice to the Common Cauſe; Count Gallas, the Imperial Miniſter, and Monſieur de Vryberge, the Dutch Envoy, were directed, in a moſt reſpectful Manner, to repreſent to the Queen, what ill Influence, the changing of the Miniſtry might have on Affairs abroad. In Anſwer to their reſpective Memorials, the firſt was told, he might aſſure the Emperour, "That "whatever Changes the Queen deſigned to make, ſhe had re- "ſolved to continue the Duke of Marlborough in his Employ- "ments, and deſired that Prince Eugene, and the other Impe- "rial Generals and Plenipotentiaries, might act with him, with "the ſame Confidence as before." The Anſwer, which was given to Monſieur de Vryberge, was kept a Secret; but it was, however, ſaid, that her Majeſty, notwithſtanding ſevere Reflections were caſt upon the Dutch, on this Occaſion, put a favourable Conſtruction on the Interpoſition of the States General, in Favour of the Miniſtry; looking upon it as the Effect of their Zeal for the Common Cauſe, and the Confidence they repoſed in the Duke of Marlborough's Valour and Conduct. It was, likewiſe, ſaid, in Excuſe of her Majeſty's Allies intermeddling, or giving their Advice in this Matter, that there ſeemed to be a parallel Caſe, in the Queen's interpoſing at the Court of Vienna, in Favour of ſome of the Emperour's Proteſtant Subjects; and even, in the Parliament's Deſire, that Application ſhould be made to the Emperour, to ſend Prince Eugene to command in Spain.

Anſwer given to Count Gallas.

The Allies excuſed.

The

The Queen, had however, no ſooner begun to change her Miniſtry, by diſplacing the Earl of Sunderland, than the French were thoughtful how they might make an Advantage of it. This Piece of News was ſoon inſerted in the Paris Gazette, with the particular Notice that he was Son-in-law to the Duke of Marlborough. Their other News Papers were alſo filled with all the Domeſtick Feuds, and the ridiculous Behaviour of the Parties in Great Britain; which were told with an Air of Triumph, and helped very much to raiſe the drooping Spirits of the French. 1710.

About two Months after the Change of the Secretary of State, and (*according to a Noble Author*) "even the very Day after ſhe "had expreſſed her Deſire, to my Lord Godolphin himſelf, that "he would continue in her Service." (viz. the eighth of Auguſt) the Queen diſmiſſed him from the Poſt of Lord Treaſurer, and, the next Day, put the Treaſury in Commiſſion: Lord Powlet was the firſt in Form, in the Commiſſion; but Mr. Harley, who was, at the ſame time, appointed Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, was the Perſon, with whom the Secret was lodged: And it was viſible, that he was the chief Miniſter. According to the ſame Noble Author, "the Queen's "Letter of Order to the Lord Godolphin, to break his Staff, "was ſent by no worthier a Meſſenger than a Man in Livery, "to be left with his Lordſhip's Porter. A Proceeding (*continues "ſhe*) which in all its Parts would remain very unaccountable, "if the Queen herſelf had not, to thoſe who expoſtulated with "her, made this undoubtedly true Declaration, *that ſhe was "ſorry for it, but could not help it*. Unhappy Neceſſity! that "urged her to diſmiſs a Miniſter of the Lord Godolphin's expe-"rienced Abilities and Integrity.

It now plainly appear'd, that a total Change of the Miniſtry, and the Diſſolution of the Parliament were reſolved on. To enter into a Diſcuſſion of the Reaſons alledged for and againſt this Step of the Queen's would carry me too far; I ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that, in September, the Queen came to Council, and called for a Proclamation to diſſolve the Parliament, which Sir Simon Harcourt (made Attorney-General, in the Room of Sir James Montague, who quitted that Poſt) had prepared; When it was read, the Lord Chancellor offered to ſpeak; but her Majeſty roſe up, and would admit of no Debate; but ordered the Writs for a New Parliament to be prepared. About the ſame Time, ſhe diſmiſſed the Lord Sommers, and, in his Room, made the Earl of Rocheſter Lord Preſident of the Council: She ſent to the Duke of Devonſhire, for the Lord Steward's Staff, and gave it to the Duke of Buckingham: Mr. Boyle was diſmiſſed from being Secretary of State, and Mr. St. John (now Lord Bolinbroke) had the Seals; The Earl of Derby was removed

1710. moved from being Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, and was ſucceeded by the Lord Berkeley.

Character of the Earl of Derby.

" James Stanley, Earl of Derby, then Colonel Stanley, was " Groom of the Bed-Chamber to King William all his Reign. " He came to the Peerage, by the Death of his Brother: He " was a Nobleman of diſtinguiſh'd Honour, and a brave Soldier, " which was his Profeſſion. In the 5th Year of Queen Anne's " Reign, he was ſworn one of her Privy Council, and made " Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, from which he was " now removed. At the Coronation of King George I. he car- " ried the Sword of State, and was again conſtituted Lord Lieu- " tenant of the County of Lancaſter, and the next Year appoint- " ed Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

Character of Lord Sommers.

" John Lord Sommers was of a creditable Family, in the City " of Worceſter. His Father was an Attorney, and bred him to " the Law, which was his Profeſſion for ſome Years, before he " was taken Notice of. In King James's Reign, he was one " of the Counſel for the ſeven Biſhops, and behaved himſelf, in " that Cauſe, ſo well, and with ſuch Applauſe, as eſtabliſh'd " his Reputation, and firſt brought him into Buſineſs. Soon af- " ter the Revolution, King William made him Attorney-Gene- " ral, and he was ſucceſſively Lord Keeper, Lord Chancellor, " and a Peer; and, for many Years, chief in the Adminiſtration " of Publick Affairs, in which he gain'd ſuch a Reputation " of Honeſty, that very few Miniſters, in any Reign, ever had " ſo many Friends in the Houſe of Commons, or could go into " the City, and, on their bare Words, gain ſo much Credit of " the Publick. He was reckoned as good a Chancellor, as ever " ſat in that Chair; and was remarkable for ſuch a Force of Ex- " preſſion, as to convince at the ſame time he inform'd.

Several great Officers of State lay down their Poſts.

Upon all theſe Removes, the Lord Chancellor came, on the twenty-third of September, and deliver'd up the Great Seal; but the Queen, not looking for this, was ſurprized at it: And not knowing how to diſpoſe of it, ſhe, with an unuſual Earneſtneſs, preſs'd him to keep it one Day longer; and, the Day following, having conſidered the Matter, with her Favourites, Mrs Maſham and Mr. Harley, ſhe received it very readily. At firſt, ſhe committed it to the Cuſtody of three Lords Commiſſioners, viz. Sir Thomas Trevor, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Robert Tracey Eſq; a Judge in the ſame Court, and Mr. Scroop, Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland; but it was ſoon after given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton deliver'd up his Commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and that was given to the Duke of Ormond: And the Earl of Orford, with ſome of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, with- drew from that Board, in whoſe Room others were put. Se- veral

veral other Changes were made, both in Civil and Military Employs; which for Brevity's ſake I paſs by. 1710.

So ſudden, and ſo entire a Change in the Miniſtry (as a late Author obſerves) is ſcarce to be found in our Hiſtory, eſpecially where Men of great Abilities had ſerved, both with Zeal and Succeſs; inſomuch, that the Adminiſtration of all Affairs, at Home and Abroad, in their Hands, was not only without Exception, but had raiſed the Admiration of all Europe. All this roſe purely from the great Credit of the new Favourites, and the Queen's perſonal Diſtaſte to the old Ones. Her Majeſty was much delighted with all theſe Changes, and ſeemed to think ſhe was freed from the Chains the old Miniſtry held her in: She ſpoke of it to ſeveral Perſons, as a Captivity, which ſhe had been long under. The Duke of Sommerſet had very much alienated the Queen's Mind from the old Miniſtry, and had no ſmall Share in their Diſgrace; but he was ſo diſpleaſed with the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and the New Model of the Miniſtry, that, tho' he continued, ſome Time, Maſter of the Horſe, he refuſed to ſit any more in Council, and complained openly of the Artifices, which had been uſed, to make him inſtrumental to other People's Deſigns. Some Reflections hereupon.

" Charles Seymour, Duke of Sommerſet, who is yet liv- " ing, is of the antient Family of St. Maur, (for ſo the " Name was originally written) who came over with, or ſoon " after, William the Conquerour. He ſucceeded his Brother " Francis, who was murdered in Italy, in the Year 1678. He " was Knighted at Whitehall, in January, 1683, in order to " his Election to the moſt Noble Order of the Garter. On the " Demiſe of King Charles II. he was one of the Privy Coun- " cil, who ſign'd the Order for proclaiming King James II. " and at the Funeral of the King was one of the Supporters to " the chief Mourner, Prince George of Denmark. In 1685, " his Grace was at the Head of the Militia, of the County of " Sommerſet, to oppoſe the Duke of Monmouth. In 1687, he " was removed from his Poſts, of firſt Gentleman of the Bed- " Chamber to the King, and Colonel of Dragoons, for refuſing " to attend the Pope's Nuncio to his Publick Audience. At " the Coronation of King William and Queen Mary, his Grace " carried the Queen's Crown, and her Grace the Ducheſs of " Sommerſet, bore the Queen's Train, aſſiſted by four other La- " dies of Diſtinction. At the Funeral of Queen Mary, his " Grace was one of the Supporters of the Pall, and his Du- " cheſs chief Mourner, ſupported by the Lord Privy Seal, and " the Lord Preſident of the Council, and her Train ſupported " by the Ducheſſes of St. Albans and Southampton. In June " 1701, he was appointed one of the Lords Juſtices of England, " and in January following was made Preſident of the Council. Family and Character of the Duke of Sommerſet.

" In

1710. "In the first Year of Queen Anne, he was constituted Master of "the Horse, and in 1706, was one of the Commissioners, who "concluded the Union with Scotland. What happened at this "Time, we have seen above. On the Decease of the Queen, "he was one of the Lords Justices of Great Britain, nominated "by the late King, to govern the Realm, with the great Offi- "cers, till he arrived from Hannover, after which he was ap- "pointed Master of the Horse, and a few Days afterwards "sworn one of the Privy Council. In 1727, he was likewise "sworn of the Privy Council to his present Majesty, and both "at his and the late King's Coronation carried the Orb."

Upon what Principles the new Ministry profess'd, at least, to act, the Reader may see, by the following Piece;

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Harley, to Sir Rowland Gwyn, then at Hamburgh; dated Nov. 21, 1710.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Harley to Sir Rowland Gwyn.

"I Can assure you, that the Changes which the Queen has "made in her Ministry are grounded upon an upright and "truly English Principle: And you will find, that those whom "her Majesty thinks fit, at present to employ, will shew by their "Actions, that they have a very great Zeal, for the Support of "the grand Alliance, in all its Branches, to continue the War, "with a View of obtaining a firm and honourable Peace, and "to secure, in the most efficacious Manner, the Succession, in "the most serene House of Hannover. These are Principles I "am sure you approve of, and I will never lose the good O- "pinion you have of me, by neglecting any thing that is in "my Power, which may contribute to so salutary Ends."

Sir Rowland Gwyn, upon communicating this Letter, to a Friend, at the Court of Hannover, makes this Observation:

Sir Rowland's Remarks upon it.

"These are the Principles, the new Ministry declare they "will act upon, and I hope, that they will keep up to them; "if they do, I think that those who wish well to England can- "not desire more, but that they may appease the Animosities, "and unite us, to consider our true Interest.

"Mr. Harley is certainly one of the Chief in the present "Ministry, and has had a very great Influence in the late "Change: But the Tree is to be known by its Fruit, and we "ought to hope the best."

CHAP.

1710.

CHAP. II.

The taking of the French *Lines, the Siege of* Douay, *&c.*

THE preceding Campaign was ſo memorable, as well on account of the Importance, as the Multiplicity and Variety of its Events, that it afforded great Matter of Speculation to all Europe. The famous Victory of Blaregnies or Malplaquet, the taking of Tournay and Mons, and other ſingular Advantages obtain'd over the common Enemy; and the great Streights France was reduced to, by ſuch a Chain of Misfortunes, as had, for ſome Years attended their Arms, gave moſt People Reaſon to think, that this Year would have produced a Peace, ſuch as the Allies had propoſed to themſelves, without any farther Expence of Treaſure and Bloodſhed: But how their Hopes were defeated we have ſeen above.

The main Deſign of the French, in the Treaty of Gertruydenberg, which, as I have ſaid above, was probably, to create Uneaſineſſes and Jealouſies, among the Subjects of the Maritime Powers, who had ſo largely contributed to the Charges of the War, being eaſily ſeen thro' by the Penetration of our two wiſe Generals and Miniſters, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, theſe Conferences did not retard the Preparations for a Continuance of the War, and therein, at leaſt, the French loſt the Aim of their inſincere Negotiations. Prince Eugene, being come to the Hague, the twelfth of April, and having concerted with the Duke of Marlborough, and the Deputies of the States, the Operations of the next Campaign, for the early Opening whereof, great Magazines of dry Forage, and other Neceſſaries, had been provided, thoſe two Generals ſet out, the fifteenth of April, N. S. for Tourney, near which Place, the Confederate Troops, which were quartered on the Maeſe, in Brabant, and Flanders, were ordered to rendezvous.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene ſet out for Tournay.

The Day before theſe two Princes ſet out from the Hague, on their Way to Tournay, the Earl of Albemarle, Governour of this laſt Place, in Concert with Lieutenant-General Cadogan, cauſed an Attack to be made on the Caſtle of Mortaigne, ſituate at the Conflux of the Scheld and the Scarpe, with ſix Veſſels, ſix Pieces of Cannon, and 300 Men. Which was done with ſo much Succeſs, that, after a ſmall Reſiſtance, the Garriſon, conſiſting of a Captain, four Subalterns, five Sergeants, and 65 private Men (the French allow but fifty in all) ſurrendered Priſoners of War. They found nothing in it but one Tun of Gunpowder, and one Sack of Ammunition-meal. The Enemy, by means

Mortaigne taken by the Allies.

1710. means of the Galliots they had at Condé, on which they had planted ſeven or eight Pieces of Cannon, attack'd that Poſt, the next Morning, by favour of a great Detachment of Infantry, under the Chevalier de Luxembourg, and retook it, with about ſixty Men, who were left there: But the Earl of Albemarle, and General Cadogan, conſidering the Importance of that Poſt, reſolved to make themſelves Maſters of it a ſecond time; and having view'd it, the ſixteenth of April, cauſed it to be attacked again, the eighteenth, by 600 Men, of the Garriſon of Tournay, with ſome Veſſels and Cannon. The French Garriſon, which now conſiſted of four Captains, ſix Lieutenants, ſeveral Sergeants, and 200 Grenadiers, were aſſiſted, in the Defenſe of the Place, by 12 or 15 Galliots, from Condé: However, the Confederate Troops, being ſupported by a Detachment from the Body of Count Feltz, and favoured by the Cannon they had planted on the Heights of Mande, the Enemy were oblig'd to ſurrender Priſoners of War; and the Allies now left 200 Men, with four Pieces of Cannon, in the Place.

Retaken by the French;

And taken a ſecond time by the Allies.

The ſeventeenth of April, N. S. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough arriv'd at Tournay, after having been complimented, in their Way, at Antwerp, by the States of Brabant. They began, the ſame Day, to confer with the Count de Tilly, and Monſieur Claerbergen, one of the Deputies of the States, on the Opening of the Campaign.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene arrive at Tournay.

The French had all the Winter been ſtrengthening their Lines for covering Douay, and their other Frontier Towns, which now they were ſo vain to call impregnable; notwithſtanding which, it was reſolved, in this Conference, that all the Troops, which had their Winter-Quarters in Flanders, Brabant, and other Places, on this Side the Maeſe, and were now encamp'd in the Neighbourhood of Tournay, ſhould provide themſelves with Bread and Forage, till the twenty-third. Several other neceſſary Diſpoſitions being made, for advancing towards the Enemy's Lines, the Army began their March, the twentieth, at Five in the Afternoon, in two Columns, the Right, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, to Pont à Vendin, and the Left by Prince Eugene, to Pont-Oby, on the Deule. This March, which was continued all Night, was ſo ſudden and well regulated, that, notwithſtanding the great Preparations the French had made to fortify their Lines, and tho' the Chevalier de Luxembourg was encamp'd, for that Purpoſe, near St. Amand, and the Marſhal de Monteſquiou (or d'Artagnan) had aſſembled about forty Battalions, and ſixty Squadrons (ſome Accounts ſay but thirty Squadrons) near Lens and Bethune: Yet, the next Day, about ſix in the Morning, the Prince of Wirtemberg, and Lieutenant-General Cadogan, with a Detachment of fifteen Battalions, and fifty Squadrons from the Duke of Marlborough's Column,

Diſpoſitions made for entering the French Lines.

Column, entered theſe Lines at Pont à Vendin, without any Oppoſition: The few Troops who guarded that Poſt, being ſurprized, and retiring at the Approach of the Confederates, without firing one Shot. The French, not apprehenſive that the Confederate Army was ſo near them, were moſtly out, that Morning, in Queſt of Forage, ſo that their Generals had hardly any Cavalry with them; and this likewiſe occaſion'd the Loſs of a good Part of their Officers Baggage, their Servants being with the Foragers. 1710. The Confederates enter the French Lines.

Upon this almoſt unexpected Succeſs, the whole Confederate Army paſſed the Lines, the Right under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough at Pont à Vendin, and the Left under the Command of Prince Eugene, at Couriers. This ſtruck ſuch an Alarm among the Enemy's Troops, which were aſſembled near Lens, that they retreated, with all the Diligence they were able, partly towards Arras, and partly towards Douay. The Allies encamp'd, that Night, in the Plain of Lens, and the twenty-ſecond, march'd again, very early, to diſlodge the French, who having aſſembled their Troops near Vitry, behind the Scarpe, made a Shew as if they would diſpute the Paſſage of that River. The Chevalier de Luxembourg, and the Horſe from Arras and Bethune, had, for that Purpoſe, join'd the Marſhal de Monteſquiou. But tho' they were advantageouſly poſted; yet being much inferior in Number, and the Soldiers not having yet recovered their Surprize and Conſternation, they retired with great Confuſion and Precipitance, towards Cambray, as ſoon as they ſaw the Confederate Troops approach, leaving Part of their Tents and Baggage behind them. The Allies having laid their Bridges over the Scarpe, the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel was detach'd with twelve Squadrons, to fall on the Enemy's Rear; but they retir'd ſo faſt, and broke down ſo many Bridges, as ſoon as they had paſs'd them, that his Highneſs could overtake but a ſmall Number of them, and thoſe he made Priſoners of War. The Priſoners, who were taken, reported, that very hard Words had paſs'd between the Marſhal d'Artagnan, and the Chevalier de Luxembourg: The latter having laid the Blame of the Allies having paſſed the Lines, on the Marſhal, who would not believe they were in a Condition to attempt them; while the Marſhal blamed the former, for not having join'd him, as he had Orders to do. The Army, under the Duke of Marlborough, paſſed the Scarpe that Night, his Grace encamping his Right near Vitry, on the ſame River, his Left at Gouy, and fixing his Quarters at the Extremity of his Left, at Gouleſſin. The Army under Prince Eugene, march'd, in the mean time, on the other Side of the Scarpe, between that River and the Canal, in order to inveſt Douay, the Siege of which Place had been reſolved on.

The Enemy retreat with Precipitation before them.

The Siege of Douay reſolved on.

1710.

Force of the Confederate Army.

All the Troops which were to form the Confederate Army, for this Campaign, being now arrived in the Camp, the whole Army was computed as follows. (1.) The Right Wing under the Command of Prince Eugene, 45 Battalions of Foot, and 101 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons; and (2.) the Left, under Command of the Duke of Marlborough, 110 Battalions, and 161 Squadrons; together, 155 Battalions, and 262 Squadrons. They had 102 Pieces of Cannon, 20 Mortars and Hawbitzers, and 40 Pontons. The Enemy's Army was computed, at that time, to conſiſt of 204 Battalions of Foot, and 308 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, having 96 Pieces of Cannon, 16 Mortars and Hawbitzers, and 36 Pontons.

According to this Account the French Army was much ſuperior to that of the Allies: But if we will believe their Accounts, the Confederate Army conſiſted of 138,000 Men, and was ſuperior to theirs by 40,000. This Computation, is however, too extravagant to gain any Belief.

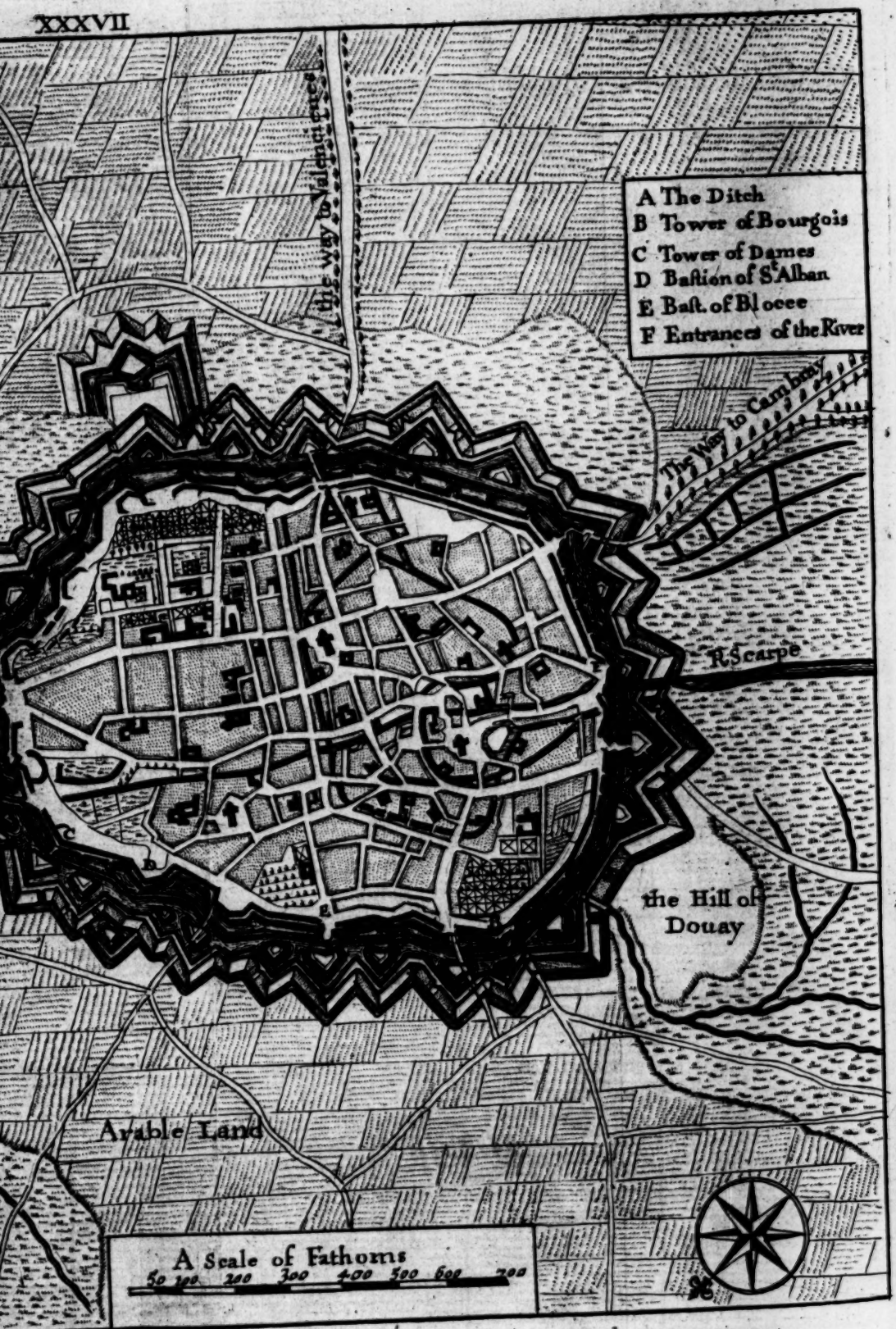
The Siege of DOUAY.

Importance of that Conqueſt.

IN the preſent Juncture of Affairs, the Allies could not have aimed at a more important Conqueſt. For, on the one Side, as it is a large City, ſituated about five Leagues from Cambray, on the Scarpe, it covered the Enemy's Frontiers, and laid the Spaniſh Netherlands open to their Invaſions; ſo, ever ſince the Reign of Henry II. the French left no means untried to get Poſſeſſion of it; in which, having at laſt ſucceeded, in 1667, and it being confirm'd to them, by the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, they added new, tho' irregular Works to their Fortifications, at a very great Expence, made it a Place of Arms, erected Magazines, and a Foundery therein, and cut a Canal to unite the Deule and the Scarpe, which gave them an eaſy Entrance into the Spaniſh Provinces. It was, beſides, of very difficult Acceſs, on account of the Moraſſes and Inundations, and had, at ſome Diſtance, a Fort, called Fort Scarpe, a regular Pentagon. The Garriſon was now commanded by the Marquis d'Albergotti, a Lieutenant-General, who had under him the Major-Generals, Marquis de Dreux, and Monſieur Brandelé: Monſieur de Pomereuil was Governour, Major-General de Valori commanded the Engineers, as the Chevalier de Jancourt did the Artillery. The Garriſon was compos'd of ſeventeen Battalions, a Company of Cannoniers, a Brigade of Miners and Bombardiers, and two Regiments of Dragoons. In Fort Scarpe were three Battalions, ſix Companies of Invalids, and a Detachment of Cannoniers and Bombardiers. All theſe Troops together amounting to about 8000 Men. French Accounts agree as to

the


An
Exact Plan of
DOWAY
is humbly Dedicated
to ij Right Hon.ble
RICHARD TEMPLE
VISCOUNT COBHAM
by his most Obedient Servt
Tho: Lediard.
Wazieres
the way to Lisle
Morals
Port
Scarp
Dorignies


A The Ditch
B Tower of Bourgois
C Tower of Dames
D Bastion of S.t Alban
E Bast. of Blocee
F Entrances of the River
the way to Valenciennes
The Way to Cambray
R. Scarpe
the Hill of Douay
Arable Land
A Scale of Fathoms
50 100 200 300 400 500 600 700

he Number of Battalions, Companies, &c. but add, that the Recruits not having join'd them, when the Place was inveſted, none of them were compleat; ſo that the Whole amounted to but 7500 Men. 1710.

On the other hand, it was wiſely conſider'd, that the Chatelenie of Liſle, which was ſtill, in part, poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, would, by the Taking of Douay, be reduced wholly under one ſingle Power. That Liſle itſelf, Tournay, and other Places, along the Scheld and Lys, as far as Ghent, would be more firmly ſecured, and that a Paſſage for tranſporting Neceſſaries from that Province into Artois, by Water, would thereby be open'd, which would afford a Conveniency for maintaining numerous Garriſons in thoſe Parts, and an Opportunity to make farther Progreſs into the Enemy's Country.

Preparations for the Siege.

Purſuant to the Reſolution taken, General Cadogan was detach'd, the 23d of April, in the Morning, to take Poſt at Pont à Rache, (or Pont à Rais) and other Detachments were made, to open the Communication, over the Lower Scarpe, with Liſle and Tournay; wherein they met with no Difficulty, the Allies being already Maſters of Mortaigne, and the Enemy having quitted St. Amand, Marchienne, and the Abby of Haſnon, below Douay, and being retired towards Cambray, upon the News, that the Confederates had paſſed the Scarpe, at Vitry.

Douay inveſted.

The ſame Day, both Armies made a Motion, to inveſt Douay; that of Prince Eugene reaching from Vitry, on the Scarpe, to Pont-Oby, or Oppy; and that under the Duke of Marlborough, from the other Side of the Scarpe, over-againſt Vitry, to Pont à Rache, on the Lower Scarpe. The 24th, was ſpent in laying ſeveral Bridges below and above Douay, on the Scarpe and the Canal, and, on the 25th, the Beſiegers began to work on the Lines of Circumvallation. Two Days before, an Expreſs was diſpatch'd to haſten the March of the Heſſians, Palatines, and other Troops, in order to join the Confederate Army, and the Deputies of the States of Artois arrived in the Camp, to deſire the Duke of Marlborough's Protection.

Farther Motions of the Confederate Army.

The 26th, the Lines of Circumvallation were continued, and the Pruſſian Troops, under the Command of the Prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, arrived near the Camp. Monſieur Vegelin de Claerbergen, Deputy of the Dutch Council of State, went to Tournay and Liſle, to give the neceſſary Orders for the ſpeedy tranſporting to the Army the Forage, Oats, and other Proviſions, both for Man and Horſe. The 27th, a Detachment of 1000 Foot was ſent from the Duke of Marlborough's Army, to ſtop the Sluices, which the Enemy had near Arleux, which partly ſupplied the Inundation about Douay; and, at the ſame time, another Detachment was ſent to cut the Banks of the Scarpe,

1710. between Vitry and Bioche, that the Water of that River might run into the adjacent Marſhes.

The 28th, the Horſe and Foot of both Armies made ſome Motion, and the Duke of Marlborough chang'd his Quarters to the Abby of Flines: This Day, likewiſe, 40 Battalions, and 32 Squadrons, under the Command of the Prince of Anhalt and Naſſau Frieſland, being deſign'd for the Service of the Siege, were drawn out and form'd, and proper Ordnance appointed.

The Cavalry under Prince Eugene extended itſelf from Oignies over the Canal of Obby, to Belle Ferriere, near Rache, while the Horſe of the Duke of Marlborough's Army paſs'd over the Scarpe, at Lelain, and encamp'd their Right to the Village of Rache, being parted by a ſhort Interval, from the Left of Prince Eugene, and extending from thence, thro' the Wood of Rache, to Bouvigniers. The Infantry made a Motion, likewiſe, at the ſame time; that under Prince Eugene took Poſt from Pont Oppy to Eſquerchien, and from thence, to Brebieres or Breſſieres; and the Infantry under the Duke of Marlborough ſtretched from thence, thro' the Villages of Quincy and Corbekem, to Fierin over the Upper Scarpe, and from thence to Dechy, and Waſieres, near the Lower Scarpe. The Horſe being thus altogether poſted on the Left of the Scarpe between Douay and Liſle, that they might more conveniently ſubſiſt, and for ſecuring their Convoys, the Duke of Marlborough thought fit to detach Major-General Bothmar, and 1500 Horſe, with Orders to take Poſt without the Confederates Lines, near Dechy, and patrole between them, Bouchain and Cambray, to watch the Motions of the Enemy, on that Side.

The 29th, all the Horſe and Dragoons in the Army aſſiſted the Beſiegers in making Faſcines, and they continued perfecting the Line of Circumvallation, which began at Dechy, and ended at Pont Oppy, and Detachments were made for ſecuring the March of the Artillery from Liſle to Tournay.

The 30th, the Troops were provided with a good Number of Faſcines, and Gabions; and the ſame Day, the Sluices, which the Enemy had broke down, on the Upper Deule, and which the Duke of Marlborough had ordered to be repaired, were brought into ſuch a Condition, as rendered the River navigable as far as Oppy, which proved of great Service for the Tranſportation of Forage, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries.

The Caſtle of Pignonville taken.

On the firſt of May, N. S. eight hundred Men were detach'd from Prince Eugene's Army to attack the Caſtle of Pignonville, near the Fort Scarpe, which would have annoyed the Beſiegers in their Approaches; and, after an Hour's Reſiſtance, the Garriſon, conſiſting of about one hundred Men, ſurrendered Priſoners of War. The ſame Morning, the Duke of Marlborough ordered Lieutenant-General Cadogan, to view the Plains between

Lens

Lens and Eſquerchien, and to mark a proper Place for ranging the Army on a Line of Battle, in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt to diſturb the Siege. But either for Want of Forage, or other Neceſſaries, the French were not yet in a Condition to take the Field, and the Marſhal d'Artagnan, having put moſt of his Troops into Garriſons, was retir'd to Cambray with the reſt, tho' not without Hopes, that the Town of Douay would hold out a conſiderable time, to give the French Forces an Opportunity to aſſemble, in order to relieve the Place. Nor was this Expectation altogether ill-grounded; for the Garriſon conſiſted (as I have ſaid above) of ſeventeen Battalions, ſix Companies of Invalids, and three Squadrons of Dragoons, beſides three other Battalions in Fort Scarpe: The whole under the Command of General Albergotti, an Officer of tried Valour, and conſummate Experience: But as the Enemy did not expect to be ſo ſoon inveſted, a great Number of Officers were abſent from their reſpective Poſts; ſome of whom were taken, as they endeavoured to get into the Place. 1710.

Strength of the Garriſon of Douay.

The third Day of May, at Break of Day, the Duke of Marlborough detach'd a Major-General, and 6000 Men, from the Camp, with ſix Pieces of Cannon and two Hawbitzers, to attack Chateau-Louay, a little to the North of Douay, which they took, and the Garriſon, conſiſting of 240 Men, ſurrender'd Priſoners at Diſcretion. While they were marching out, ſome looſe Powder, which had been ſcattered on the Ground, took Fire, and reaching ſome Barrels of Powder, that ſtood near, blew up ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, on both Sides.

Chateau Louay taken.

The neceſſary Preparations for the Attack of Douay being made, forty Battalions were appointed for that Service, under the Command of the Prince of Anhalt Deſſau, and the Prince of Naſſau Frieſland, both Generals of the Foot, with four Lieutenant-Generals, viz. Earl of Orkney, Withers, Prince of Holſtein-Beck, and C. Dhona, eight Major-Generals, and eight Brigadiers, under them.

Farther Preparations for the Siege.

French Hiſtorians place the Prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, with one half of the other General Officers, under the immediate Command of Prince Eugene; and the Prince of Naſſau Frieſland, with the other half, under the immediate Command of the Duke of Marlborough.

The Night between the 4th and 5th of May, N. S. the Trenches were opened, at two Attacks, on the North Side of the Scarpe, between the Gates of Ocre and Eſquerchien, the reſt of the Place being covered by Inundations. Four Battalions, and 3000 Workmen, were commanded for each Attack, and the Work was begun in ſo good Order, and carried on with ſo good Succeſs, that the Men were covered before they were perceived from the Town, which was about three o'Clock in the

The Trenches open'd.

1710. Morning, and all the Fire the Enemy then made, had no other Effect, than wounding a Serjeant and two private Men. The Day before, the Rector of the Engliſh College of Douay, having obtain'd Leave of the Duke of Marlborough, to retire to Liſle, during the Siege, was conducted thither, with his Students, to the Number of ſixty.

A French Party defeated.

The French having ſent a Party of 100 Horſe from Bethune, to get Intelligence of the Army of the Allies, one of their Parties, which was patrolling, in the Plains of Lens, met them, and having, at the firſt Diſcharge, killed fifteen of them, the reſt were taken Priſoners, with eight Officers, among whom were two Captains.

The Beſieg'd make a vigorous Sally.

The Siege was carried on, in the ordinary Methods, till the 7th of May, when, about ten at Night, the Beſieged, to the Number of 1000 Foot, moſt Grenadiers, and 200 Dragoons, made a vigorous Sally, under the Command of the Duke of Mortemar, a Brigadier, againſt the Left Attack, commanded by the Prince of Naſſau, put the Workmen, at firſt, into great Diſorder, and levelled ſome Places of the Parallel. Colonel Sutton's Regiment, which was the firſt that ſupported the Workmen, ſuffer'd very much (according to French Accounts, was quite cut to Pieces;) but Major General Mackartney, with the other Regiments in the Trenches, coming up to their Relief, the Enemy were repulſed with conſiderable Loſs, and purſued to their Counterſcarp. The Action was very hot, inſomuch, that the Allies had above 300 Men either killed or wounded (French Accounts ſay above 400 killed;) and among the latter, Lieutenant-Colonel Gledhill, of Sutton's Regiment, who being taken Priſoner, and carried into the Town, was very civilly uſed by the Governour: The Loſs of the Enemy was, however, far greater. The Damage made in the Parallel was repaired, the ſame Night.

A ſmall Sconce taken.

The eighth, at Break of Day, a ſmall Battery of eight Pieces of Cannon, and four Mortars, being ready, on Prince Anhalt's Attack, began to play, with great Fury, againſt a little black Sconce, in the Moraſs, on the South of the Town, and ſoon diſmantled it; which proved a good Piece of Service; for before, the Enemy had, from hence, very much flank'd the Right of the Approaches, on that Side. The ſame Night, the Beſieged made a ſmall Sally, on that Side, likewiſe, but were repulſed with Loſs. The large Train of Artillery, for the Uſe of the Siege, came the ninth to the Camp. The ſame Day, ſeveral hundred of Waggons, belonging to the Army, were ſent to Tournay, to bring Ammunition from thence. The eleventh a Battery was compleated, at each Attack, for 24 Pieces of Cannon, and eight Mortars.

Two large Batteries perfected.

The

1710.

The Approaches were carried on, with ſo great Application and Succeſs, that, on the 12th, the Beſiegers advanc'd to the firſt Ditch, which the Enemy had made ſince the taking of Tournay.

The Enemy's Forces begin to aſſemble.

All this while the Enemy's Troops began to aſſemble in different Bodies, near Bethune, Bapaume, Arras, Cambray, Landrecy, and behind the River Somme; and the Marſhal de Villars, whom the French Court had appointed to command their Forces in the Netherlands, and who received, at Paris, the News of the Trenches being opened before Douay, being arrived at Peronne, on the 14th of May, a Report was ſpread, that he deſigned to paſs the Scheld, between Bouchain and Denain, in order to advance towards the Confederates, by the Plain of Oſtrevant, between the Scheld, and the Lower Scarpe. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough went, hereupon, the 15th in the Morning, to view the Poſt of Arleux, as alſo to ſurvey the Ground, between that Place and the Lower Scarpe, and give Directions for the marking a Field of Battle, on the Plain towards Valenciennes, in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt to ſuccour Douay, on that Side.

The Batteries, at both Attacks, compleated.

The fourteenth, about ſix in the Morning, the Batteries of the Beſiegers, on both Attacks, being compleated and mounted with 88 Pieces of Cannon, and 32 Mortars and Hawbitzers, they began to play with great Fury, on the Enemy's Outworks; but chiefly on the Prince of Anhalt's Side; the Ground, on the other ſide, being ſo boggy, that they could not carry on the Siege there, with ſo much Regularity and Vigour.

The Beſiegers make another Sally.

On the 17th of May, in the Morning, the Beſieged in Douay made another Sally, with nine Companies of Grenadiers, towards the Left of the Left Attack; but Colonel Preſton, who commanded there, gave them ſo warm a Reception, that, upon the firſt Firing of his Men, the Enemy retired in great Confuſion, and Left above 100 Men Priſoners.

The 19th, upon Advice that the French Forces were in Motion, Count de Feltz, General of the Imperial Horſe, and Lieutenant-General Cadogan, were detach'd, with 400 Horſe, towards Arras, as well to view the Poſt and Ground about that Place, as to get Intelligence of the Enemy; and being returned, the 20th, reported, that they had ſeen about twenty French Squadrons drawn out under the Cannon of Arras; and were informed, that all the Infantry in that Place, marched that Morning towards Dourlens, in their Route to Peronne. The 21ſt, at Night, the Beſieged made another Sally on the Left, wherein ſeveral Men were killed on both Sides.

A Horn-work taken.

The twenty-ſecond, at Night, the Beſiegers, on Prince Anhalt's Side, attack'd and took a little Horn-work, in the Front of their Approaches, with little Loſs.

1710. Notwithſtanding their Diſappointment, the Enemy made a fourth Attempt on the Trenches, the 23d, at Night: But the Beſiegers, who had Notice of it, having kill'd about twenty of their Men, upon the firſt Diſcharge, the reſt retired with Precipitation.

The ſame Day, Monſieur de Villars advanced with a large Body of Horſe, towards the Front of the Confederate Camp, to take a View of it; but the Picquet being ordered out, they retired at their Approach.

Three Days after, the Earl of Stairs was inveſted, by the Duke of Marlborough, with the moſt noble Order of the Thiſtle, by Virtue of a ſpecial Commiſſion from her Britannick Majeſty, to his Grace, for that Purpoſe.

The French reſolve to attempt the Relief of Douay.

The Marſhal de Villars had ſet out, the nineteenth of May, from Peronne, accompanied by the Pretender, and the Duke de Bourbon: He arrived, the ſame Day, at Cambray, where having met the Marſhals de Berwick, Beſon, and Monteſquiou, and the Bavarian Marſhal, Count d'Acro, they held a Grand Council of War; in which it was reſolved to aſſemble the French Army immediately, in order to attempt the Relief of Douay. Accordingly, the Marſhal de Villars ſent Expreſſes to the Re-inforcements which were commanded to join him from the Upper Rhine, to march, with the utmoſt Diligence, and having drawn all his Troops together, paſſed the Scheld, the twenty-ſecond, and encamp'd, with his Right, near Bouchain, and his Left at Ribecour. According to the Marquis de Quincy's Account, the French Army then conſiſted of 153 Battalions, and 262 Squadrons, of which he gives the Order of Battle.

Motions of their Army.

And of the Confederates.

Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough, having got Intelligence of this Motion of the Enemies, found it neceſſary to make a new Diſpoſition of their Forces, except of thirty Battalions which they left at the Siege, and twelve Squadrons at Pont à Rache. Accordingly, the 24th, all the Cavalry of the Duke's Army march'd over the Scarpe, and took their former Camp near Gouleſſin (or Goulexſin) and the next Day, the Infantry moved the ſame Way, encamping, with the Right over-againſt the Vitry, and the Left near Arleux. Prince Eugene made a Motion, with his Army, at the ſame time, and placed his Right at Iſe les Eſquerchien. In this Situation, they could repair immediately to either of the Fields of Battle already mark'd out, and Roads were made, for the Armies to march in four Columns, either Way, according to the next Motions which the Enemy might make: And, as the Scarpe ſeparated the two Armies, Bridges were laid over that River in ſeveral Places, for the more eaſy Communication of the Troops.

This

This Diſpoſition being made, a Council of War was held, in which it was concluded, that in Caſe of a Battle, Prince Eugene ſhould command the Right, conſiſting of Imperial Troops, the Duke of Marlborough the Left, with the Engliſh, and Count Tilly the Center, with the Troops in the Pay of Holland. 1710. Diſpoſition in Caſe of a Battle.

That Morning, likewiſe, by Break of Day, the Beſiegers ſtorm'd and took the Grand Counterſcarp, on the Prince of Anhalt's ſide, and began their Bridges over the Ditch, to the main Breach of the Wall of the Town; and at Night, the Beſieged again made a Sally, but were repuls'd with Loſs. The main Counterſcarp taken by Storm.

The ſame Day, likewiſe, upon Advice that the Enemy were in Motion, the whole Army was ordered to be in Readineſs to march. The ſix and twentieth, upon Intelligence, that the Enemy extended their Line nearer to Arras, their Left being within a League of that Place, and their Right at Oiſy, the Confederate Generals juſtly concluded, that they found it impracticable to attack them on the Side of Arleux; and that, therefore, their Deſign was to march into the Plain of Lens, and try what they could do on that Side. The eight and twentieth, the French march'd accordingly, by Blangis, Arras, and Mont St. Eloy. Prince Eugene, hereupon, extended the Right of his Army, to Henin Lietard; and the Duke of Marlborough repaſs'd the Scarpe, with the Right Wing of his Army, encamping very near the Left, of the Prince of Savoy, and taking his Quarters at Eſquerchien. This Motion brought the two Armies very near the ſtrong Camp, mark'd out from Vitry to Montigny, beyond Henin Lietard, having the Village of Bois Bernard, in Front, and that of Beaumont, in the Rear; and, for the greater Security of it, ſeveral Redoubts were erected, and Cannon drawn from the Lines of Circumvallation, to be placed on the Batteries. Farther Motions of the Confederates:

The French Army paſſed the Scarpe, the eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth, over eight Bridges, between Althies and the Abby d'Avenes, and encamped with the Right at Roquelincourt, near Arras, and their Left, at St. Eloy, having the Hills before them. As ſoon as they had paſſed the Scarpe, the Marſhal de Villars caus'd Powder and Ball to be diſtributed to his Troops, with Bread for four Days. Upon this the Dutch Infantry, which had been left between Vitry and Arleux, on the other Side of the Scarpe, under the Command of Count Tilly, was ordered, on the thirtieth in the Morning, to join the Duke of Marlborough's Army; which by this time, was re-inforced by the Pruſſians, Palatines and Heſſians, and ſeveral Detachments, that were recall'd. Upon Intelligence, that the Marſhal de Villars, who had poſitive Orders from Court to fight, having harangued the ſeveral Brigades of his Army, and repre- And of the Enemy.

1710. repreſented to his Men, that things were now come to ſuch a Paſs, that they muſt either vanquiſh or die; and that, for the greater Encouragement, he had ordered the Chaplains of his Army to give a general Abſolution to the Troops. Upon theſe Advices, I ſay, the Allies had great Reaſon to believe they ſhould be attack'd; and the Expectation of a ſudden Engagement greatly encreaſed, when that Morning, about eight o' Clock, the French Army decamped from Roquelincourt, and Mount St. Eloy, marched, in twelve Columns, in Order of Battle, between Freſne and Lens; and one of their Columns advanc'd to Bertricourt, with all their Generals, to view the Situation of the Allies. The Marſhals de Villars and de Monteſquiou were in the Center of the French Army, the Marſhal de Berwick in the Right, and the Marſhal d'Arco in the Left; and, in this Manner they encamp'd, with their Right to Tanpoux, and their Left at Noyelles, almoſt within Cannon-Shot of the Confederate Intrenchments.

The French make a Shew of attacking the Confederates.

The Confederate Generals repaired, upon their Approach, to their reſpective Poſts, and all neceſſary Diſpoſitions were made to receive the Enemy. The Cannon was placed on the Avenues leading to their Camp, and the Prince of Naſſau, with Twenty Battalions from the Siege, and eleven others from the Intrenchments, between Dechy and Fierin, joined the Grand Army; but the Marſhal de Villars did not think his Superiority, of above 10,000 Men in Number, ſufficient to ballance the Advantage of the Ground, on the Side of the Confederates. He, therefore, after having continued for ſome time at Bertricourt, within Muſket-Shot of the Confederate Camp, march'd back, and join'd the Center of his Army between Lens and Freſne, his Right extending, as I have ſaid above, towards Tanpoux, and his Left towards Noyelles, not half a League from the Confederates. He made a Motion, ſoon after, towards his Left, and encamp'd between Noyelles ſous Lens, and the Heights of St. Laurens. Here he held a Council of War, with the reſt of the Generals, in which it was found not adviſable to attack the Allies; whereupon their Army march'd, the fourth of June, towards Arras, where they had left their Baggage, and encamp'd again at the Diſtance of about a League from the Confederate Army. The Marſhal de Villars expected the Allies would have detach'd ſome Troops out of their Intrenchments, to fall upon his Rear; and had taken Meaſures accordingly; but as their only View now was the taking of Douay, they had no Thoughts of employing their Army otherwiſe than on the Defenſive.

But dare not attempt it.

From all theſe Motions, the Confederate Generals judg'd, that Monſieur de Villars had no other Deſign, but to keep them in continual Alarm, and thereby to retard the Siege; they, therefore,

Real Deſign of the Enemy.

therefore, thought fit to ſend back the Troops, which they had drawn from the Siege, and thoſe under General Fagel returned into the Lines, on the other Side of the Scarpe. To prevent, however, any Surprize from the Enemy, Orders were given, to join the ſeveral Redoubts, made before the Front of the Camp, by an Intrenchment, from Montigny, at the Extremity of the Right of Prince Eugene's Army, to Vitry, on the Scarpe. Count Vehlen, General of the Palatines, was ſent, on the other hand, with a Detachment of eight Battalions, and ten Squadrons, to ſecure the Poſt of Pont à Vendin, to hinder the Enemy from ſending any Parties into the Châtelenie of Liſle, 1710.

The Communication with that City, and Tournay, being thus ſecured, the Siege of Douay, which by all theſe Motions had been retarded, was carried on, with all poſſible Application and Vigour, notwithſtanding all the Obſtacles the Allies met with in their Approaches, both from the Difficulties of the Ground, and the reſolute Defenſe of the Garriſon. On the 29th of May, the Beſieged made another Sally, on the Right Attack, and penetrated into the Trenches; but after a bloody Conflict, they were repulſed, with the Loſs of about 100 Men and 25 Officers. They ſent to deſire a Ceſſation of Arms for burying the Dead; but upon a Suſpicion, that their chief Deſign was to make uſe of that Interval, to perfect ſome Works, their Demand was denied. The thirtieth, a Party of the Garriſon of Fort Scarpe made a Sally, and advanced towards Pont à Rache, with a Deſign to intercept the Bread-Waggons of the Allies; but Colonel Caldwell, who commanded there, with three hundred Dragoons, vigorouſly repulſed them: Tho' in the Purſuit, he had the Misfortune to be wounded in one of his Arms. On the laſt Day of May, the Garriſon of the Town made another vigorous Sally; burnt the Villages of Derchy, Sains, Nazieres, Fieren, and Pont à Rache, and having taken Part of the Equipage of General Fagel, which he had left at Derchy, returned into the Town with it, and a great Number of Cattle.

The Siege of Douay carried on.

The Beſieged make a vigorous Sally.

The Beſieged continued to defend their Outworks with the utmoſt Obſtinacy, making frequent Sallies, and ſpringing a great Number of Mines; notwithſtanding all which, on the fifth of June, the Confederates made two Lodgments, on the Glacis of the Counterſcarp, at the Right Attack, as alſo Lodgments on the Right and on the Left, of the Left Attack of the Counterſcarp of the Ravelins, and fired with great Fury from the Batteries of Cannon and Mortars, to drive the Enemy from their Traverſes. The tenth, in the Morning, the Allies fir'd from five Pieces of Cannon, into the Covered Way, and continued the Saps, which went on but ſlowly, by reaſon of the very

And continue to make an obſtinate Defenſe.

1710. very great Fire the Enemy made continually. Nevertheleſs, in the Night between the 14th and 15th, the Beſiegers perfected a Lodgment on the Covered Way, at the Right Attack, and repaired the Damages their Works had received at the Left, by the prodigious Number of Bombs, which were thrown into them. The 16th, at four in the Morning, the Beſiegers began to fire, from a Battery of ſeven Pieces of Cannon, againſt the Ravelins, and made a Line of Communication, on the Left Attack. The ſame Night, they, likewiſe, ſprung two Mines, at the Right Attack, with ſo much Succeſs, that the Enemy abandoned all their Places of Arms, and the Beſiegers made good Lodgments at both Attacks.

Several Lodgments made.

A Ravelin taken by Storm.

The ſeventeenth, they ſtormed and took, with very little Loſs, a high Ravelin, which had very much obſtructed their Proceedings for the main Breach. This done, they brought ſeveral Pieces of Cannon upon their Batteries, and fired, with ſo good Effect, that the Breaches in the Ravelins were judg'd wide enough for a Storm.

The Poſt of Bioche taken by the French, but abandoned again.

The Duke of Marlborough ſuſpecting that the French would attempt to ſeize the Poſt of Bioche, on the Scarpe, about half a League from Vitry, went thither in Perſon, the ſecond of June, with Count Tilly; and re-inforced the Troops poſted there, with eighty Men. He, at the ſame time, gave poſitive Orders to the commanding Officer to defend himſelf to the laſt Extremity, and aſſured him, that he would be ſupported in time; notwithſtanding which, whether out of Cowardice or Treachery, the very ſame Night, about Nine, he ſurrendered upon the Approach of the Enemy; and two Captains, two Lieutenants, and two Enſigns, with 150 Men, were taken Priſoners. However, the French, foreſeeing that they ſhould not be able to maintain that Poſt, quitted it the next Morning early, after having done ſome Damage to the Sluice, which the Allies, upon taking Poſſeſſion of it again, ſoon repaired.

An Interview between the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the Marſhal de Villars.

The ſame Morning the Generals of the French Army came, with about 200 Officers, to take a View of the Inundation of the Allies, on the other Side of the Scarpe, between that River and Bouchain; and the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel happening to be there, the Marſhal de Villars ſent to know, whether he would give him Leave to ſalute him? The Prince having given his Conſent, advanced, with ſome Officers, to meet the Marſhal, and told him he was very glad of the Opportunity of being acquainted with him. They exchang'd ſeveral Compliments, and Monſieur de Villars preſented to his Highneſs the Marſhals de Berwick, d'Arco, and de Monteſquiou, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Pretender. At preſenting the latter, he ſaid to the Prince, *This is the Chevalier de St. George*, adding, with a Smile, *You know, Sir, well enough who he is.*

Monſieur

Monſieur de Villars, obſerving that ſix Squadrons were drawn up pretty near, aſked his Highneſs why thoſe Horſe were there? and being anſwer'd, that it was out of Reſpect and Civility to him: He replied, that he was very well acquainted with thoſe Troops, and their Gallantry. He invited his Highneſs to come to his Camp, and honour him with his Company at Dinner; adding, that he would command his Army to their Arms, and entertain him with a Sight of it: But the Prince anſwer'd, he could not accept of his Compliment at preſent; but that it might happen on another Opportunity, concluding, *That it only depended on the King of France ſhortly to procure the ſame.* They thereupon parted, with mutual Civilities, the Prince returning to his Poſt, and the French Generals to their Camp. 1710.

The Enemy's Army retires.

The Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, were, by this time, indeed, pretty ſecure, that the French would not venture to attack them, in their advantageous Poſt; but they had Reaſon to believe, that they intended to continue in their Camp, between Montauban and Noyelles ſous Lens, if it were but to keep the Confederates in conſtant Alarm; eſpecially as they had caſt up Intrenchments to cover their Left. However, having ſuffered very much there, for want of Water, they made a Motion, on the fourth of June, about a League backwards, encamping, with their Right, at Pampoux, and their Left at Mount Vimin, where they conſumed all the Forage in the Neighbourhood of Arras.

A Deſign to ſurprize Ipres miſcarries.

The Garriſon of Douay continuing to defend their Outworks, with all poſſible Obſtinacy, Prince Eugene, not to be an idle Spectator of the Siege, form'd the Project of ſurprizing Ipres. He conſider'd, that the Enemy, when they aſſembled their Army, had ſtrengthen'd it by Troops taken from their Frontier-Towns, and that, thereby, having left very ſmall Garriſons in thoſe Places, the Deſign might be very feaſible. A Detachment was ſent from the Army, for that Purpoſe, under Pretence of re-inforcing the Poſts of Warneton and Commines, and ſtrengthening the Garriſons of Liſle and Menin; and the Troops appointed to put the Project in Execution march'd from thoſe Places the ninth of June at Night. About two, in the Morning, the advanced Party, which was to have ſecured the Gate, had it open'd to them, as was concerted: But they found the Enemy within ſo ready to receive them, that they thought it beſt to retire, and the whole Detachment return'd to their former Poſts. The twelfth, the Duke of Marlborough reviewed the Britiſh Horſe and Dragoons, which appeared compleat, and in excellent good Condition.

The Duke of Marlborough reviews the Br. Horſe.

By the ſixteenth of June, the Confederate Troops before Douay, had lodg'd themſelves on the Covered Way, at both Attacks obliged the Enemy to quit all their Places d'Armes, and

1710. and made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for ſtorming the Ravelin; upon which, the Beſieged made ſeveral Signals of Diſtreſs. The Marſhal de Villars having Intelligence thereof, again gave out, that he was reſolved to attack the Confederates, in order to relieve Douay; and, to give this Pretence the better Shew, repaſs'd the Scarpe, near Arras, on the ſeventeenth, and return'd to the Camp he was in the eight and twentieth of May, with his Left towards Arras, and his Right to Oſſy, near Arleux. This Report appeared very improbable, not only becauſe the Marſhal de Berwick had ſuddenly left the Army, to repair to Dauphiny, but alſo becauſe the Marſhal de Villars had detach'd ſeveral Battalions, to re-inforce the Garriſons of thoſe Places, which would be moſt expoſed to the Attempts of the Confederates, after the Reduction of Douay. However, the Duke of Marlborough, according to his accuſtom'd Vigilance, to be ready in all Events, cauſed his Horſe to decamp, the ſame Evening, and having paſſed the Scarpe, at Vitry, took Poſſeſſion of the Camp they had been in before, between Vitry and Arleux: They were followed, the next Morning, by the Infantry; but Prince Eugene remain'd, on the other Side of the Scarpe, to guard the Intrenchments; in a Readineſs, nevertheleſs, to join the Duke, upon the firſt Motion of the Enemy.

Motions of both Armies.

Two Ravelins ſtorm'd at the left Attack;

All Things being in a Readineſs, as I have ſaid above, the 19th, to ſtorm the two Ravelins at the Left Attack, the Troops commanded for that Service performed it, with a great deal of Bravery, but met with ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, that a great many Men were killed on both Sides. At laſt, the Beſiegers took Poſt on the Ravelin of Earth, above the Breach on the Rampart; but at the other Ravelin, which is of Stone-work, they could not lodge themſelves farther than the Top of the Breach, and the Sappers found it very difficult to work there, by reaſon of ſeveral Wool-Packs that were burning, being ſet on Fire by the Springing of ſix Mines, viz. three ſmall ones, two large ones, and one at the Ravelin on the Right, by which many of the Confederates were blown up.

Trenches before Fort Scarpe open'd.

The 22d at Night, a Detachment of the Beſiegers, ſupported by another from the grand Army, open'd the Trenches before Fort Scarpe. The ſame Evening, the beſieged ſprung two Mines, at the Stone Ravelin, on the Left, which proved of Advantage to the Beſiegers; becauſe it gave them an Opportunity to make a good Lodgment there, which they perfected the next Night.

Two Ravelins ſtormed at the Right.

The Beſiegers continued enlarging their Lodgments, carrying on the Saps, and laying Bridges, till the 24th of June, about three o'Clock in the Morning, when all the Diſpoſitions for attacking the two Ravelins, at the Right Attack, being made the Night

Night before, the Prince of Anhalt cauſed the ſame to be ſtorm- 1710.
ed. This Attack proved leſs bloody, and more ſucceſsful, than the former: For, after a ſmall Reſiſtance, the Allies lodg'd themſelves on thoſe Ravelins, and, in the Night, began to fill up the capital Ditch, and to make Galleries over it.

Things being thus brought to the laſt Extremity, on the 25th of June, at two o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Garriſon of Douay thought fit to beat a Parly, offering to capitulate for the Town only, without including Fort Scarpe; but this being refuſed, they ſent Hoſtages to both Attacks, viz. Monſieur de Vallory, Major-General, with a Colonel, and a Lieutenant-Colonel, to the Prince of Anhalt, who ſent into the Town, Major-General du Trouſel, Colonel Bevere, and Lieutenant Colonel Morewitz. They ſent, at the ſame time, to the Prince of Naſſau, at the other Attack, the Sieur Brandelet, Major-General, a Colonel, and a Lieutenant-Colonel: And his Highneſs ſent into the Town Major-General Waſſenaer, a Colonel, and a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Troops that were in the Trenches. The French Hoſtages were conducted to the Quarters of the Duke of Marlborough, where they were again told, that no Capitulation would be granted to the Town, without including Fort Scarpe. Whereupon, they wrote to Monſieur Albergotti, and, in the mean time, Orders were given to the Troops in the Trenches, to hold themſelves in a Readineſs, to renew the Hoſtilities, upon the firſt Order; but the 26th, in the Morning, Monſieur Albergotti ſignified, that he was willing to ſurrender that Fort, at the ſame time with the Town; but that the ſame not being attacked, he pretended to remove all the Proviſions and Ammunition that were in the ſame. This Pretenſion occaſioned a Conference, in the Quarters of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and, at laſt, the Capitulation for the Town, and Fort Scarpe, were agreed upon, the ſame Day, and ſign'd the next Morning, by the Princes of Savoy and Marlborough, and the Field-Deputies of the States, on one Part, and Monſieur Albergotti, on the other. The Articles were in Subſtance as follows.

The Garriſon of Douay beats a Parly.

The Capitulation agreed on and ſign'd.

(1) " That the Popiſh Religion ſhould continue there with- The Subſtance of it.
" out Alteration. (2) That the Gate of Morel ſhould be deliver-
" ed, the 27th of June, to the Allies, and the Garriſon march
" out the 29th. (3) That there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms
" during that Time. (4) None of the Allies ſhould come into
" the Town till the 29th. (5) That all Officers, Military and
" Civil, ſhould march out, the 29th, with the uſual Marks of
" Honour, ſix Cannons, two Mortars, and two Days Proviſi-
" ons, to be conducted to Cambray. (6) All the French King's
" Servants to be allowed to march out, or to ſtay three Months
" to ſettle their Affairs. (7) The Allies to furniſh 100 Wag-
" gons

1710. " gons and 600 Horſes, for the Uſe of the Garriſon. (8) That " the Sick and Wounded ſhould ſtay where they were, till cured, " and be furniſhed with Carriages when they went out. (9) " That the Garriſon ſhould have ſix cover'd Waggons; which " were not to be viſited. (10) That no Soldier ſhould be taken " out of his Rank, as they march'd out, except Deſerters; " but any that pleaſed might take Service under the Allies. " (11) That no Man in the French King's Service ſhould have " his Perſon or Goods arreſted for Debt, provided he gave good " Security for paying it. (12) That the Garriſon ſhould carry " out what Cattle they had paid for. (13) The Wives and " Children of the French Officers to be allow'd to ſtay three " Months in the City, and have Paſſports gratis. (14) That " thoſe belonging to the King's Works ſhould have the ſame " Liberty. (15) That for ſuch Houſes as had been burnt or " broke down by the Garriſon, the Damages ſhould be ſettled " according to the Capitulation of Liſle. (16) That no Horſes " taken by Parties, and ſold to the Townſmen, ſhould be taken " from them. (17) That all Arms, Cloaths, and other Things, " belonging to the Garriſon, ſhould, in two Months, be ſent " whither they thought fit, without paying any thing but for " Carriage. (18) That none of the King's Servants be detain'd " for his Debt, provided they left Hoſtages. (19) That upon " delivering up the Gate, the Governour ſhould have Paſſports " for ſuch Couriers as he ſhould ſend to the Marſhal de Vil- " lars, or the King. (20) That the Hoſtages, on both Sides, " ſhould be exchang'd, on fulfilling the Capitulation. (21) That " the Magiſtrates and Burghers ſhould give an account of any " Bonds from the Garriſon to them. (22) The Inhabitants to " have Liberty to ſtay three Months, or to go whither they " pleaſed, with their Effects. (23) That all Officers and Sol- " diers, taken on both Sides, be exchanged with thoſe of their " own Rank, and an Equivalent given for Lieutenant Gledhill, " who was to be exchanged with Colonel St. Mark. (24) That " what belongs to the Univerſity, Colleges, Schools, Magi- " ſtrates, Revenues, &c. ſhould be given an Account of by the " Citizens, and the like as to the Manufacture of Mr. Huſtin. " Moreover, it was demanded by the Allies, and agreed, that " Commiſſary Bermont, ſhould remain Hoſtage for the King's " Debts, and the Magazines and Mines be delivered up: That " thoſe who had any Effects in France, ſhould have Liberty to " go and look after them, and all Priſoners in general to be given " up on both Sides. The Garriſon of Fort Scarpe to march out " at the ſame time, with two Cannon, two cover'd Waggons, " twenty others, two Days Proviſions, and leave their Muſkets " in the Magazine."

Purſuant

Pursuant to this Capitulation, the Morel Gate, and the Out-works of Fort Scarpe, were delivered up to the Confederate Troops, on the seven and twentieth of June, N. S. and Commissioners were appointed to take Possession of the Magazines, and see the Mines, which were to be discovered by the Garrison. General Albergotti was entertain'd, the same Day, by the Prince of Nassau-Friesland, as he was the eight and twentieth by the Duke of Marlborough; who had given an Account of this Conquest to the States General, the Day before, by the following Letter. 1710. Douay surrendered.

High and Mighty Lords,

"YOUR High Mightinesses will be pleased to allow me "the Honour to congratulate you, upon the Surrender of "the Town of Douay, and also of Fort Scarpe, according to "the Articles which your High Mightinesses will receive from "your Deputies. 'Tis to be wish'd, that this new Conquest, "with which it has pleased GOD to bless the Arms of the High "Allies, may induce France to a just and reasonable Peace, to "the Quiet of Europe. I am, with very great Respect, The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

Your High Mightinesses

From the Camp before Douay, June 27, 1710.

Most Humble and

Most Obedient Servant,

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

Several other Letters were written, on this Occasion, many of which have come to my Hands; but as they contain nothing more than a Confirmation of what I have said above, I pass them by.

The nine and twentieth, about ten in the Morning, Monsieur Albergotti march'd out of Douay, at the Head of his Garrison, which was reduced to 4527 effective Men; and having pass'd by the Princes of Savoy and Marlborough, march'd to some Distance, and then came back and continued with their Highnesses, till all his Troops were march'd off. Having then dined with the Duke of Marlborough, he followed his Garrison, which was conducted to Cambray, under a Convoy of 250 Dutch Horse, of S' Gravemoer's Regiment. As soon as the French were departed, one Saxon, and five Dutch Battalions, march'd into the Place. Lieutenant-General Hompesch took Possession of it as Governour; and Brigadier des Roques, Engineer General of the States, being appointed Governour of Fort Scarpe, took The Garrison marches out. Governours of the Town and Fort appointed

1719. took Poſſeſſion of that, at the ſame time. The Generals going afterwards into the Place to view it, found there forty Pieces of Braſs Cannon, two hundred Iron Cannons, eight Mortars, with Ammunition and ſmall Arms; but a very ſmall Store of Proviſions.

The next Day the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States going into the Town, in order to take a ſecond View of it, they were met by the Univerſity in a Body, and complimented ſeverally. Meſſire Adrian Delcourt, Provoſt of St. Peter, and Chancellour of that Univerſity, made the following Speech to his Grace:

Compliment of the Univerſity of Douay to the Duke of Marlboro'.

"YOUR High and Mighty Lordſhip will be pleaſed to allow me to
"MY LORD,
"WE come to aſſure your Highneſs of our moſt humble
"Reſpects, and of the inviolable Fidelity we ſhall have
"towards our new Sovereign. 'Tis with much Joy and Juſtice
"that we pay you our Devoirs. We cannot ſufficiently reſpect
"a Sovereign Prince of the Empire, a Duke, a Generaliſſimo
"of the Armies of Great Britain, a Hero, whoſe Victories
"and Conqueſts have amazed the World. Germany and the
"Netherlands are, my Lord, Eye-Witneſſes of your Heroick
"Actions. You have beaten your Enemies at Hochſtadt, Ra-
"mellies, Oudenard and Blangies; You have forced the Lines
"in Germany, which ſeemed impenetrable, and, in Brabant,
"you have broke into others, by a ſingular Conduct, in Sight
"of a powerful Army, which you put into Confuſion. You
"have conquered the Country of Liege, the Spaniſh Gelder-
"land, Brabant, Flanders, and Part of Hainault. You go
"from Conqueſt to Conqueſt, and the leaſt Step you advance
"farther, you ſubdue a whole Kingdom. We do not compare
"you, my Lord, with Heroes of Antiquity, whoſe great
"Actions were ſullied with all manner of Vices. You are a
"Hero, wiſe, moderate, truly gracious, generous, and equally
"averſe to Cruelty and Debauchery. No wonder then, that
"the Emperor has made you a Prince of the Empire; that
"the Queen of Great Britain has conferr'd the higheſt Honours,
"and multiplied Favours upon you, that her Parliaments have
"given you all poſſible Proofs of Eſteem and Affection: And
"that the French themſelves have, upon a thouſand Occa-
"ſions proclaimed your Praiſes. We ſhould never have done,
"my Lord, ſhould we enter into a more particular Survey of all
"your Heroic Actions, and your admirable Qualities: But we
"we muſt conſider, that we ought not to detain too long a
"Prince, whoſe Moments are ſo precious. Give us leave only
"to deſire the Protection of your Highneſs for our Univerſity,
"which ſtands in great Need of it. We might, in a Revolu-
"tion, be expoſed to ſome Storms, inconſiſtent with that Peace

and

" and Tranquillity, which are ſo neceſſary to make the Sciences " flouriſh; but we ſhall have no Cauſe to entertain any Fear, if " you are pleaſed to grant us the Favour we moſt humbly aſk. " We ſhall be infinitely obliged to you for it, my Lord, and " ſhall offer up our Prayers to God for the Queen of Great Bri- " tain, your Highneſs, and a happy Succeſs to all your Enter- " prizes." 1710.

To this his Grace replied in the following Words;

GENTLEMEN,

" YOUR Obedience to your new Sovereign, will render you aſſur'd of the Queen, my Miſtreſs's, and her high Allies Protection; and you have no Reaſon to doubt but all " the good Offices, that I can do for you, on all Occaſions, " ſhall be employed, in procuring you ſuch Advantages, as may " be of Uſe to you, and conformable to your beſt Wiſhes: " Since it is to eſtabliſh the publick Tranquillity, that the Con- " federates have taken Arms, and the Sciences muſt flouriſh of " Courſe, by the Reſtoration of Peace, which they ſo earneſtly " deſire." His Grace's Anſwer.

The ſame Perſon made a Compliment to Prince Eugene, as the Sieur Briffault, Profeſſor in Law did to the Deputies of the States. The Conqueſt of this important Place certainly coſt the Allies very dear; but their Loſs being greatly magnified by the Enemy, they thought fit to publiſh:

An exact Liſt of their Killed and Wounded at both Attacks.

Three Lieutenant-Colonels, three Majors, twenty-three Captains, thirty-five Subalterns, one hundred Serjeants, and 1809 private Men, killed; and two Lieutenant-Colonels, four Majors, fifty Captains, one hundred and fifty-two Subalterns, two hundred and forty nine Serjeants, and 5267 private Men, wounded. Of the Artillery, fifty-four killed, and ninety-ſix wounded; Engineers thirteen killed, and thirty-three wounded; Miners twelve killed, and twelve wounded. Total killed at both Attacks, 2142 Officers and Men, and 5865 wounded; in all 8007 Officers and Men, which the French, and particularly Monſieur de Quincy, magnify to 12 or 13000. The Engliſh, in particular, loſt, of Lieutenant-General Erle's Regiment, three Serjeants, and ninety-one private Men killed; one Major, two Captains, eight Subalterns, ten Serjeants, and one hundred and ninety-ſeven Soldiers wounded; Mordaunt's, one Subaltern, ſeven Serjeants, and forty-two Men killed; and two Captains, five Subalterns, nine Serjeants, and one hundred and ſeventy- Loſs of the Allies in the Siege of Douay.

1710. three Soldiers wounded; Sabine's, one Captain, one Subalterns five Serjeants, and forty-nine Soldiers killed; and two Captains ſeven Subalterns, ten Serjeants, and one hundred and thirty-ſeven Soldiers wounded; Primroſe's, one Captain, ſix Serjeants, and twenty-nine Soldiers kill'd; and two Captains, ſeven Subalterns, ſix Serjeants, and one hundred and forty-two Soldiers wounded; Preſton's, one Captain, three Serjeants, and forty-ſeven Soldiers kill'd; and one Captain, five Subalterns, eleven Serjeants, and one hundred and ſeventy-five Soldiers wounded; Hamilton's, one Subaltern, ſix Serjeants, and ſeventy-five Soldiers kill'd; and two Captains, three Subalterns, five Serjeants, and one hundred and twenty Soldiers wounded; Sutton's, one Major, three Captains, one Subaltern, and one hundred and ten Soldiers kill'd; and one Lieutenant-Colonel, three Captains, four Subalterns, nine Serjeants, and one hundred and four Soldiers wounded; Honeywood's, two Subalterns, eight Serjeants, and ſeventy Soldiers kill'd; three Captains, three Subalterns, ſix Serjeants, and one hundred and ſixty four Soldiers wounded. Total of the Engliſhmen killed 570, and 1339 wounded.

The following Medal was ſtruck, on occaſion of the Allies entering the French Lines, and on the Surrender of Douay.

A Medal on the Succeſs of this Campaign.

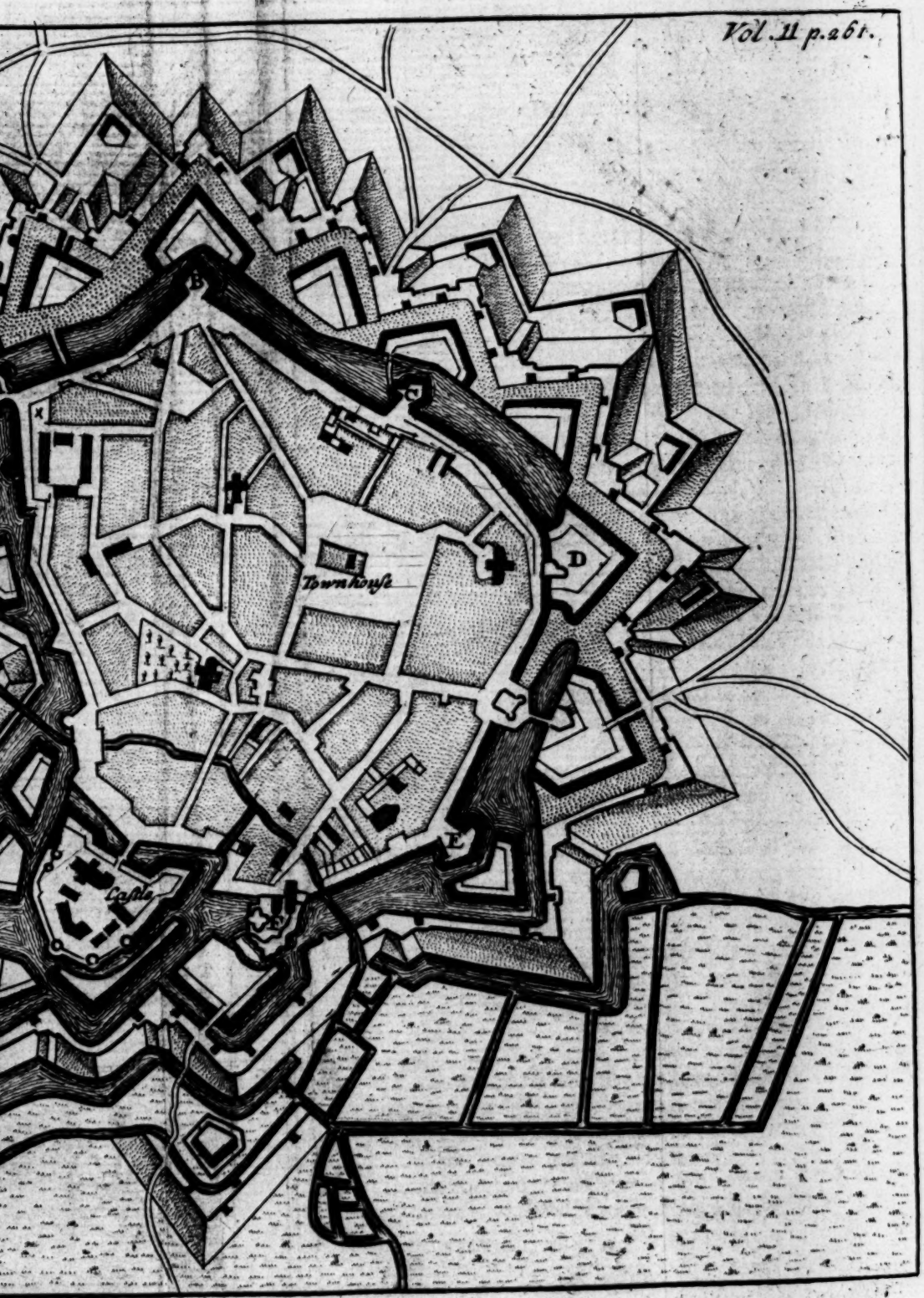
On the Face is the Queen's Buſto, with a Crown of Laurel, and this Inſcription, ANNA AUGUSTA; that is, ANN *Empreſs*.

On the Reverſe, is repreſented a MONUMENTAL PILLAR with TROPHIES, on which VICTORY ſuſpends a SHIELD, crown'd with a *Mural Crown*, and in which are inſcrib'd theſe Words, SALUS PROVIN. that is, SALUS PROVINCIÆ, *The Safety of the Province*; at a Diſtance, the French flying before the Confederates: With this Inſcription, VALLO GALLORUM DIRUTO; in Engliſh, *The Lines of the French levelled.*

In the Exergue, ET DUCATO CAPTO MDCCX. That is, *And Douay taken*, 1710.

CHAP.


An
Exact Plan of
Bethune
is Humbly Dedicated
To the Rt Hon.ble
IOHN LORD CARTERET
by his Lordships most
Obedient Servant
Thomas Lediard
Explanation
A Bastion of the New Gate
B Bastion of Vieille porte
C Bastion of the River
D Bastion of St Ignatius
E Bastion of Recollects
F Bastion of the H. Spirit
100 200 300
A Scale of 300 Yards


B
D
Townhouse
E
Castle

CHAP. III.

The Taking of Bethune, St. Venant, *and* Aire, *with other Tranſactions, to the Concluſion of the Year,* 1710.

1710.

AFTER the Confederate Armies had continued for a few Days in their reſpective Camps, near Douay; as well to give ſome Refreſhment to the Men employed in the Siege, as to ſee the Trenches, and other Works levell'd; the tenth of July, N. S. in the Morning, all the detach'd Troops being come into the Line, both Armies march'd: That under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough encamp'd at Vitry; with the Left at Montauban, and the Right at Telu: And that commanded by Prince Eugene extended, from the Left, at Telu, to the Right, at the Opening of the Plain, between the Scarpe, and the River of Lens. They were obliged to halt there, the next Day, till their Baggage and Bread-Waggons came up, which had been retarded, by the Badneſs of the Roads, occaſion'd by the hard Rains, that had fallen for ſeveral Days together.

The Confederate Armies march from Douay.

The twelfth, the Armies march'd from Vitry to the Camp at Villers-Brulin, extending from the Right, upon the Source of the Lave, to the Left, upon the River of Lens, having the Scarpe before them. By this Situation, their Parties had a free and open Range, to make Excurſions into the Enemy's Country, from the Boulonnois to Picardy. The Marſhal de Villars being rejoin'd by the Detachments he had ſent out, under Command of the Chevalier de Luxembourg and Monſieur de Broglio, and having drawn out the Garriſons of Condé, Queſnoy, Valenciennes, and Cambray, now would have been the time for them to have hazarded an Engagement, if they had been ſo fond of fighting, as they profeſſed to be ſix Weeks before. However, the Marſhal de Villars, inſtead of expecting the Confederates in his Camp, between Arras and Oiſy, retired behind his new Lines, from Arras, along the Crinchon, towards Miramont. This Situation rendering it impracticable for the Allies, either to attack them, or to inveſt Arras, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene reſolved to employ their victorious Troops, in the Siege of Bethune, a ſtrong Town in the Earldom of Artois; and it was accordingly inveſted the fifteenth of July, N. S. by five and twenty Battalions and eighteen Squadrons.

The French retire behind their new Lines.

Bethune inveſted.

This Place, which is one of the moſt conſiderable in the Earldom of Artois, is ſix Leagues Diſtance from Liſle and Douay, and five from Arras. Since the Year 1645, at which time it fell into the Hands of France, Lewis the XIV. had beſtowed a conſiderable

Situation and Force of that Place.

1710. conſiderable Expence on the Fortifications of it. It had, at this time, ſix Baſtions, an antient Caſtle, ſeveral Ravelins and Half-Moons, and, almoſt every where a double Counterſcarp. Monſieur du Puy Vauban, a Lieutenant-General, and Nephew of the famous Marſhal and Engineer de Vauban, commanded the Garriſon of about 9000 Men; but the Place was not ſo well provided with other Requiſites, for a vigorous Defenſe, as with Troops.

The Trenches open'd.

All neceſſary Preparations for this Siege being made, the Trenches were opened, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, at one Attack, and the Night of the twenty-ſeventh, at the other, the latter under the Command of Monſieur Schulemburg, General of the Saxon Troops, and the former under that of Baron Fagel, General of the Dutch Infantry; the Cavalry which was to be aſſiſtant at this Siege, being commanded by Lieutenant-General Wood. The Garriſon made a vigorous Sally, the four and twentieth, and a Diſpute enſued; in which about 100 Men were killed on each Side, and a great many wounded.

The French come out of their Intrenchments

The thirty-firſt, (or as Monſieur Rouſſet ſays, the thirtieth) the Marſhal de Villars cauſed his Army, after having held a general Review, the ſeven and twentieth, to march out of their Entrenchments, behind Crinchen, and to march, in eight Columns, as far as Habar, about a ſmall League from Aubigny. As this March was made without Beat of Drum, and as they had poſitively given out, that they would fight the Confederates, if they attempted another Siege, it was now believed they would have done it, and had a Deſign to ſurprize them; ſince the Allies, lying in an open Camp, without any Intrenchment, gave them the faireſt Opportunity for it, that they could wiſh. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, therefore, drew their Army, in Order of Battle, and recalled the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who was poſted, with a ſtrong Detachment between Lens and Baſſée, to ſecure the Convoys from Liſle and Tournay. The Diſpoſitions for a Battle being made, the Duke of Marlborough advanc'd, the firſt of Auguſt, with a Detachment, to obſerve the French Army; but he found the Enemy, inſtead of being ſo ready to fight, were, according to Cuſtom, caſting up a new Line and deep Intrenchments, from the River Ugy, which falls into the Scarpe near Arras, to the Source of the River Canche, having their Right at Aguy, on the Ugy, their Center at Avênnes le Comte, and their Left behind le Comte, at Bertancourt.

But avoid a Battle.

And caſt up new Intrenchments

Great Extent of theſe new Lines.

By means of this new Line, they covered all the Country, from the Sea to the Maeſe. For the Canche ſerv'd them inſtead of a Line from the Sea to Heſdin; from thence they had made Intrenchments to the Scarpe, which ſerv'd as a Line to Arras, and

and from thence to Cogheul, where this River changes its Name to the Senfette, which goes to Bouchain; from thence the Scheld serv'd for a Line to Valenciennes; there they had the Lines dug the Year before, by the Quesnoy to Maubeuge, from whence they had the Sambre to Namur. 1710.

By this it was evident the Marshal de Villars had no Thoughts of disturbing the Siege of Bethune; into which, as well as into St. Venant, Aire, and Ipres, he threw what he thought a sufficient Number of Men for their Defense, and then abandoned them to their own Force, while he march'd to cover Cambray, on the one Side, and Arras and St. Omers, on the other.

The French attack Prince Eugene's Foragers.

The Right Wing of Prince Eugene's Army, being foraging, the four and twentieth of August; in the Front towards St. Pol, near the Enemy's Camp, under a Guard of 500 Horse, and 1000 Danish and Hessian Foot, the Marshal de Villars, who had notice of it, the Night before, detach'd thirty Squadrons, under the Count de Broglio, to attack the Foragers, and followed in Person, to be an Eye-witness of the Action. Monsieur de Broglio, being arrived on the Mount of St. Pol, gave Orders for the Foragers to be attack'd, on that Side, by four Squadrons of Carabiniers, while some other Squadrons were advancing to attack them another Way. They fell upon three Squadrons of the Allies, who gave Way; but the Foragers assisting their Guard, beat the French back, with great Slaughter. However, as the Enemy grew too numerous, they retired, in very good Order to the Village of Ligni St. Flochel, and sent an Account of it to the Camp. The Marshal de Villars advanc'd in Person, and having in a Manner, surrounded that Post, summon'd the Confederate Infantry to surrender, and, upon their Refusal, ordered Part of his Horse to dismount, to attack them; but they were so warmly received by the Danish and Hessian Foot, which were planted there, that they retreated in great Confusion. In the mean time, the Picquet-Guard of the Army advanced, and Prince Eugene, marching likewise, with Part of his Cavalry, Monsieur de Villars thought fit to retire, with Precipitation, being apprehensive, that this Skirmish might draw him into a general Battle. The Enemy lost, in this fruitless Attempt, a great many Men, that were killed, besides a Colonel, twenty other Officers, and three hundred private Soldiers, who were taken Prisoners, with a Booty of one hundred and fifty Horses. Some Accounts make the Loss of the Enemy to have been near twelve Squadrons, either killed, wounded, taken or deserted. The Allies, on their Side, lost only the Major of Mercy's Regiment, two Captains of Hussars, and a few private Men.

But are repulsed with Loss.

Bethune surrender'd.

The Siege of Bethune was, in the mean time, carried on with all possible Vigour; but the Place being strong, both by Art and

1710. and Nature, and the Garriſon numerous, Monſieur de Puy Vauban made a very gallant Defenſe, till the eight and twentieth of Auguſt, N. S. when the Counterſcarp being taken Sword in Hand, and Monſieur de Schulemburg being ready to attack a Ravelin, and a Counter-Guard, in the ſame Manner, the Garriſon being very much weakened, Proviſion and Ammunition falling ſhort, and a total Want of Ball and Flints approaching; he beat the Chamade, hung out two Flags, one at the great Breach of the Caſtle, and the other on the Ravelin, deſiring to capitulate.

The Marquis de Quincy relates a very remarkable Diſpute, that happened, upon this Occaſion, between the two commanding Officers of the Siege; of which, for the Singularity of it, I ſhall give the Reader a Tranſlation:

A memorable Diſpute between two Generals.

"Monſieur de Vauban (ſays my Author) having hung out "a White Flag, at General Schulemburg's Attack, where "the Breach was made, General Fagel, who had carried his "Attack no farther than the Palliſadoes, took it as an Infringment upon his Honour, that the Chamade was not, likewiſe "beat, on his Side. He gave the Governour to underſtand, "that if all the Honour of the Siege was to be given to General Schulemburg, he ſhould have no Regard to what was "agreed between him and Monſieur de Vauban, and thereupon "continued the Fire, on his Side, notwithſtanding the Suſpenſion of Arms. General Schulemburg, and Monſieur de Vauban, who were in Conference in the Counterſcarp, thought "this Punctilio of General Fagel's very extraordinary, and the "former obſerv'd to the latter, that perhaps, Monſieur Fagel "might doubt of the Reality of this Conqueſt for the Allies, "if he had not the Opportunity of informing the States General, "his Maſters, that he had exchanged Hoſtages; that, for his "Part, he readily conſented to it, tho' Monſieur Fagel's Proceedings were neither polite, nor conformable to the Laws of "War. He even deſired Monſieur de Vauban, to give him this "Satisfaction, to which he conſented, becauſe he was not in a "Condition to take Advantage of this Jealouſy, to defend the "Place ſome time longer, for want of neceſſary Ammunition."

The next Day, Monſieur de Vauban ſurrendered the Town on honourable Terms. The thirty-firſt, the Garriſon march'd out, with two Pieces of Cannon, and all the other uſual Marks of Honour, in order to be conducted to St. Omer, being about 1700 Men, having loſt near 2000, in the Defenſe of it; tho' ſome Accounts leſſen their Loſs to about 1200. The Loſs of the Beſiegers was computed at 3365 Officers and private Men, kill'd and wounded. The Confederates put three Battalions into it, under the Command of Major General Keppel, Brother to the Earl of Albemarle,

Loſs on both Sides.

Major-General Keppel made Governour of it.

The

1710.

The Enemy continuing ſtill to decline an Engagement, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene reſolved to make the beſt of the remaining Part of the favourable Seaſon, by laying Siege to St. Venant and Aire, both at the ſame time, thereby to ſecure the Navigation of the Lys. To this End, the two Armies march'd from their reſpective Camps of Villers Brulin, and Rebreuvre, on the ſecond of September. Prince Eugene extended his Right to Etree-Blanche and Linghem, on the little River Laquette, and the Left of the Duke of Marlborough's Army, to Divion, on the Lave, his Grace taking his Quarters in the Caſtle of Liere. They ſecured their Rear with eighteen Squadrons, ten Battalions, and twelve Pieces of Cannon, which the Marſhal de Villars did not think fit to diſturb. The third, a Detachment was made to ſecure ſeveral Poſts about Aire; and General Dopf, with Lieutenant-General Cadogan, at the Head of 600 Horſe, and 2000 Grenadiers, took a View of the Country in that Neighbourhood. They took, in the Caſtle of Iſbergue, a Captain, a Lieutenant, and about ſeventy private Men, Priſoners; beſides a Captain and thirty Grenadiers, in the Village of Lambre.

The Confederate Armies in Motion.

The fourth, a Detachment of 2000 Horſe, under the Command of the Count de Lagnaſco, a Saxon Lieutenant-General, and ſix Battalions, march'd from the Camp, to make Bridges over the Lys, at St. Quintin, paſs'd that River, and block'd up Aire, on that Side; the Quarter-maſters who follow'd him, mark'd out the Camp; and the two Armies march'd in the Afternoon, nearer that Place, encamping the Right of Prince Eugene's, to the Lys, near Terouanne, and the Left of the Duke's, to Lillers; his Grace taking his Quarters in the Monaſtery of St. André, and the Prince his in the Caſtle of Bleſſel. The Troops that were deſign'd, according to the Reſolution already taken, for the Siege of Aire and St. Venant, march'd from the Camp, the fifth, and inveſted thoſe two Places the next Day.

Aire and St. Venant inveſted.

For the Siege of Aire, were appointed forty Battalions, twenty-ſix from the Duke of Marlborough's Army, and fourteen from Prince Eugene's, under the Command of the Prince of Anhalt, who had under him four Lieutenant-Generals, eight Major-Generals, and eight Brigadiers: And for the Attack of St. Venant, were order'd twenty Battalions, and ſome Squadrons, under the Command of the Prince of Naſſau-Frieſland, with the two Lieutenant-Generals, Launder and Murray; four Major-Generals, viz. Hamilton, Vicouſe, Berne, and Villegas; and four Brigadiers; Cronſtrom, Rechteren, May and Douglas; ſix and forty Squadrons of Horſe, under the Command of the Earl of Albemarle, one of the Generals of the Dutch Cavalry, with two Lieutenant-Generals, four Major-Generals, and four Brigadiers,

Troops and Officers appointed for thoſe Sieges.

1710. Brigadiers, were likewiſe ordered for the Services of theſe two Sieges.

Two Camps mark'd for the Confederate Armies.

The eighth, the Quarter-maſters mark'd out a Field of Battle for the Confederate Armies, in Caſe the French ſhould make any Attempt to diſturb theſe Sieges, the Right at Etree Blanche, and the Left to the Eminences of Lillers; and the next Day, they mark'd another, on the Side of St. Omer, for the ſame Purpoſe.

The Enemy attack a Confederate Convoy, with ſome Succeſs.

The Confederates being obliged to fetch their Proviſions and Ammunition from Liſle, Tournay and Ghent, the French form'd the Deſign of ſurprizing a Convoy of forty Boats, which were coming up the Lys, from the latter of theſe two Places, with a Guard of 1200 Men, commanded by Colonel Ginckel, who were to be re-inforc'd by another Detachment. Three of theſe Boats were laden with Powder, Cannon and Bombs; three more with Hay; ſome with Proviſions, and others with Merchandize belonging to private Perſons. Monſieur Le Blanc, who was then Intendant at Ipres, but afterwards Secretary of War, gave Notice of the Departure of this Convoy, to the Count de Villars, who then commanded in that Town; whereupon he detach'd Monſieur de Ravignan with 4000 Men, Horſe, Foot and Dragoons from Ipres, to attack them. The nineteenth, he met and fell on them with great Vigour, at St. Eloy-vive, not far from Courtray. With this ſuperior Force he defeated the Guard, kill'd about two hundred Men, took ſix hundred, with Monſieur Ginckel himſelf, Priſoners, blew up ſome Boats laden with Ammunition, ſunk others laden with Cannon-ball and Bomb-ſhells, to put a Stop to the Navigation of that River, and then retreated, with ſo much Diligence and Caution, that a Detachment ſent out by the Confederates, to cut them off, could not come up with them in time. This Accident did not a little retard the Sieges, tho' no time was loſt, on the Side of the Allies, to repair it. The Shock occaſion'd by blowing up the Boats laden with Powder, Cannon, Grenadoes, &c. was ſo terrible, that the Village of St. Eloy-vive was overthrown, the whole Country ſhook, as if there had been an Earthquake, as far as St. Quintin, where the Windows were broken by it, and the River Lys was divided into two Currents croſs the Country.

St. Venant ſurrenders.

St. Venant, a Town in the Earldom of Artois, near the Borders of Flanders, about four Miles Eaſt of Aire, twenty-ſix South of Dunkirk, and as many North of Arras, proved the eaſieſt of theſe two Attacks; for, notwithſtanding that the Approaches were ſo difficult, that they could not break Ground before it, till the ſixteenth of September, it was then carried on, with ſo much Vigour, that the Garriſon beat a Parly, the nine and twentieth, and the next Day, delivered up one of the Gates. They were allowed to march out with all Marks of Honour,

Cannon

Cannon excepted, and were conducted to Arras. The French Governour, upon his Arrival at Verſailles, was committed to the Baſtille, as it was ſaid, becauſe he had made ſo ſlender a Defenſe. The Sieur Bruyn, one of the Engineers of the States, who directed the Siege, was made Governour of it for the Allies. 1710.

A more particular Account of that Siege.

But, to give a more particular Account of this ſhort Siege: This Place, which is an almoſt regular Hexagon, is ſituate in the midſt of Moraſſes and Inundations, and has but one Avenue to it. Brigadier de Selve commanded in it, with ſeven Battalions. The firſt thing the Beſiegers had to do, was to turn off the Waters of the River Lys, and of the Brook Le Beck, and another, which made the Inundations. This was done under the Direction of Monſieur de Bruyn, who had ſix Engineers under him. As this was a Work of ſome time, they cou'd not open the Trenches till the ſixteenth in the Evening; which they then did, with four Battalions and 2000 Workmen, but 150 Perches from the Counterſcarp, a thing almoſt unheard of before. This occaſion'd their being the ſooner diſcover'd, and having 150 Men killed or wounded. They drew, however, a Parallel, that Night, of 180 Perches, from the Brook of Le-Beck to the high Road to à Bune, with the Communications, which were of a large Extent.

The Night following, they perfected their Works, and, as the firſt Parallel was ſo near, they thought a ſecond needleſs; ſo only drew two Saps, on the Left, and on the Right of the Parallel, towards the Inundation, and before the Ditch of the Counterſcarp. In the Night between the eighteenth and the nineteenth, the Beſiegers drew a Line of 140 Perches, from the Left of the Parallel, to the Point of the Ditch, which ſurrounds the Saillant Angle of the Counterſcarp, where they made a Lodgment. They began at the ſame time, to work on a Battery of ſix Pieces of Cannon, which began to play on the Place, the twenty-firſt in the Morning. The Night following, and the twenty-ſecond in the Evening, they advanced, till they came to the Point of the Counter-guard, which covered the firſt Counterſcarp.

In the Night between the twenty-ſecond and the twenty-third, the Beſieged made a Sally, with ſeven Companies of Grenadiers, who, at firſt, oblig'd the Workmen to retreat, and overthrew ſome Gabions; but the Soldiers in the Trenches ſoon oblig'd them to retire in their turn. This did not, however, diſcourage them from making another Sally, the next Night, on the Lodgment on the Counter-guard; but in this they ſucceeded worſe than in the former, the Count de Berenger, who commanded it, with his Aid de Camp, being killed in the Action. Beſides theſe Efforts, the Beſieg'd lighted up Fires, which ex-

1710. poſed the Beſiegers Works too much for them to advance very faſt. However, they paſs'd the two Ditches in the Night of the five and twentieth, and made a Lodgment on the Saillant Angle of the Counterſcarp; ſo that a Breach being made in the Counter-guard, the ſix and twentieth, they paſs'd the Ditch the eight and twentieth, and attack'd the Counter-guard, and the Saillant Angle of the ſecond Counterſcarp. The Beſieged defended themſelves bravely in both, and repuls'd the Beſiegers twice; but at the third Attack, they made themſelves Maſters of them, with ſome Loſs. The Brigadier found he was now at the laſt Extremity; he therefore beat the Chamade, the next Day, and the Day following, the Capitulation was ſign'd. The Loſs of the Allies in this Siege, was only 170 Men kill'd, and 731 wounded; beſides 7 Officers kill'd, and 31 wounded.

Aire makes a vigorous Defenſe.

The Siege of Aire coſt more Time as well as Labour, and was attended with many Difficulties, and the Loſs of a great Number of Men. The Strength of the Place was chiefly owing to its Situation, among Moraſſes and Inundations.

The Place deſcribed.

Aire is a large and handſome City, ſituate on the River Lys, which paſſes thro' one part of the Ditch, 25 Miles South of Dunkirk, 28 North-weſt of Arras, and 26 Eaſt of Boulogne. It is a ſort of an Oblong, fortified with eight Baſtions, ten Half-moons, and two Hornworks. At 400 Rods Diſtance from the Town, there is a regular Fort, which has five Baſtions, and the large Glacis of it ſurrounded by an outward Ditch. It was, beſides, defended by a very numerous Garriſon, under the Command of Lieutenant-General de Goeſbriant, who had under him the Count d'Eſtrades, a Major-General, and ſeven Brigadiers, and a Garriſon of fourteen Battalions, and three Regiments of Dragoons.

The Trenches open'd.

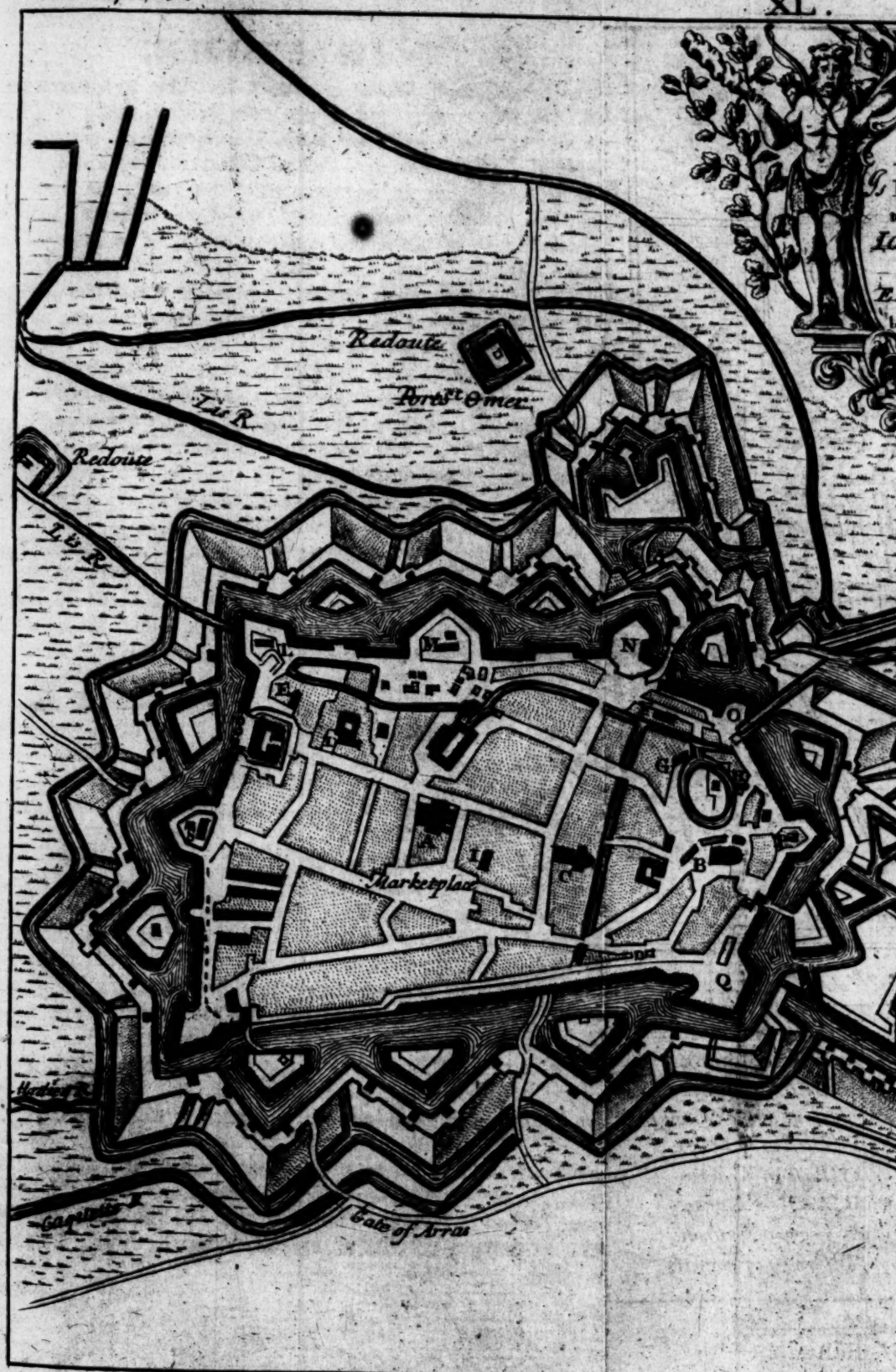
The Trenches were opened, before this Place, the twelfth of September, N. S. at two Attacks, one on the Side of St. Quintin, and the other on the Side of the Village of Lambre. The twenty-firſt at Night, the Beſieged made a Sally, with 400 Fuſileers, and 200 Workmen; but they were obliged to retreat, with the Loſs of forty of their Men, and without effecting any thing: There happen'd the next Day a ſharp Skirmiſh, near the Village of Rebeck, on the other Side of the Lys. The Enemy advanc'd, with a thouſand Horſe, to beat up the Quarters of the Confederate General Officers, on the Right of the ſaid Village; but they met with ſo warm a Reception by the Guard, that, the Piquet having, thereby, had time to come up to their Aſſiſtance, about 450 of the Enemy were killed on the Spot, twelve Officers, with 220 Troopers, all mounted, were made Priſoners, and 300 Horſes taken; and this with the Loſs only, of forty or fifty Men, on the Side of the Allies, killed or wounded.

A fruitleſs Sally.

A large Party of the Enemy's Horſe defeated.

The

XL.


Redoute
Forest St Omer
Lis R.
Redoute
Lis R.
Marketplace
Gate of Arras


An Exact Plan of
AIRE,
As Humbly Dedicated
to the Rt Honble
JOHN LORD
BOYLE
EARL of ORRERY
by his LORDSHIP's most
Humble and Obed.
Servt
Tho Lediard
Fort S. Francis
Redoute
Way to the Lake
Lis R.
Gate of our Lady
Way to Merville
Explanation
A. Our Lady
B. S. Peter
C. the Jesuites
D. the Capucines
E. the Penitents
F. the Gray Nuns
G. the Conceptionists
H. the Beguines
I. the Clairists
L. Bastion of Beaulieu
M. Bast of Monmorency
N. Bast of St Omer
O. Bast of the Watergate
P. Bast of S. Peter
Q. Bast of Thiene
R. Bast of Arras
S. Green Bastion
T. Bridg of Fagotts
50
100
200
A Scale of Fathams

The twenty-third, the Beſiegers attack'd a Redoubt on the Right, and got Poſſeſſion of it, with little Reſiſtance, and a very ſmall Loſs. Monſieur Goeſbriant, when he receiv'd Advice of this Attack, happened to be at Table, with a great Number of Officers, in his Company; he immediately ordered out a Body of Troops, to ſuſtain thoſe in the Redoubt, and moſt of the Officers came with them as Volunteers: But they being obliged to paſs under the Fire of the Confederate Batteries and Parallel, the greater Part of them were either killed or wounded, and a Colonel of Dragoons was taken Priſoner. The ſix and twentieth, the Chevalier de Luxembourg laid a Deſign to ſurprize Fort Scarpe; and march'd, for that End, from Bouchain, with a ſtrong Detachment to Pont à Rache, ſent a hundred Men in the Night, to Belleſonties, near the Fort, and had two Waggons loaden with Hay, in which ſome Grenadiers were hid. Theſe Waggons were, likewiſe driven by Soldiers, in the Habit of Peaſants, who were to ſeize the Barrier, and, upon a Signal given, were to be ſupported by the others, and then by Monſieur de Luxembourg, in Perſon. Major-General Ammama, happening to come, at the ſame time, to viſit General Hompeſch, who, having ſome Suſpicion of the Deſign of the Enemy, was gone into the Fort, to give the neceſſary Orders for its Security, and had left his Guard, without the Barrier: Theſe walking their Horſes, and, by meer Chance, following the Waggons, the Enemy believed they were diſcovered, and ſo run away, leaving the Captain, and one of their Men, Priſoners.

1710.

A Redoubt taken.

A Stratagem of the Enemy's proves abortive.

The Day before this happened, the Marſhal d'Harcourt arrived in the Enemy's Camp, to whom the Marſhal de Villars reſign'd the Command of the Army, and ſet out, the ſame Day, for France. The Occaſion of this Change is yet a Secret, tho' it was generally believed, that he deſired Leave to go to the Waters of Bourbon, for the Recovery of his Health. There has been another Reaſon aſſign'd for it, to which, however, my Author does not himſelf give entire Credit; and I ſhall, therefore, relate it, in his own Words: "I have been ſince inform'd "(ſays he) that the true Reaſon of his Removal from the Com- "mand, was owing to ſome Words he drop'd from him, the "Day he attack'd Prince Eugene's Foragers; which reflecting "on the Ducheſs of Burgundy, ſome officious Pick-thank re- "ported the ſame to the Princeſs, who complaining to the King "of France, the Marſhal de Villars was ſuddenly recalled: "However, I relate this *(continues my Author)* as a private "Story, for which I have not yet ſufficient Vouchers, and "therefore would not have my Readers entirely rely on the "Truth of it.

The Marſhal de Villars reſigns the Command of the French Army.

Reaſons aſſign'd for it.

The Allies before Aire, having carried on their Approaches, towards a Redoubt, which covered the Cauſey of Bethune, took the

The Siege of Aire carried on.

1710. the ſame, on the fifth of October, Sword in Hand; the ſame Night, they took a Cover'd Way, adjoining to the Glacis and the Horn-work; and the eighth, began to batter the Baſtion of Arras. The tenth, in the Duſk of the Evening, they attack'd and took a ſmall Counterſcarp, in the Front of their Approaches. The great Rains and bad Weather, however, were no ſmall Hindrance to the carrying on the Saps and other Works; and, on the other hand, by a Fault of the Engineers, the Place was attack'd on the ſtrongeſt Side.

A Lodgment made on the Angle of the Covered Way.

From the tenth to the fifteenth, the Allies advanc'd their Works with great Danger and Difficulty; that Night, a Detachment was employed, at the Prince of Anhalt's Attack, to lay the neceſſary Bridges croſs the Bog, from the Corner of the Horn-work to the Glacis; which done, they paſſed over to the Palliſadoes, and attacking them with great Fury, beat the Enemy out, and took Poſſeſſion thereof. On the twentieth, they made a Lodgment on the Angle of the Cover'd Way, with the Loſs of 300 Men. On the 21ſt at Night, (notwithſtanding Abundance of Rain had fallen) they finiſhed five Bridges over the Fore-ditch, at the Attack of St. Quintin, at the Gate of Arras; but in that Service, which was very hot, they had 160 Men kill'd and wounded, beſides 82 wounded in the Trenches, and 36 killed. A Major of a Brigade, a Captain, and an Engineer were, likewiſe wounded, and eighteen Men killed, by the blowing up of ſome Powder. At twelve, at Night, the Prince of Anhalt went into the Trenches, to make the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for attacking the Cover'd Way, and had his Hat ſtruck off by a Cannon Ball. It was thought proper to put off the Attack to another Day, and go on farther with their Approaches by the Sap.

The Enemy make a vigorous Sally.

The 23d, the Enemy ſallied out upon the Beſiegers, with all the Dragoons of the Garriſon, and having levelled ſome of their Works, retired into the Place, with the Loſs of 60 Men killed, and 25 taken Priſoners; but the Loſs of the Beſiegers was more conſiderable. The ſame Night the Beſiegers attack'd the main Counterſcarp, with unparallel'd Vigour and Fury; and, after about half an Hour's ſharp Reſiſtance, took it, as alſo a Half-moon, and ſeveral other Out-works in their Front: This done, they immediately rais'd new Batteries for making the grand Breach in the Wall of the Town. The 26th, at Night, after a prodigious Fire, and another Sally of the Enemy, which coſt the Beſiegers many brave Men, (among whom were ſeveral Pruſſian Officers of Note) all Hoſtilities ceaſed, on both Sides, at the Attack of the Gate of Arras, as if it had been by Conſent: But, on the ſeven and twentieth, in the Morning, the Fire began again, at nine o'Clock, with as great Fury as ever. The nine and twentieth, at Night, a large Detachment attack'd and took

took all the remaining Part of the Out-works, in the Front of their Approaches, and there immediately begun their Bridges cross the main Ditch to the grand Breach, and raised fresh Batteries to clear it. By this Time, a Trench of Fascines and Earth being run thro' the Morass, the two Attacks were join'd, and the Besiegers had then 85 Pieces of Cannon, and 37 Mortars and Hawbitzers mounted. 1710.

Another Lodgment made.

The 30th, at Night, 500 Grenadiers and Fusileers, were commanded to signalize their Courage, at the Attack of Fleche, on the Side of the Arras Gate; but hardly 100 of that Number came back to bring the News of their Defeat; the Confederate Generals were, however, resolved to carry the Post, and, on the first of November, made a good Lodgment for 150 Men, after an obstinate Resistance of the Enemy, who disputed every Inch of Ground with them.

Some Attacks successless.

The second, at Night, the necessary Dispositions were made, for attacking the two Angles of the Cover'd Way, and the Place of Arms; and 800 Grenadiers, with 400 Fusileers, were appointed for that Purpose. They attack'd the Enemy with a great deal of Bravery, and tho' they were twice repuls'd, gain'd those Posts, and made Lodgments in them: But the Enemy springing a Mine over-against the Ravelin, which blew up 100 Men, and making a Sally at the same time, with the greatest Part of their Garrison, the Workmen were put into Disorder, and the Besiegers were obliged to quit those Posts.

Others more successful.

The third, they attack'd the Saillant Angle, before the Bastion of the Thienne, with the like ill Success; for the Enemy made so terrible a Fire, that the Besiegers were obliged to desist from that Attack. They then advanc'd by Sap, till the seventh, when the Enemy quitted the Saillant Angle of the Counterscarp, before the Ravelin of the Gate of Arras; and the Saps being so far advanc'd, as to oblige the Enemy to quit that Part of the Counterscarp, which they were still possessed of, the Besiegers erected a Battery to enlarge and finish the Breach in the Ravelin.

The Garrison beats a Parly.

The eighth, all the Saps being join'd, and the Besieged observing, that the Bridges were almost finish'd, in order to storm the Place, they thought fit to prevent it by a timely Capitulation. Accordingly, between five and six in the Evening, Monsieur Goesbriant, the Governour, gave Orders to beat a Parly, desiring to capitulate; and Hostages were hereupon exchang'd, about ten, the same Night; the Besieged sent out a Brigadier, a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and a Major; and the Allies sent into the Town, four Officers of the same Quality. The former being come, the next Morning, to the Duke of Marlborough's Quarters, the Capitulation was sign'd in the Evening, by his Grace,

Prince

1710. Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States. The Articles were in Subſtance:

Subſtance of the Capitulation.

"That the Gate of Arras be immediately delivered: All "Acts of Hoſtility to ceaſe, and Care to be taken to prevent "any Diſorders, from the Officers or Soldiers; that the Gar-"riſon march out, the eleventh, with all the uſual Marks of "Honour; four Pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, and be "conducted to St. Omer; that whereas ſo many as deſired it, "had three Months time allowed them to ſtay in the City, and "diſpoſe of their Effects; ſuch of the Inhabitants of Aire, as "had lodged any of their Effects at St. Omer, or elſewhere, "for their better Security, ſhould, if they thought fit, have the "ſame Space of three Months allowed them to claim and re-"cover them; that the Sick and Wounded remain in the "Town, till their Recovery; the Garriſon to be allowed ſix "covered Waggons, Deſerters to be delivered up on both Sides, "and Priſoners exchang'd; Hoſtages to be left for the Payment "of the Debts of the Garriſon; a faithful Diſcovery to be made "of all the Mines, and the Keys of the Magazines deliver'd up "to the Allies.

On the eleventh, the Field-Deputies wrote the following Letter to the States General.

The Dutch Deputies Letter to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

"AFTER the Garriſon of Aire had beat a Parly, on Sa-"turday laſt, in the Evening, and we, with the Princes, "had ſubſcribed Anſwers to the ſeveral Articles of the Capitu-"lation demanded for the City and for St. Francis, the Gover-"nour made a farther Requeſt yeſterday, that two Cannon "more, than he had, at firſt, demanded, might be granted "him, which the Princes have condeſcended to. Whereupon, "to-day, at Noon, the Capitulation was ſign'd by the Gover-"nour, and we have the Honour to ſend it herewith to your "High Mightineſſes, by Captain Smiſſart, Adjutant of the "Major-General, Count de Naſſau Woudenburg: Which "Count, purſuant to your High Mightineſſes Reſolution, of "the twenty-third of October, we have made Governour of "this new Conqueſt; and having the Honour to congratulate "your High Mightineſſes upon this happy Concluſion of the "Campaign, we remain with all Reſpect,

High and Mighty Lords,
Your High Mightineſſes,
Moſt Humble and
Moſt Obedient Servants,
N. Pesters. J. Tollius.
P. F. Vegelin van Klarrbergen.

The




BRITISH
17 AP 66
MUSEUM


ANNA · AUGUSTA.


BETHUNIA · FANO · STI · VENANTII · ET · ARIA · CAPTIS.
INSPECTANT · GALL ·
CENT · MILL ·
MDCCX.

B. Cole Sculp.

The Garriſon of Aire, at the Solicitation of the Governour, being allowed a Day more, than was agreed to by the Capitulation, to provide Carriages and other Neceſſaries, march'd out, the twelfth of November, in the Morning. The whole Body, which conſiſted of fifteen Battalions of Foot, and three Squadrons of Dragoons, amounted now to no more than 3628 Men, their Numbers being very much diminiſhed, by the Loſſes they ſuſtained, during the Siege; and beſides thoſe who were killed, there remained above 1500 wounded in the Town. The Loſs of the Allies, at this Siege, was computed at near 7000 Officers and private Men kill'd and wounded. 1710. The Garriſon marches out. Loſs on both Sides.

As ſoon as the Enemy had evacuated the Place, the Count of Naſſau-Woudenbourg, Son of the late Velt-Marſhal d'Auverquerque, and a Major-General, took Poſſeſſion of it, with eight Battalions, which were appointed for a Winter-Garriſon, and Men were immediately ſet to Work to level the Trenches, clear the Breaches, and put the Town in a Poſture of Defenſe. This done, the Confederate Armies broke up from before Aire, on the fifteenth of November, N. S. marched, that Day, to Bethune, the next to Pont à Vendin, and ſo to the Plains of Liſle, from whence the Troops deſign'd to quarter in that Place, Tournay and Douay, went to their reſpective Garriſons, and the reſt of the Troops march'd towards the ſeveral Places aſſign'd them for their Winter-Quarters, the Enemy being gone to theirs, ſome time before. Count Naſſau-Woudenburg made Governour. The Confederate Troops go into Winter-Quarters.

The following Medal was ſtruck on occaſion of the latter Succeſſes of this Campaign.

On the Face, the Queen's Buſto, and the Inſcription ANNA AUGUSTA.

On the Reverſe, a Trophy on a Pedeſtal, with this Legend, BETHUNIA. FANO STI. VENATII. ET ARIA. CAPTIS. In Engliſh, *Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire taken.*

In the Exergue, INSPECTANT. GALL. CENT. MILL. MDCCX. That is, *Inſpectantibus Gallorum, Centenis Millibus.* In ſight of a hundred thouſand French, 1710. A Medal ſtruck on the latter Succeſs of the Campaign.

Thus ended the Campaign in the Netherlands, which, tho' not ſo glorious, as ſome of the former, was, however of great Advantage to the Allies, who, during the Courſe of it, made themſelves Maſters of two Towns of vaſt Importance, Douay and Aire, (tho' the latter coſt them a little too dear, and almoſt as many Men as Douay) and two others of leſs Conſideration, Bethune, and St. Venant. On the other hand, we muſt confeſs, that the Enemy, after the ſurprizing of their Lines, carried their chief Point, which was to cover Arras, and thereby to Reflections on this Campaign in Flanders.

1710. ſtop the Allies from penetrating into Picardy, which otherwiſe they might have done.

The Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, left the Confederate Army, the ſixteenth of November, went the ſame Day to Tournay, the nineteenth to Ghent, and the twentieth to Bruſſels; where having adjuſted ſeveral Difficulties, about raiſing 1,500,000 Guilders, to ſupply the Imperial and Palatine Troops, with Bread and Forage, during the Winter, they ſet out from thence, the five and twentieth, and arrived the eight and twentieth, at the Hague. Their High Mightineſſes were ſeverally complimented, the next Day, by the Foreigners, and other Perſons of Diſtinction; and having held ſeveral Conferences with the grand Penſionary, the Deputies of the States for foreign Affairs, and the foreign Miniſters, about the ſeveral Parts of the War, particularly that of Spain, Prince Eugene ſet out, the eleventh of December, for Vienna, and the Duke of Marlborough, the twenty-third of the ſame Month, for England.

The Duke of Marlboro' and Prince Eugene leave the Army.

Arrive at the Hague;

And ſet out for Vienna and London.

I ſhall leave the Duke of Marlborough, on his Voyage to England, to give a brief Account of what happened this Summer, in other Parts: And firſt, in Spain; King Philip went to his Army to Arragon, and gave it out, that he was reſolved to put all to the Deciſion of a Battle with King Charles, who was likewiſe come to head his Army: They lay ſo near one another, that King Philip cannonaded his Enemy's Camp; but his Men were beat off with Loſs, and drew away to a greater Diſtance; however, before the End of July, there was an Action of great Importance near Almanara: The main Body of King Philip's Horſe deſign'd to cut off a Part of King Charles's Foot, which was ſeparated by the Cavalry, commanded by General Stanhope. He drew his whole Body together; and tho' he was much inferior in Number, he ſent to King Charles, for Orders to engage the Enemy. It was not without ſome Difficulty, and after ſome re-iterated preſſing Inſtances, that he got Leave to fall on. As the two Bodies were advancing, one againſt the other, General Stanhope rode at the Head of his Body, and the Spaniſh General, ſuppoſed to have been Lieutenant General Amenzega, did the ſame. The two Generals began the Action, and Stanhope was ſo fortunate to kill the Spaniard: His Troops, animated with the Example and Succeſs of their General, fell on, and broke the Spaniſh Horſe ſo entirely, that King Philip loſt the beſt Part of his Cavalry, in that Action; upon which he retired towards Saragoſſa; but was cloſely followed by King Charles; and, on the twentieth of Auguſt, they came to a general Engagement, which ended in a total Defeat: And, by this means, Arragon was again in King Charles's Hands. King Philip was oblig'd to quit Madrid, and King Charles haſtened thither; but found the Grandees had all followed his Antagoniſt. The In-

Affairs in Spain.

ſincerity

ſincerity of the King of France appeared now in a clear Light; for, on this Occaſion, he might eaſily have perform'd the Obligation of the ſeven and thirtieth Article of the Preliminaries, and have obliged his Grandſon to have evacuated Spain; but, inſtead thereof, he ſent him Aſſiſtance. King Charles continued in Caſtile, till the Beginning of December; but not being ſufficiently ſupported then, was obliged to return to Catalonia for the Security of that Principality. The Battle of Brihuega was fatal to General Stanhope, and the Engliſh under his Command, who were taken Priſoners; but whether this Misfortune was owing to his Miſconduct, by unadviſedly taking a wrong March, and ſeparating from the Imperialiſts, or the Neglect of General Stahremberg to ſupport him, in time, as ſome ſay he might have done, but ſacrific'd him to Envy, has been Matter of great Debate, and is a Caſe too nice for me to pretend to determine. The Inſtability of human Proſperity appeared in a moſt ſurprizing Manner, in this Campaign in Spain, both Parties being Conquerors, and both conquered, in their Turns; but King Philip had certainly the Advantage in the End, whereas King Charles's Affairs, notwithſtanding he had, once this Summer, triumph'd in the Capital of the Spaniſh Monarchy, began to have a very diſmal Aſpect; for beſides that he was now confin'd, within the narrow Bounds of the Principality of Catalonia, King Philip gain'd this Summer a very material Advantage, by having invincible Demonſtration of the Affection of the Caſtilians to his Perſon and Government; inſomuch that, neither his two Defeats at Almenara and Saragoſſa, nor his Retreat from Madrid, nor the Preſence of King Charles, with a Veteran victorious Army, were able to ſhake their Loyalty to the Houſe of Bourbon. 1710.

Nothing material happen'd in Portugal this Year; except that, about the Beginning of July, the Marquis de Bay, who who then commanded the Spaniſh Forces in Eſtremadura, made himſelf Maſter of the Town of Miranda de Duero, by Surprize, took 400 Men, of regular Troops and Militia in it; and then form'd the Blockade of Braganza; but this was abandon'd by the Marquis de Riſbourg, upon the News of the Battle of Saragoſſa; and ſoon after, the Portugueſe took, from the Spaniards, Xeres de les Cavelleros, Barcarota, Alcanza, and Puebla, Places of great Name, tho' of very ſmall Conſideration, being ſcarce better than Villages. In Portugal;

Nothing paſſed on the Side of Piedmont, the Duke of Savoy complaining ſtill of the Imperial Court, and thereupon refuſing to act vigorouſly; he had beſides a very feaſible Pretence for not putting himſelf at the Head of the Army, being at the very Juncture indiſpoſed, as well as his two Sons, the Prince of Piedmont, and the Duke of Aoſta. The Count de Thaun took upon In Piedmont;

1710. upon him the Command of the Confederate Army; but nothing was done worthy of Notice.

On the Rhine; On the Rhine, both Parties being equally unable to enter upon Action, the Campaign paſſed without any thing conſiderable happening: The French, who, in the Winter, threatned the Empire with a new Invaſion, were obliged to weaken their Forces on that ſide, to cover their own Frontiers, and ſtrengthen their Armies in the Netherlands; and the Germans, thro' the uſual ill Management of their Affairs, were not in a Condition to improve that fair Opportunity of invading France; and ſo both Armies remain'd unactive. The Elector of Hannover wiſely laid down the Command of the Army of the Empire, not thinking it fit to hazard his Reputation any longer, on the Promiſes of ſuch as had ſo groſly deceived him, in preceding Campaigns; ſo that Command was given to Count Gronsfeldt.

And in Italy. The Affairs in Italy received this Year no viſible Alteration: For the diſputes about Comacchio, and the actual Recognition of the Title of King Charles, being ſtill in the ſame Condition, the Imperialiſts remained in Poſſeſſion of that Place, and the Ambaſſadour of the Emperour, and his Catholick Majeſty, at Rome, did not appear in Publick with that Character; no more than did Signior Albani, the Pope's Nephew, who, in the mean time, continued at Vienna.

A Deſcent on the Coaſt of Languedoc concerted by the Duke of Marlboro' and Monſ. de Seiſſan. I muſt not conclude this brief Summary of Foreign Affairs, without juſt mentioning, at leaſt, the Deſcent on the Coaſt of Languedoc; with intent to give the Enemy's Forces a Diverſion, and thereby hinder them from joining with King Philip; becauſe that Deſign was concerted by the Duke of Marlborough, with Major-General de Seiſſan; and tho' this Attempt had not all the Succeſs, which was, at firſt, expected from it; yet it had this immediate deſired good Effect; that it hindred the Duke de Noailles from joining King Philip, and, at the ſame time, gave the Confederate Troops, in the Neighbourhood of Gironne, an Opportunity of re-inforcing King Charles, which made way for the two Victories, which his Catholick Majeſty obtained ſoon after. For an Account of this Deſcent, as it is foreign to my Deſign here, I ſhall refer the Reader to *Lediard's Naval Hiſtory*, where he will find it at large.

The Parliament meets. Remarks on the Queen's Speech, and the Addreſſes of both Houſes. Having thus given a ſummary Account of the Tranſactions of this Year abroad, as far as concern'd the Grand Alliance, I now return to domeſtick Affairs; The 25th of November, the Parliament met; it is remarkable, that the Queen in her Speech, recommended, in general, the carrying on of the War, in all its Parts, and eſpecially in Spain. But no mention was made, as had been uſual in the foregoing Years, of the Succeſſes in Flanders, or of the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough: Nor were they ſo much as hinted at in the Addreſſes either of the Lords or

Commons; which undoubtedly was owing to the Change of the Miniſtry. "The Lords (ſays a late Author) made an Addreſs of "an odd Compoſition to her Majeſty, which ſhew'd it was not "penned by thoſe, who had penned their former Addreſſes; "Inſtead of promiſing to do all that was poſſible, they only "promis'd to do all that was reaſonable; which ſeem'd to im-"port a Limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unrea-"ſonable things might be aſk'd of them; and the Concluſion "was in a very cold Strain of Rhetorick; for they ended with "ſaying, *They had no more to add*: The Commons *(adds the ſame "Author)* were more hearty in their Addreſs." And another Author ſays, the Addreſs of the Commons was univerſally approved; yet (adds he) it had little or no Effect, in relation to the Publick Funds, which had fallen conſiderably, upon the Change of the Miniſtry; there was ſtill an Uneaſineſs among the monied Men; eſpecially as they ſeemed now to be under Apprehenſions, that the Duke of Marlborough would be either laid aſide, or reſign his Command. This Jealouſy was encreas'd, when, on the eight and twentieth of November, the Earl of Scarborough made a Motion in the Houſe of Peers, *That the Thanks of that Houſe be returned to the Duke of Marlborough*; and upon ſome Objections being raiſed againſt it, by the Duke of Argyle, the Duke's Friends, being apprehenſive, that if the Queſtion were put upon it, the Negative might carry it, choſe rather to drop the Motion, by ſaying, it would be Time enough to ſpeak of that Matter, when the Duke was come home; upon which the Houſe adjourned.

1710.

Motion in the Houſe of Lords, about returning Thanks to the Duke of Marlboro' drop'd.

The twelfth of December, the Queen appointed Richard Hill, Eſq; to be her Envoy Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary to the United Provinces, and to the Council of State, appointed for the Government of the Spaniſh Netherlands, in the Room of Lieutenant-General Cadogan, whom her Majeſty had thought fit to recall from that Employment. About the ſame time, the Commiſſions of Lieutenant-General Meredith, Major-General Mackartney, and Brigadier Honeywood were ſuperſeded. An Information was ſaid to have been laid before the Queen, that theſe three Officers had, in their Cups, drank *Damnation and Confuſion to the new Miniſtry, and to thoſe who had any Hand in turning out the Old*; which was underſtood as an Imprecation on the Queen herſelf. Some Perſons who came over, about that time, from Flanders, undertook to extenuate their Crime, by averring, That they only *drank a Health to the Duke of Marlborough, and Confuſion to all his Enemies*, a Thing uſual in all Armies; tho' it happened, at this time, to be equivocal. Be this as it will, Mr. Granville, Secretary at War, was directed to ſignify to them, *That the Queen had no farther Occaſion for their Service; but that, out of her gracious Bounty, ſhe was pleaſed to allow them to ſell their*

Mr. Hill named Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General, &c.

The Commiſſions of three General Officers ſuperſeded.

Their ſuppoſed Crime Extenuated by ſome.

1710 *their reſpective Regiments.* Brigadier Honeywood, being then in London, her Majeſty's Pleaſure was ſignified to him here; and the Order for ſuſpending the other two was ſent to the Duke of Marlborough, who was then at the Hague, and tranſmitted it to them at the Briel, where they were, ready to embark for England.

Opinions of this Matter.

The general Opinion was; that it was thought neceſſary to make this Example, to keep the Officers of the Army within Bounds: It having been reported, that ſome, out of an Exceſs of Reſpect to the Duke, had been ſo unwary, as to drop doubtful Expreſſions of *ſtanding by their General*; and it was, beſides, charged upon the old Miniſtry, in a Pamphlet, call'd, *Faults on both Sides*, ſaid to be countenanc'd by ſome great Men, that they had formed a Deſign of making a General for Life. What Grounds there were for theſe Reports, I ſhall not pretend to determine. General Meredith had ſoon after the farther Mortification of loſing his Places of Governour of Tinmouth Fort, and Gentleman of the Horſe to the Queen.

The Duke of Marlborough arrives in London.

The Duke of Marlborough, having embark'd in Holland, the twenty-third of December, met with contrary Winds; and did not reach Solebay, till the ſix and twentieth, at five in the Afternoon. His Grace lay that Night at Chelmsford, and arrived, the eight and twentieth, in London. At his Entrance into the City, about five in the Evening, his Coach was attended by a great Number of People, with Links and Flambeaux; who, by their Acclamations, expreſs'd their Joy at his happy Return. The Duke, tho' he was very ſenſible of the Inſtability and Emptineſs of the Applauſe of the Vulgar, could not but have ſome Satisfaction to ſee himſelf welcom'd by thoſe, who ſome Months before were tumultuous in Favour of a Perſon, who was the main Occaſion, or rather Pretence of the late Diſtractions and Alterations, which ſeem'd principally intended to reach, if not himſelf perſonally, at leaſt his neareſt Relations. His Grace, however, who was always averſe to Popularity, thought it Prudence, at this Juncture, to avoid the leaſt Shew of it; and, therefore, ordered his Coach, inſtead of driving directly to St. James's, to go to Montague Houſe, from whence, after having reſted an Hour or two, he went out by a private Door. Upon his Arrival at St. James's, he immediately waited on the Queen, who gave him a very gracious Reception, and diſcourſed with him about half an Hour, after which his Grace retired to his Apartment.

Meets with a gracious Reception from the Queen.

Is viſited by the new Miniſters.

The Duke was ſummon'd to, and aſſiſted at, a Committee of the Privy-Council, the next Morning; and, the ſame and following Days, received the Viſits of the Earl of Rocheſter, Preſident of the Council, the Earl of Powlet, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the Secretaries of State, and other Perſons in the Miniſtry. It was, however, for many Days, a

Queſtion

Queſtion with the Publick, whether his Grace had any Interview with Mr. Harley, who had now the greateſt Share, both in the Queen's Confidence, and in the Management of Affairs. Thoſe, who pretended to have a near Inſight into the Secret of the Court, ſeem'd perſuaded, that her Majeſty had reſolved to remove all Strangeneſs and Coldneſs that might be between them; and the Event juſtified their Conjecture. 1710.

The Queen reſolves to reconcile the Duke and Mr. Harley.

The Uncertainty whether the Duke of Marlborough wou'd be continued in his Command in Flanders, caſt, in the mean time, a freſh Damp on the Publick Credit. It was, therefore, the General Wiſh and Expectation of the moſt wealthy and ſubſtantial Citizens, that, in order to remove that fatal Doubt, his Grace ſhould receive the Thanks, if not of both, at leaſt of either of the two Houſes of Parliament. But his Grace's Friends, in the Houſe of Peers, having already failed in one Motion for it (as I have ſaid above) were ſhy of attempting it a ſecond time; eſpecially as they found the Majority of the Houſe inclin'd to paſs that Compliment on the Earl of Peterborough: And as for thoſe he had in the Houſe of Commons, they found their Number too ſmall to dare to attempt it at all. Thus his Grace, inſtead of having the Thanks of either Houſe, had the Mortification to ſee an invidious and ſcurrilous Letter publiſh'd, ſaid to have been written to the Mayor of St. Alban's, and containing what the Writer of it call'd, *Reaſons why a certain great General had not the Thanks of either of the two Houſes of Parliament*, &c.

The Duke not thank'd by either Houſe of Parliament.

A ſcurrilous Letter thereupon.

This, together with ſome dubious Expreſſions, ſaid to have fallen from the Duke's Mouth, in the ſubſequent Debates, in the Houſe of Lords, concerning the Affairs of Spain, augmented the Apprehenſion of many, that his Grace would gratify his private Diſguſt, and lay down his Commiſſion, it being thought natural for his Reſentment to ſuggeſt; "That he had acquired "a ſufficient Stock of Honour and Wealth to deſpiſe the Frowns "of Fortune; that it would be derogatory to his Character to "ſtoop to the Authors of the Diſgrace of his Relations; who, "whatever their Pretences might be, would never heartily em"brace his Intereſt, nor contribute to the Support of the Glory "he had already gained; that the Fate of War being uncertain, "the leaſt Diminution of the Proſperity, that had hitherto at"tended the Arms of the Allies, might be charg'd on him as a "Crime; whereas, if any Misfortune ſhould befall them under "another General, the Court would have Reaſon to regret the "Loſs of ſo proſperous a Commander, and to court him to ſerve "again, which would add a freſh Luſtre to his Reputation." But his Grace, who, at his Departure from Holland, had engaged his Word to the States-General, and to Prince Eugene, not to abandon the common Cauſe, reſolv'd to *act the Part of a true Hero, and a good Patriot*, I may ſay, *of a Conſummate Politician*; and

The Duke reſolves not to lay down his Command.

1710. *and to ſacrifice his private Diſguſts to the Publick Welfare*, by concerting Meaſures with the New Miniſtry, with the ſame Confidence and hearty Zeal, he had done with the Old. He wiſely conſidered, that the preſerving his Command in Flanders was the moſt effectual Means to maintain his Credit abroad, and to retrieve his Intereſt at Home.

That the Duke of Marlborough never entertain'd a Thought of laying down his Command of the Army, is pretty evident from all his Actions; but the following Tranſlations of Letters, the Originals of which I have had in my Hands, and which, tho' dated ſeveral Weeks before, may be properly inſerted here, prove it beyond all Contradiction, and ſhew how much he had the Good of the Common Cauſe at Heart.

A Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to a Gentleman near his late Majeſty, as Elector of Hannover.

SIR, Auguſt 18. 1710.

A Letter from the D. of Marlborough to a Gentleman at Hannover.

" POOR Mr. Cardonnel being ſick, I muſt ask your Par-
" don for writing in Engliſh; but I would not defer any
" longer returning you my Thanks for your obliging Letter of
" the Fifth, and aſſuring you, at the ſame time, the Satisfac-
" tion I take in the good Choice the Elector has made of Mon-
" ſieur de Bothmar. Our Conjuncture, in England, is ſo very
" extraordinary, that it will require not only his Diligence,
" but alſo his utmoſt Prudence. I pray GOD, every Thing may
" end for the beſt; but our diſmal Aſpect ſeems rather favour-
" able for France, than for ourſelves. I am, with Truth,

SIR,

Your faithful Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

The Tranſlation of another Letter, from the Duke to the ſame.

SIR, From the Camp before Aire. Sept. 9. 1710.

Another Letter to the ſame.

" I HAVE receiv'd, from the Hands of Monſieur St. Lau-
" rant, the Letter you was pleas'd to write me the 29th paſt,
" by which I ſee the Elector deſigns, that Monſieur de Both-
" mar ſhall make a Tour to the Army, to confer with me, be-
" fore he goes to England; which I look upon, as in Duty
" bound, to be a particular Mark of his Electoral Highneſs's
" Goodneſs, and the Confidence he is pleas'd to place in me; and
" I beg of you to aſſure his Highneſs, and his Miniſters, that
" I ſhall

" I ſhall not make an ill uſe of this Truſt, and that whatever I 1710.
" ſhall ſay to him, ſhall be with no other view, but to the In-
" tereſt of the moſt ſerene Electoral Houſe, and that of Eng-
" land, which are inſeparable, and as becomes a faithful and
" moſt devoted Servant, as I have had the Honour lately to
" teſtify to his Electoral Highneſs myſelf. Before the Conclu-
" ſion of the Month, I ſhall take care, to lodge a Paſsport at the
" Hague, that Monſieur de Bothmar may purſue his Journey,
with the greater Safety and Expedition.

I am, *&c*

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

The Tranſlation of another Letter, from the Duke to the ſame.

SIR, September 10. 1710.

" MONSIEUR de St. Laurant deliver'd me, laſt Night, Another
" your Letter of the ſecond inſtant, concerning my Lord Letter to the
" Rivers's Voyage. Thoſe I received this Morning, from Lon- ſame.
" don, of the 22d paſt O. S. confirm his Departure. I am,
" likewiſe, inform'd from very good hands, that he is only
" charg'd with Compliments in general, without any Orders
" concerning the Command of the Army. However, I beg of
" you to aſſure the Perſon, who ordered you to write to me,
" on this Account, of my moſt humble Acknowledgments, of the
" Goodneſs and Friendſhip he has ſhewn me, on this Occaſion,
" and to tell him, that if I durſt offer my Advice, in an Affair
" of ſo tickliſh a Nature, and which ſo nearly concerns me, his
" Electoral Highneſs, if he mentions it to this Lord, ſhould
" give him to underſtand, that he has the Goodneſs to honour
" me with his Protection and Favour, and that he is ſatisfied with
" my Services, that all the High Allies having an entire Con-
" fidence in me, a Change, at this Juncture, could not but be
" of great Prejudice to the Common Cauſe. If his Electoral
" Highneſs would be pleas'd to explain himſelf, in this
" Manner, I flatter myſelf with the Hopes, it would pro-
" duce a very good Effect in England, to rectify the unſettled
" Minds of ſome, and to re-eſtabliſh, in ſome Meaſure, the un-
" happy Situation of our Affairs; beſides the Advantage it would
" be to me, in particular; tho' the latter I regard as nothing,
" in Compariſon with the former. However, it would lay me
" under an Obligation to acknowledge it, by devoting myſelf
" entirely to the Service of his Electoral Highneſs, and his moſt
" ſerene Houſe, to the very laſt Moment of my Life. I have

" diſpos'd

1710. "disposed of your Letter, according to your Desire, and assure "you of Secrecy, being very sincerely, &c.

SIR,

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

*Translation of a Letter, from the Duke of Marlborough, to Monsieur **** at Hannover.*

SIR, From the Camp before Aire, Oct. 1. 1710.

A Letter from the D. of Marlborough to Monsieur **** at Hannover.

"I AM indebted for two of your Letters. The latter, of the "23d past, was deliver'd to me, this Morning, by Monsieur "de St. Laurant, and I was unwilling to lose the first Opportu- "nity of returning you Thanks for the Communication of what "passes in your Parts. I find my Information from England, "concerning my Lord Rivers, was well grounded; and with- "out Doubt, the Reports which were spread, with regard to the "Invitation, and the Command, were with a View to influence "the Elections for the ensuing Parliament. It will be requi- "site for me, as well with regard to the Interest of his Electo- "ral Highness, as to the Publick Good, to act with a great "deal of Caution, in this Affair. In the mean time, it "would be very necessary, that the World be undeceived in this "Point. And his Electoral Highness may be assured, that in "this, as well as in every thing else, I shall endeavour even to "anticipate whatever he shall vouchsafe to command me.

"Since Monsieur de Bothmar is to remain yet three Weeks, "in your Parts, I hope to have an Opportunity of speaking with "him at the Hague. The Siege of St. Venant being happily "accomplished, we shall now pursue that of Aire with the "greater Vigour.

I am, &c.

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

Translation of another Letter from the Duke of Marlborough *to the same.*

SIR, From the Camp before Aire, Oct. 8, 1710.

Another Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to the same.

"I AM extremely obliged to you for the Advices you con- "tinue to give me, in your Letter of the thirtieth past. You "may depend on it, I will make such Use of them as you de- "sire, and that whatever you have the Goodness to advise me, "shall always remain an inviolable Secret. I make no Diffi-

"culty

" culty of renewing the Treaty for the Troops, for the enſuing 1710.
" Year. This you may inform Monſieur de Bothmar of, and
" in Caſe I be departed, he will find a Letter at Monſieur Klyn-
" graeff's, which will adviſe him of it.

I am, &c.

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

He reſigns his Ducheſs's Places.

Purſuant to theſe prudent Counſels, his Grace made a free Reſignation of his Ducheſs's Places at Court, by delivering into her Majeſty's Hands the Key of Groom of the Stole. This voluntary Sacrifice of a Perſon ſo juſtly dear to his Grace, but who had the Misfortune to be under the Queen's Diſpleaſure, was thought, by all unprejudiced People, a great Demonſtration of his public Spirit, and that nothing could come in Competition with his Deſire of ſerving his Country. It was, likewiſe, ſo well taken by her Majeſty, that ſhe was pleaſed not only to renew his Commiſſion, but likewiſe to make a Diſpoſition of the other Generals entirely to his Grace's Satisfaction; an inconteſtable Argument of her Majeſty's being unſhaken in the Opinion ſhe had always juſtly conceived of his Capacity and Fidelity. As for the Ducheſs, it was obſerved, that the Loſs of all theſe valuable Places was (at leaſt in outward Appearance) ſo far from being a Mortification to her, that ſhe lived afterwards, both in Town and Country, eſpecially at her Seat at St. Albans, with an uncommon Splendour, Liberality and Magnificence; which very much leſſen'd the Envy and Malice of thoſe who took a Pleaſure in reviling Perſons of Dignity and Worth.

Hopes conceived by France on theſe Changes.

I ſhall conclude my Account of the Tranſactions of this Year, by obſerving the great Hopes which France conceived (and which we ſhall find, in the Sequel, were but too well grounded) of a favourable Turn to their Advantage, upon this great Change of the Face of Affairs, at the Court of Great Britain. To give my Readers an Idea how far theſe Hopes were extended, and what was the immediate Effect of them, I ſhall give them a tranſlated Extract of a Letter, ſuppoſed to have been written by Monſieur Pettecum *(of whom I have had occaſion to make frequent Mention above)* to Monſieur Buys; ſoon after the Removal of the Earl of Sunderland.

Extract of a Letter from Monſieur Pettecum, to Monſieur Buys.

" I have been (ſays Mr. Pettecum) once more at Gertruy-
" denburg, and uſed my beſt Endeavours to prevail with the
" Miniſters of France, to explain themſelves upon the Security
" their Maſter was willing to give for evacuating the Spaniſh
" Monarchy, &c.

" But

1710. "But I found that gaining of Time was their chief Point, and "every Pretence of Delay contributed, in their Opinions, to the "Intereſt of their Maſter.

"This ſurprized me very much, and ſeemed ſo contrary to all "good Policy, that I could not forbear arguing this Matter "with them; and endeavoured to demonſtrate, from their own "low Circumſtances, and the more happy Condition of the Al-"lies, that the deferring of Peace muſt, in all Probability, tend "to the Diſadvantage of France. I ſhew'd them, that the Af-"fairs of the Allies were ſtill the ſame, or more flouriſhing than "when the Preliminaries were ſettled; that *their Arms were every "where victorious*; that they had *the ſame Generals, veſted with "the ſame Power, Intereſt and Authority*; that they were now "penetrating into the Heart of France, Douay taken, and *no-"thing in Flanders was able to withſtand the Duke of Marlbo-"rough, and the Prince of Savoy*: Which made all the World "wonder, *why the King of France would not make Peace when "he could no longer make War*. I urg'd the Unanimity of all the "Allies. I repreſented, that England was not only able, but "ſtill determined to carry on the War; that the ſame *Parlia-"ment was ſtill in Being, which had ſo readily granted* ſo great "Supplies; that *the ſame Miniſters were ſtill at the Helm, who "had conducted their Affairs thro' this long and expenſive War, "and preſerved the publick Credit beyond Example*: And that, "notwithſtanding the Removal of the Earl of Sunderland, the "Queen had publickly declared and promiſed, *ſhe would make "no farther Alterations in her Miniſtry*.

"Here they interrupted me, and ſaid, *Indeed if all that I had "ſaid was true, the Meaſures which France was taking would "ſeem very unaccountable; but they could not believe me ſo ignо-"rant of what was doing in England, as not to think that France "had good Reaſon to change her Stile, and expect a Peace upon far "better Terms, than could be hoped for, or even thought of laſt "Year*. And they believed I would be of the ſame Opinion, "when I ſaw *the Engliſh General diſgraced, or ſo far mortified, "that he could ſerve no longer; the Miniſtry diſcarded, and the "Parliament diſſolved*.

"They obſerv'd, that I was very much ſtartled at theſe No-"tions, and entertained them as utter Improbabilities; upon "which they told me, in ſhort, *That theſe Meaſures were already "concerted betwixt France and her Friends in England*.

"I was ſtill more ſurprized, and beg'd a farther Explana-"tion; upon which they ſaid it was true, indeed, Queen Anne "had declared ſhe would make no farther Changes in her Mi-"niſtry; but bid me obſerve the Artifices of her new Adviſers. "This Declaration was confin'd to Miniſtry, and therefore, "the Letter of her Promiſe was not broke, if ſhe did not turn

"out

" out any of her Cabinet Council, or that might properly be 1710.
" called a Miniſter of State. There was a Latitude left to re-
" move all the Chief Officers, that do not come ſtrictly under
" that Denomination, which would ſoon be done, by picking
" out of the Offices of the chief Conſequence all that were known
" to be in *the true Intereſt of their Country, and to be the beſt*
" *Friends, and moſt faithful to the Chief Miniſters*, without any
" Regard to their having ſerved ill or well; and when theſe are
" all removed, and others of a quite different Intereſt and Prin-
" ciple put in their Room, in whom the Miniſters cannot at all
" confide, the Miniſters may, if they pleaſe, ſtill continue in
" their Poſts, the Queen has promiſed not to turn them out.

" They deſired me farther to obſerve, that there was no En-
" gagement not to diſſolve the Parliament, which was now la-
" bour'd Day and Night; and if the States General, foreſeeing
" the fatal Conſequence, a Diſſolution of the Parliament muſt
" be to the whole Alliance, ſhould repreſent their Apprehenſions
" upon this Head, tho' in a moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, they will be
" told, *They meddle with Things that they have nothing to do with*;
" *(In this however they were miſtaken.)* And there are thoſe
" who have now Acceſs to the Queen, who will ſatisfy her, it
" is a Treatment, ſhe ought to reſent.

" But what they inſiſted upon chiefly, and with the greateſt
" Satisfaction, was the Scheme, which, they ſaid, was laid,
" to deſtroy the publick Credit in England; which would make
" it utterly impoſſible for the Allies to carry on the War any
" longer.

" They inſtanced in a great many other Particulars, and from
" the whole concluded, that if the Marſhal de **** could ſpin
" out this Campaign without hazarding a Battle, and oblige the
" Allies to ſpend this Summer in three or four Sieges; the Ad-
" vantage which France would reap, from the Meaſures con-
" certed in England, would over-ballance the Loſs of three or
" four of their moſt conſiderable Towns, &c.

I ſhall not pretend to affirm this Letter to be genuine; tho' I I have all the Reaſon in the World to believe it ſo, as I had an Opportunity, in the Year 1719, to be very intimately acquainted with this Monſieur Pettecum in Holſtein, and have very often not only heard him occaſionally uſe the ſame Manner of diſcourſing, and even almoſt the ſame Words; but have alſo ſeen ſeveral Copies of Letters written by him, and original Letters to him, as likewiſe other Papers communicated to me by him, which run very much in this Strain, and greatly confirm it in my Opinion: But if it be genuine, as the known Behaviour of the French Plenipotentiaries at Gertruydenburg makes it likewiſe highly probable, the French muſt have had an early Knowledge of,

and

1710. and Hand in, the moſt ſecret Tranſactions and Deſigns of the Britiſh Court, at this time.

That the Court of France conceived great Hopes from this Change of the Miniſtry in England, is evident from the following Tranſlation of a Letter from the Miniſter of the Elector of Bavaria, to his Maſter, dated October 18, 1710. from Verſailles.

"THE King received, this Day, certain Advice from England, that the Parliament is diſſolved, and that the propoſed Changes in the Miniſtry will take Place. His Majeſty did not defer a Moment giving me Advice of theſe Circumſtances, that I might inform your Electoral Highneſs of them.

"It is certain, that the Proclamation for a new Parliament, and a total Change of the Miniſtry, muſt lay the Dutch under great Uneaſineſſes, and make them think of a Peace; but this Court will not be very forward in giving a helping Hand towards it.

"It is not at all doubted but the Duke of Marlborough will give up the Command of the Army, and the more as the now ruling Party will leave no Stone unturn'd to induce him to it.

"Every one is perſuaded, that the German Princes will recall their Troops, as ſoon as they find England fail in their Payment of the uſual Subſidies, and this is all they are apprehenſive of in Holland.

"The King is very aſſiduous in finding the neceſſary Funds, and for that End to employ all the Means poſſible, that he may be enabled to continue the War; the Court being of Opinion, that the Opportunity now offers, and that Advantage muſt be taken of this favourable Conjuncture; it being impoſſible for the Allies, after what has happen'd in England, to live in Harmony: And if the Duke of Marlborough ſhould reſign the Command of the Army, on whom elſe can they have ſo entire Confidence? Your Electoral Highneſs knows very well what can be done in England; for my Part, I don't know a ſingle Perſon fit for the Poſt; for beſides being a good Officer, he muſt likewiſe be an able Miniſter, one who has Credit with and Influence over the Confederated Princes, which they will not find united in any one beſides the Duke of Marlborough. If the Duke of Hannover ſhould accept of it, he will never agree with Prince Eugene: And thus we ſhall ſee Matters abſolutely put on a new Face.

"Your Electoral Highneſs will be pleaſed to favour me with your Commands, in what manner you would have me ſpeak to the King of theſe Circumſtances, and what Opinion you have of the Duke of Hannover.

"The Duke of Berwick, who had early Notice of this Event, has wrote to Monſieur de Torcy, to deſire him to re-

"preſent

" preſent to the King, that now would be a proper time, to at- 1710.
" tempt a Deſcent, not in Scotland, but in England; and that
" he was very willing to put himſelf at the Head of 20,000
" Men, and be ſecure of Succeſs in carrying over the King of
" England.

" This is all I can have the Honour to inform your Electoral
" Highneſs of by this Ordinary. My moſt hearty Wiſhes are,
" that theſe Changes may lead us to the Harbour of our Hopes,
" and that the ALMIGHTY may vouchſafe to crown your Elec-
" toral Highneſs's juſt Cauſe with his Bleſſing, that you may
" ſoon ſee the Pride of your Enemies humbled. I believe the
" Court of Vienna will be greatly embarraſſed by the preſent
" Situation of Affairs in England. What a Number of fine
" Schemes are here diſappointed! &c.

CHAP. IV.

TRANSACTIONS *at the Beginning of the Year* 1711, *relating to the Duke of* Marlborough; *Negotiations for a Peace*, &c.

I Shall begin my Account of the Tranſactions of this Year, as 1711.
I did my Relation of thoſe of the foregoing, with domeſtick Occurrences.

The ſixth of January, upon the memorable Debate in the Houſe of Peers, concerning the Conduct of the Earl of Galloway, in Spain, after the ſaid Lord had given an ingenious Account of his Behaviour in that Kingdom, and was withdrawn, the Duke of Marlborough, together with other Peers, ſpoke very much in his Favour; and, among other things, ſaid; *It was ſomewhat ſtrange, that Generals, who had acted to the beſt of their Underſtandings, and had loſt their Limbs in the Service, ſhould be examin'd like Offenders, about inſignificant things.* The Duke of Marlboro' ſpeaks in favour of the Lord Galloway.

The twelfth, among other Things which paſs'd in the Houſe of Peers, the late Miniſtry was cenſured, as having contributed to all our Misfortunes in Spain, and to the Diſappointment of the Expedition againſt Toulon; by being, in a great Meaſure, the Occaſion, that the War was carried on offenſively in thoſe Parts, contrary to the Opinion of the Earl of Peterborough. The late Miniſtry cenſured.

" On this Occaſion it was moved, that an Addreſs ſhould be
" made to the Queen, to free thoſe, who were under an Oath
" of Secrecy, from that Tye, that a full Account might be laid
" before the Houſe of all their Conſultations: The Queen
" granted this readily; and came to the Houſe; which was
" under- A memorable Debate in Parliament.

1710. "understood to be on Design, to favour that which was aimed "at. Upon this, the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Go-"dolphin and Sunderland, and the Lord Cowper, shewed, "that, considering the Force sent over to Spain, under the Lord "Rivers, they thought an offensive War was adviseable; that "the Expence of this War was so great, and the Prospect so "promising, that they could not but think an offensive War ne-"cessary; and that to advise a defensive one would have made "them liable to a just Censure, as designing to protract the "War. The Design on Toulon was no Way intermix'd with "the Affairs of Spain; the Earl of Peterborough fancied he "was in that Secret, and had, indeed, proposed the bringing "over some Troops from Spain, on that Design, and had of-"fered a Scheme to the Duke of Savoy, in which that was "mentioned, and had sent that over to England: But tho' the "Duke of Savoy suffered that Lord to amuse himself with his "own Project, which he had concerted for the Attempt on "Toulon; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, "if it was not managed with the utmost Secrecy, which was "sacredly kept, and the Design communicated only to those, to "whom it must be trusted for the Execution of it. No Troops "from Spain were to be employ'd in that Service, nor did it "miscarry for Want of Men. These Lords farther said, they "gave their Opinion in Council, according to the best of their "Judgment; their Intentions were sincere for the Service of "the Queen, and to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion. "Yet a Vote pass'd, that they were to blame for advising an "offensive War in Spain, upon which the Loss of the Battle of "Almanza followed: And that this occasioned the miscarrying "of the Design upon Toulon.

Reflections on this Proceeding.

Here was a new and strange Precedent, of censuring a Resolution taken in Council; and of desiring the Queen to order all that had pass'd in Council, to be laid before the House. In all the hot Debates, in King Charles I's Reign, in which many Resolutions taken in Council were justly censurable; yet the passing any Censure on them was never attempted by Men, who were no way partial in favour of the Prerogative: But they understood well what our Constitution was in that Point. A Resolution in Council is only the Sovereign's Act, who, upon hearing his Counsellors deliver their Opinions, forms his own Resolution. A Counsellor may, indeed, be liable to Censure, for what he may say at that Board; but the Resolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a silent Respect; but, by this Precedent, it may be hereafter subject to a Parliamentary Enquiry. "The Queen "(says a late Author) was so desirous to have a Censure fix'd on "her former Ministry, that she did not enough consider the

"Wound

" Wound given to the Prerogative, by the way in which it was " done. 1711.

The Earl of Peterborough received, on this Occaſion, the Thanks of that Auguſt aſſembly, for his eminent and remarkable Services in Spain; which, as the Duke of Marlborough had not, this Year, been honoured with the ſame, could not but be a Mortification to him, as were, without doubt, the Cenſures which enſued, with regard to the Affairs of Spain, on the late Miniſtry, and the Earl of Galloway, in whoſe Cauſe his Grace had ſpoke. The Earl of Peterborough receives the Thanks of the Houſe of Peers.

" I never *(ſays a late Author, on concluding this Matter)* ſaw " any thing carried on, in the Houſe of Peers, ſo little to their " Honour as this was; ſome, who voted with the reſt, ſeemed " aſhamed of it: They ſaid ſomewhat was to be done, to juſtify " the Queen's Change of the Miniſtry; and every thing elſe- " where, had been ſo well conducted, as to be above all Cen- " ſure: So the Misfortune of Almanza, being a viſible thing, " they reſolved to lay the Load there. The Management of " the publick Treaſure was exact and unexceptionable: So that " the ſingle Misfortune of the whole War was to be magnified. " Some were more eaſily drawn to concur in theſe Votes; be- " cauſe, by the Act of Grace, all thoſe, who had been con- " cerned in the Adminiſtration, were cover'd from Proſecution " and Puniſhment: So this was repreſented to ſome, as a Com- " pliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by " which no Perſon could be hurt. Farther Reflections.

What Diſcourſe paſs'd between the Queen, and the Duke of Marlborough, when his Grace reſign'd the Ducheſs's Places, has been variouſly reported; but as that Converſation was in private, I ſhall not preſume to ſay any thing about it. It is, however, evident, by the Event, that her Majeſty, and her new Miniſters, thought it adviſeable to continue his Grace in the Command of the Britiſh Forces in Flanders; and, in order to make him eaſy, (as I obſerv'd before) ſome younger Generals, under his Grace, were appointed either to other Commands or Employments. The Duke of Marlboro' made eaſy in his Command of the Army.

A late Author ſums up this Matter, as far as regards his Grace, in the few following Lines: " As the Duke of Marlbo- " rough *(ſays he)* was involved in the general Cenſure paſſed " on the former Miniſtry; ſo he had not the uſual Compliment " of Thanks, for the Succeſſes of the former Campaign. When " that was moved in the Houſe of Lords, it was oppoſed with " ſuch Eagerneſs by the Duke of Argile and others, that it was " let fall. For this the Duke was prepared by the Queen; " who, upon his coming over, told him, that he was not to ex- " pect the Thanks of the two Houſes, as had been formerly: " She added, that ſhe expected he ſhould live well with her Mi- " niſters; but did not think fit to ſay any thing of the Reaſons A farther Account of theſe Matters.

1711. " ſhe had, for making thoſe Changes in her Miniſtry: Yet he " ſhewed no Reſentments, for all the ill Uſage he met with: " And having been much preſſed, by the States and our other " Allies, to continue in the Command of the Army; upon that " Account he reſolved to be patient, and to ſubmit to every " thing, in order to the carrying on the War; and finding the " Queen's Prepoſſeſſion againſt his Ducheſs was not to be over- " come, he carried a Surrender of all her Places to the Queen: " She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes, and the Privy- " Purſe; in all which, ſhe had ſerved with great Oeconomy " and Fidelity to the Queen, and Juſtice to thoſe who dealt with " the Crown.

The new Miniſtry did, indeed, obtain a Point in carrying the Queſtion in the late memorable Debate; but theſe things brought them nevertheleſs into a very great Dilemma, upon their firſt ſetting out, and it required a no ſmall Share of Conduct to extricate themſelves out of it, conſidering they had a powerful Party to deal with, who might not only bring them to a ſevere Account, if things ſhould be carried too far, on the Side of France, by their Miſmanagement; but might even overturn their Power before they had fully ſecured themſelves, if they ſhould make their Deſigns plainly known to the Publick: And, therefore the Duke of Marlborough was ſtill continued in his Command of the Army, tho' his other Places were taken from him, and though the Ducheſs had alſo ſurrendered hers. Thus far they judged they might proceed, ſeeing the Duke had made ſufficient Acquiſitions to ſupport his Dignity; ſo that they would neither wholly diſoblige his Friends, as the Queen kept him ſtill in his Command, nor diſoblige his Enemies, as they leſſened his Power, which the latter would look upon as a Prelude to his Fall.

Some Reflections on the Duke of Marlboro's Conduct.

The Duke of Marlborough being thus continued in the Command of the Britiſh Forces in Flanders, and the Duke of Argile (who had given his Grace ſome Uneaſineſs) being recalled from thence, and ſent into Spain, it was the Opinion of many, that a Reconciliation was actually effected between his Grace and the new Miniſtry: But the Author of four Letters written in Vindication of the late Miniſtry, *as to the Management of the War, and the Negotiations of Peace*; and who, it was generally believed, received Hints and Inſtructions from his Grace; plainly inſinuated, " That little more Harmony was to be expected be- " tween two Rivals in Power, than between a falling and a ri- " ſing Favourite. Some Perſons (ſays that Author) would ſtill " pretend to put a good Face upon the Matter, and do not " queſtion, from the Duke of Marlborough's paſt Succeſſes, but " that he will yet frighten our Enemies into an Honourable " Peace: But, I am afraid, he is not likely to do ſo much, at

" this

" this time, when the Enemy are encouraged to take Heart a- 1711.
" freſh, the Allies full of Jealouſies and Fears, and himſelf ex-
" treamly mortified: Things are not the ſame, any more than
" the Uſage he meets with: When he is uneaſy in his Thoughts,
" undermin'd in the Favour of his Sovereign, and vilely miſ-
" repreſented to the People: When his Want of Intereſt at
" home makes it impoſſible for the Allies to depend upon the
" Hopes he gives them; When he is without Authority in his
" Army, where it is made criminal to eſpouſe his Intereſt, and
" to fly in his Face is the ſureſt means to Advancement: When
" it is meritorious in his Officers to cabal againſt him, and the
" moſt factious will be thought the moſt deſerving: With what
" Heart can a Man, in theſe Circumſtances, ſerve? Or, what
" Succeſs can be expected from him, when he is to depend upon
" profeſſed Enemies for his Support? It is little, I think, we
" can hope for, even from him, hereafter; tho' that little be
" more, than any body elſe could do.

The Duke's Friends, however, concluded, that his Grace reſolved to ſacrifice his private Diſguſts to the Publick Good, by concerting Meaſures with the new Miniſtry, if not with equal Confidence, at leaſt with the ſame hearty Zeal for the common Cauſe, as he did with the late Lord Treaſurer: Than which, no Motives could be more Heroic: But his Grace had his Enemies, who gave a very different Conſtruction to this Matter, and tho' they could not bring the leaſt Proof to ſupport their Arguments, were not wanting to ſuggeſt; that nothing but a predominant Paſſion, an inſatiable Avarice, kept him in the Command: And that he rather choſe to make a Surrender of his Ducheſs's Places, than his own, which were ſo much more advantageous. Thus may the moſt pure and uncorrupted Intent be miſinterpreted by envious or malicious Men, as vicious and defiled.

The Queen writes to the States, in Favour of the Duke of Marlboro'

Be this as it will, about the Beginning of February, the Queen was pleas'd to write a very polite Letter to the States-General, about the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe Conduct her Majeſty declared herſelf to be entirely ſatisfied with; and aſſured them, that, according to their Deſires, ſhe would order the Duke to go forthwith over to Holland.

The Ducheſs of Marlboro's Places diſpoſed of.

Some Days paſs'd before the Queen diſpoſed of the Ducheſs of Marlborough's Places; but, towards the latter End of January, it was made known, that the Ducheſs of Sommerſet was made Groom of the Stole, firſt Lady of the Bed-Chamber, and Lady of the Wardrobe to her Majeſty; and at the ſame time, that Mrs. Maſham was made Privy-Purſe, in the Room of the Ducheſs of Marlborough; who, ſome time after, removed from her Lodgings in the Royal Palace of St. James's, to Montague-Houſe; retaining of all her former Places, only that of Ranger of

1711. Windſor-Park, which had been beſtow'd upon her Grace, for a certain Term of Years.

The Duke of Marlboro' goes to Blenheim Houſe;

The Anniverſary of the Queen's Birth-Day was obſerv'd, on the ſixth of February, with great Pomp and Solemnity; but the Duke of Marlborough did not appear at this Feſtival, having, with her Majeſty's Leave, ſet out, four Days before, for Blenheim-Houſe, accompanied by the Marquis de Paſcal, Governour of Bruſſels, who was lately come from Flanders, and Monſieur de Seiſſan; who, likewiſe, came back with the Duke to London, and, on the eighteenth, ſet out with him, together with the Earl of Orrery, to embark for Holland. His Grace, before his Departure, received poſitive Aſſurances, that the Payment of the Troops, under his Command, would be as effectually taken Care of, by the New Miniſtry, as it had been by the Old.

Returns to London and embarks for Holland.

I ſhall leave his Grace on his Voyage, to mention two or three Particulars more of Domeſtick Affairs, to the End of this Seſſion of Parliament. The ſeventh of March, it was publickly known here, that the Lord Viſcount Townſhend, her Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary to the States General of the United Provinces, having deſired Leave to return home, her Majeſty had been pleas'd to appoint the Lord Raby, her Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the King of Pruſſia, to ſucceed him, in that Employment, at the Hague. This was the Account given by the Annaliſts and Journaliſts of thoſe Times; but a late Author, whoſe Relation of theſe Matters was written, or, at leaſt, publiſhed, much later, gives us a different Account, which I ſhall give my Readers below, in his own Words:

The Lord Viſcount Townſhend recalled from the Hague:

And the Lord Raby appointed in his Room.

Monſieur de Guiſcard ſtabs Mr. Harley;

But the Wound not mortal.

About this time, the Marquis de Guiſcard, being ſeiz'd for High Treaſon, and carried before a Committee of the Privy Council, attempted the Murder of Mr. Harley, while under Examination, by ſtabbing him in the Breaſt with a Penknife, which lighting on the Bone, broke about half an Inch from the Handle, and the Wound did not prove mortal; tho' it was thought deſperate for ſome Weeks. Upon Information, in the Houſe of Commons, that Mr. Harley's Wound was almoſt heal'd, and that he would, in a few Days come abroad, they came to the unanimous Reſolution; "That when the Right Honourable "Robert Harley, Eſq; Chancellor of her Majeſty's Exchequer, "attends the Service of this Houſe, the Speaker do, in the "Name of this Houſe, congratulate the ſaid Mr. Harley's E-"ſcape, and Recovery from the barbarous and villainous At-"tempt made upon him, by the Sieur de Guiſcard;" which was done accordingly the ſeventeenth of April.

Mr. Harley is complimented by the Houſe of Commons.

Death of Emperour Joſeph.

The ſame Night, Captain Powel arrived at Whitehall, from the Hague, being ſent Expreſs, by the Lord Raby, with an Account that the Emperour, Joſeph I. died of the Small Pox, at Vienna,

Vienna, the ſevententh of that Month, N. S. This Incident very much changed the Face of Affairs, and turn'd out very favourable to the Deſigns of the new Miniſtry. That Prince having no male Iſſue, his Brother Charles, who was then in Spain, ſet up for the Imperial Dignity, which for ſeveral Succeſſions had been continued in the Houſe of Auſtria, by reaſon of their Power and Intereſt in the Empire; nor could it well miſcarry, at this time, becauſe he had the Friendſhip of all the Allies: And the Miniſtry here in England, foreſeeing how much his Succeſſion would remove the great Difficulties, that muſt otherwiſe have ſtood in their way about the Crown of Spain, put the Queen upon employing her whole Intereſt, to promote his Election: Upon which, her Majeſty reſolved to concert Meaſures with her High Allies, to advance King Charles III. to the Imperial Throne. On the twentieth, her Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, acquainting them with this her Reſolution; in which, ſhe ſaid, "the States-General had "likewiſe concurr'd; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, ſhe had "an entire Confidence in the Affection and Duty of her Parli-"ament, that with their Aſſiſtance, under the Protection and "Bleſſing of Almighty God, ſhe ſhould be enabled, to make a "happy Concluſion of this War, in a ſafe and honourable Peace." Both Houſes agreed, the ſame Day, in an Addreſs to the Queen, which was preſented the ſame Evening; and in which they "not only approved her Majeſty's Meaſures; but told her, "they could not be diſcouraged, by this, or any other Misfor-"tunes, from ſupporting her Majeſty, in all the Meaſures, ſhe, "in her great Wiſdom, ſhould judge proper, *to bring this War* "*to a happy Concluſion, by a ſafe and honourable Peace.*"

1711.

Reſolutions taken by the Queen thereupon.

Approved by Parliament.

The Queen thank'd them for this Addreſs, and told them, "It was of great Importance that the World ſhould know, that "both Houſes of Parliament did ſo unanimouſly approve the "Meaſures ſhe had taken on the Emperour's Death, which "would very much encourage her Allies to continue united in "the Common Cauſe."

The moſt Diſcerning thought, that the Queen's Meſſage gave a Glimpſe of the Project the new Miniſtry formed, upon the Death of Emperour Joſeph, viz. to make a Peace, by yielding Spain, and the Weſt-Indies, to King Philip; not only becauſe of the great Expence it would coſt to regain them, and the inſuperable Difficulties which would occur in the Attempt; but alſo, becauſe, in their Opinion, it would deſtroy the Balance of Europe, which was the main Object of the Grand Alliance; and both Houſes of Parliament having, in their Addreſs, ſhewed a Readineſs to approve any Meaſures her Majeſty ſhould think proper, to procure a Peace, the Miniſtry might now purſue their Scheme, under the Sanction of that Authority.

Reflections thereupon.

1711. A little before the Emperour's Death, two great Affairs were fully perfected; I mean the compoſing of the Differences between the Imperial Court, and the Duke of Savoy, which was done to the entire Satisfaction of the latter; and the appeaſing of the Troubles with the Malecontents in Hungary. The Queen, being thus determined, gave orders to Mr. Craggs, who had been ſome time Reſident in Spain, to aſſure King Charles, of the Queen's hearty Inclinations to promote his Intereſt among the Electors; ſo that all Things concurring together, he found no great Difficulty to gain his Point.

Mr. Harley's great Scheme for ſatisfying the Publick Debts;

The ſecond of May, Mr. Chancellour of the Exchequer propos'd a *Scheme he had form'd to ſatisfy all Publick and National Debts and Deficiences*, by allowing the Proprietors of thoſe Debts and Deficiences, an Intereſt of ſix per Cent. per Annum, redeemable by Parliament, and incorporating them to carry on a Trade to the South Seas. There was, at that time, a great Debt upon the Navy, occaſion'd partly by the Deficiency of the Funds appointed for the Service at Sea; but chiefly by the Neceſſity of applying ſuch Supplies as were given, without appropriating Clauſes, to the Service abroad; which it was impoſſible to carry on by Credit, or without ready Mony; ſo it was judg'd more convenient, and conducive to the Publick Good, to let the Navy-Debt run on. This had riſen up to ſeveral Millions; and the Diſcount on the Navy-Bills ran high. This whole Debt was thrown into one Stock, and a Fund form'd by Parliament for paying the Intereſt at ſix per Cent. This was the Beginning of the South Sea Company, which has ſince been ſo famous not only in England, but throughout all Europe: And has been the Occaſion not only of ſo much Good, but, at the ſame time, of ſo much Evil, that the Hiſtory of it will hardly paſs, in future Ages, for any thing more than meer Fiction and Fable.

Approved in Parliament.

Reflections on the old Miniſtry fully clear'd

"The Flatterers (ſays a late Author) of the new Miniſters "made great Uſe of this, to magnify them, and to aſperſe the "old Miniſtry; but a full Report of that Matter was ſoon after "publiſh'd, by which it appeared, that the Publick Mony "had been manag'd with the utmoſt Fidelity and Frugality; and "it was made evident, that when there was not Mony enough "to anſwer all the Expence of the War, it was neceſſary to ap-"ply it to that, which preſſed moſt, and where the Service could "not be carried on by Credit: So this Debt was contracted by "an inevitable Neceſſity; and all reaſonable Perſons were fully "ſatisfied with this Account of the Matter. The Earl of Go-"dolphin's unblemiſh'd Integrity was ſuch, that no Imputation "of any Sort could be faſtened on him; ſo, to keep up a Cla-"mour, they reflected on the Expence he had run the Nation "to, upon the early Succeſſes, in the Year 1706, which were "very juſtly acknowledged, and clear'd in the ſucceeding Seſ-

"ſion:

" ſion: But it was now revived, and ſaid to be an Invaſion of the " great Right of the Commons in giving Supplies, to enter on " Deſigns, and to engage the Nation in an Expence, not provid- " ed for by Parliament. This was aggravated with many tra- " gical Circumſtances, as a Subverſion of the Conſtitution; ſo " with this, and the Five and Thirty Millions, of which the Ac- " counts were not yet paſſed, and ſome other Particulars, they " made an inflaming Addreſs to the Queen at the End of the " Seſſions. And this was artificially ſpread thro' the Nation, by " which weaker Minds were ſo poſſeſſed, that it was not eaſy " to undeceive them, even by the fulleſt and cleareſt Evidence: " The Nation ſeem'd ſtill infatuated, beyond the Power of " Conviction." 1711.

The late Lord Treaſurer cenſured.

The Cenſure this Author here hints at, fell the heavieſt on the late Lord Treaſurer, for the Commons voted, among other Things; " That the not compelling the ſeveral Accomptants " duly to paſs their reſpective Accounts, had been a notorious " Breach of Truſt, in thoſe, who, of late Years, had the Ma- " nagement of the Treaſury, and an high Injuſtice to the Na- " tion; and that the encreaſing the Publick Expences, beyond " the Supplies annually granted by Parliament had been the chief " Occaſion of the Debts of the Nation, and an Invaſion of the " Rights of Parliament." In which, however, there does not appear to have been any criminal Intent in the former; and the Motive to the latter ſeems to have proceeded from a commendable Exceſs of Zeal for a Promotion of the Common Cauſe, grounded upon an Aſſurance of the Houſe of Commons concurring in the ſame Opinion; tho' this Zeal, without any ill Deſign, may have carried his Lordſhip ſome Steps beyond what might be ſtrictly juſtifiable, or within the Limits of the Authority of his Office. Which will, in a great Meaſure, juſtify what has been aſſerted of his Lordſhip's unblemiſhed Integrity; tho', at the ſame time, his Conduct in this Matter, laid him open to future Cenſure, eſpecially in ſo tender a Point as are the Privileges of Parliament.

Some Reflections in his Juſtification.

Mr. Harley made a Peer of Great Britain;

The Queen having reſolved to reward the many ſignal and eminent Services of Robert Harley, Eſq; Chancellour of her Majeſty's Exchequer, and one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, in a moſt diſtinguiſhing Manner; ſhe firſt created him Baron Harley, of Wigmore, in the County of Hereford, Earl of Oxford, and Earl of Mortimore. The Patent having paſſed the Great Seal, the four and twentieth of May, his Lordſhip was, the next Day, introduced into the Houſe of Peers, in his Robes, and after the Reading of his Patent, took his Place accordingly. The nine and twentieth, the Queen appointed the new Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treaſurer of Great Britain;

And Lord High Treaſurer.

1711. and, the first of June, his Lordship took the usual Oaths to qualify him for entering into that high Post.

His Family and Character.

"The Family of Harley, in England is, beyond all Doubt, "more antient than the Norman Conquest, and has been so il-"lustrious, that those of the same Name in France, need not be "ashamed of owning their Descent from them. Collins gives "us a very full Account of the Genealogy of it, to which I re-"fer, and shall only observe, that this Robert Harley, whom "the Queen now created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, was "the eldest Son of Sir Edward Harley, Knight of the Bath, "who, in King Charles II. Reign, was Governour of Dunkirk, "and not only strenuously opposed the Sale of it, but refused "the Dignity of Peerage, and an Offer made him of 10000 *l.* "to be passive in the Surrender of that Place, and forbear his "Prosecution of a Law, to annex Dunkirk to the Crown of "England. His Son Robert was at first design'd for the Army, "and passed the Exercises requisite for Military Preferment. "At the Revolution, Sir Edward, and this his eldest Son, raised "a Troop of Horse, at their own Expence, and marched to "Worcester, from whence he sent two of his Sons, to tender "his and their Services to the Prince of Orange. On King Wil-"liam and Queen Mary's Accession, Robert Harley, Esq; was "first chosen Member of the House of Commons, for Tregony "in Cornwall, and afterwards, serv'd for the Town of Radnor, "till he was call'd up to the House of Lords. He was Speaker "of the House of Commons, in three successive Parliaments, two "in the Reign of King William, and one in that of Queen Ann. "In April, 1704, he was sworn one of her Majesty's Privy Coun-"cil, and the next Month was made Secretary of State, being "Speaker at the same Time. In 1706, he was appointed one "of the Commissioners for the Treaty of Union with Scotland, "and resign'd (as I have already said) his Place of Secretary of "State, in February, 1707-8. In August, 1710, he was con-"stituted one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, as also "Chancellour and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer: For "what remains, I refer to the above, and the Sequel. He was "stiled in the Preamble to his Patent, the ORNAMENT OF "LEARNING, AND PATRON OF LEARNED MEN; and with "regard to this Part of his Character, it has been justly obser-"ved, that he was not only an Encourager of Literature, but "the greatest Collector in his Time, of all curious Books in "Print and Manuscript, especially those concerning the History "of his own Country.

The Parliament prorogued.

The twelfth of June, the Queen came to the House of Lords, with the usual Solemnity, and the Commons attending, gave the Royal Assent to several Acts; after which, having made a most gracious Speech to both Houses, the Parliament was prorogued: In

In which, contrary to the Expectation of many, the neceſſary Supplies for carrying on the War againſt France, were voted with ſuch Alacrity, as ſeemed a Demonſtration to all unbiaſs'd People, that her Majeſty's Allies had (at leaſt hitherto) nothing to fear, nor her Enemies to hope, from the Change ſhe had lately made in her Miniſtry and Parliament; notwithſtanding the pretended Inſinuations of the French Plenipotentiaries at Gertruydenberg, and the Endeavours of ſeveral, as well at home as abroad, to perſuade the World to the contrary. 1711. Alacrity with which the Supplies were granted.

Her Majeſty thought fit to take Notice of this, in her Speech, in the following Words:

"I thank you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, in a particular Manner, for what you have done; you have complied with my Deſire, in granting a Supply for building many new Churches; and you have not only enabled me to carry on the War, but have made effectual Proviſion for paying thoſe heavy Debts which were almoſt grown an inſupportable Burden on the Publick: And this at a Time, when our Enemies every where pleaſed themſelves with the Hopes, that the Supplies for the Service of the current Year could not have been found. You have diſappointed them in all Reſpects, and by the great Sums you have raiſed, the greateſt ever granted to any Prince, in one Seſſion, you have reſtored the Publick Credit, which I will take Care to preſerve by a frugal Management. The World muſt now be ſatisfied, that nothing can be too difficult for a Parliament, fill'd with ſo much Zeal for the true Intereſt of the Nation, in Church and State." Part of the Queen's Speech.

I juſt hinted above, that a late Author had given an Account different from what was, in thoſe Times, made Publick, of the Reaſons for recalling the Lord Townſhend from the Hague, and placing the Lord Raby in his Room, which I promiſed to give my Readers in his own Words; and ſhall now perform my Promiſe in this Place, as being more proper than it would have been there.

"The Earl of Oxford (ſays he) being made Lord Treaſurer, became the chief, if not ſole Miniſter: for every thing was directed by him: It ſoon appeared, that his Strength lay in managing Parties, and engaging weak People, by Rewards and Promiſes, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly underſtood the Buſineſs of the Treaſury, nor the Conduct of foreign Affairs; but he truſted to his Intereſt in the Queen, and in the Favourite. *(Here, however, our Author's Zeal ſeems to have out-run his Prudence.)*

"He ſaw the Load, which the carrying on the War, muſt bring upon him; ſo he reſolved to ſtrike up a Peace, aſſoon as Negotiations for a Peace with France.

1711. "as poſſible. The Earl of Jerſey had ſome Correſpondence in "Paris, and at St. Germains; ſo he truſted the Conduct of "the Negotiation to him.

Character of the Earl of Jerſey.

"Edward Earl of Jerſey, was a Son of the late Sir Edward Villers, who was nearly related to the late Duke of Buckingham. "He was ſome time a Servant in the Prince of Orange's Family, in Holland, and came over at the Revolution. He "was afterwards made a Gentleman of the Horſe to the Princeſs "Mary, who was then rais'd to the Throne of her Anceſtors, "(jointly with King William.) In this Poſt, he continued to "her Death, when he was made one of the Lords Juſtices appointed for the Regency, in the King's Abſence, and ſoon after "was created Earl of Jerſey, and ſent Plenipotentiary to Holland.

"He was afterwards ſent to France to relieve the Earl of Portland, and, at his Return from thence, was made Secretary of "State, and ſoon after, Lord Chamberlain. In the Year 1700. "he was appointed one of the Plenipotentiaries for the Partition Treaty; tho' afterwards, he was very zealous for the "Impeachment of thoſe who were ſuppos'd to have adviſ'd it.

"Queen Ann, at her Acceſſion had him ſworn of her Privy "Council, and continued him in the Office of Lord Chamberlain, till April 1704. After this he had no Publick Employment, but is ſaid to have died, the very Day (Auguſt 26, "1711.) he was to have been made Lord Privy Seal.

"The Duke of Newcaſtle, who was Lord Privy Seal, died "of an Apoplexy, in July:" Upon his Death, there appeared a great Competition for this Office: The Queen, and her Prime Miniſter, therefore, took ſome Time to conſider of a proper Perſon for this important Poſt. The Dukes of Buckingham, Shrewſbury and Leeds, the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Guernſey his Brother, and the Earls of Clarendon and Jerſey were named, on one Side; and, on the other, the Duke and Ducheſs of Sommerſet, made great Intereſt for the Lord Sommers, and went near to bring the Queen, and the Earl of Oxford, into that Counſel, at which the Duke of Shrewſbury was ſo diſguſted, that he retired to his Seat in Oxfordſhire. It was then ſaid, that the Privy Seal was to be given, as I have obſerved above, to the Earl of Jerſey; but that he died ſuddenly, the very Day in which it was to be given him. Upon that, it was conferred upon Dr. Robinſon, Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, Dean of Windſor, and Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, who was deſigned to be the firſt Plenipotentiary at the Treaty that was projected.

Dr. Robinſon made Ld Privy Seal.

This was publickly known, the 30th of Auguſt, and, on the third of September, his Lordſhip was ſworn at Windſor, both as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and one of the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy Council. But tho' this Choice diſguſted ſome great Men, the Effects of which appeared not long after, yet it was,

at

at that Juncture, generally applauded; and the more, as his Lordſhip had the Happineſs to be in the Eſteem of both Parties. This Step of the Court, however, occaſioned more Speculation than uſual, and the rather, becauſe this great Office of State had never been in the Hands of a Clergyman, ſince the Reformation. 1711.

Mr. Matthew Prior, a Gentleman, who by his natural Abilities, and pregnant Genius, improved by aſſiduous Study, had gain'd a Name among the Wits of the Age, found Means to raiſe himſelf to ſeveral Employments. Character of Mr. Prior.

" The firſt Step to this " his great good Fortune, was his being obſerv'd by Lord Dor- " ſet, when but a Drawer in a Tavern, employing his time, " in reading, I think, in Horace, or ſome other of the Latin " Poets, whereupon his Lordſhip examining into, and finding " him endued with Parts, which he little expected, under ſuch " Circumſtances, he ſent him to the Univerſity of Cambridge. " He happen'd (as another Step towards raiſing his Fortune) to " be cotemporary there with Montague Lord Hallifax, with " whom he is ſuppos'd to have join'd in writing a fine Sa- " tire againſt Mr. Dryden, entitled, *The Hind and the Panther* " *tranſvers'd, to the Story of the City-Mouſe and Country-Mouſe.* " At the Revolution he was brought to Court, and was ſent, as " Secretary to Lord Durſley to Holland, where he continued " for ſome Years, after that Lord was recalled, with the Cha- " racter of Secretary for the Engliſh Nation to the States Gene- " ral. He had likewiſe, among other Employs, been one of " the Commiſſioners of Trade," and the Lord Jerſey's Secretary, and was, upon his Death, employed to proſecute, what his Maſter did not live to finiſh. He was ſent to the Court of France, in September, to try on what Terms we might expect a Peace: And he was thought the fitteſt Perſon, for ſuch a private Negotiation, by reaſon of his former Employments, at the Peace of Ryſwick, of Secretary of King William's firſt Embaſſy to France, and of his perſonal Acquaintance with the Marquis de Torcy, who was the firſt Projector of this Negotiation. His Journey was carried on ſecretly; but, upon his Return, he was ſtop'd at Dover; and a Packet, that he brought, was kept, till an Order came from Court to ſet him free: And, by this Accident, the Secret broke out. Soon after that, Monſieur Meſnager, and the Abbot du Boſc, were ſent over from France with Preliminaries; but very different from thoſe that had been concerted at the Hague, two Years before. He is ſent to France.

" The Court was then at Windſor; theſe Propoſitions were " ſo well entertained there, that a Copy of them was ordered to " be given to Count Gallas, the Emperour's Miniſter. He " treated theſe Offers with much Scorn, and printed the Preli- " minaries in one of our News-Papers. Soon after that, he was

" order'd

1711. "order'd to come no more to Court, but to make haſte out of "England.

Reaſons alledg'd for this Proceeding.

"This Proceeding (continues my Author) was ſevere and unuſual; for the common Method, when a Provocation is given by "a Publick Miniſter, is to complain of him to his Maſter, and to "deſire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what "this was grounded; the Surmize was, that his Secretary, "Monſ. Gaultier (who was a Prieſt) betray'd him, and diſcovered his ſecret Correſpondence, and the Advertiſements he "ſent the Emperour, to give him ill Impreſſions of our Court; "for which Treachery, he was rewarded with an Abby, in "France; but of this (adds my Author) I have no certain In"formation.

Reaſons why the Lord Townſhend was recalled.

"When our Court was reſolved on this Project, they knew "the Lord Townſhend ſo well, that they could not depend "on his ſerving their Ends; ſo he was both recalled and diſ"graced; and the Lord Raby was brought from the Court of "Pruſſia, and advanced to be Earl of Strafford, and ſent Am"baſſadour to Holland." And this is the Account my Author gives of this Matter.

His Family and Character.

"Charles, Lord Viſcount Townſhend, was the Son of Sir Ho"ratio Townſhend, of a very antient Family, who, among others, "was nominated by the Houſe of Commons to attend King "Charles the II. at the Hague, to deſire his Majeſty to make a "ſpeedy Return to his Parliament, and take the Government of "the Kingdom into his Hands. He came over with the King, "and, in Conſideration of his great Services, in April following "was advanced to the Dignity of a Peer of this Realm, by the "Title of Baron Townſhend, of Lynn Regis; as alſo, in De"cember, 1682. Viſcount Townſhend, of Raynham in the "County of Norfolk. His eldeſt Son and Succeſſor, Charles, "was (as has already been obſerv'd above) appointed by Queen "Ann, Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States General, as like"wiſe, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, one of the Com"miſſioners to treat of an Union with Scotland, and one of her "Privy Council, from the firſt of which he was recalled, as we "have ſeen above. In the firſt Year of the late King, he was "made one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and about two "Years after was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but, "however, declined going over into that Kingdom. In 1720. "he was conſtituted Preſident of the Council, and the ſame "Year was one of the Lords Juſtices during the King's Ab"ſence. In February, 1720-1. he was again made one of the "Principal Secretaries of State, and in 1723, a ſecond time one "of the Lords Juſtices. In July, 1724. he was elected a Knight "of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and in 1725, was a "third time one of the Lords Juſtices, as he was again, a fourth

" time, in 1727, when the King died on his Journey. In July 1711.
" following, he deliver'd the Seals of his Office to his preſent
" Majeſty, who was pleaſed to deliver them to him again: after
" which, in September, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and
" Cuſtos Rotulorum, for the County of Norfolk. In 1729, he
" attended the King to Hannover, but the Year following re-
" ſign'd his Poſts of Secretary of State, &c. chuſing to retire to
" his Seat in Norfolk, where he died in 1738.

The ſeven Preliminary Articles, as they were communicated to the Miniſters of the Foreign Powers, who were Parties in the Grand Alliance, were as follows:

Preliminary Articles, on the Part of France, for Effecting a General Peace.

The ſeven Preliminaries communicated to the Foreign Miniſtry.

1. " The King being willing to contribute all that is in his
" Power to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the General Peace; his Ma-
" jeſty declares: That he will acknowledge the Queen of Great
" Britain, in that Quality, as alſo the Succeſſion, of that Crown,
" according to the preſent Settlement.

2. " That he will freely, and *bona fide*, conſent to the taking
" all juſt and reaſonable Meaſures, for preventing the Crowns of
" France and Spain being ever united on the Head of the ſame
" Prince. His Majeſty being perſuaded, that this Exceſs of
" Power would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of Europe.

2. " The King's Intention is, that all the Parties engag'd in
" the preſent War, without excepting any of them, may find
" their reaſonable Satisfaction, in the Treaty of Peace, which
" ſhall be made: That Commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed and
" maintain'd, for the future, to the Advantage of Great Britain,
" of Holland, and of the other Nations, who have been accuſ-
" tomed to exerciſe Commerce.

4. " As the King will likewiſe, maintain exactly the Obſer-
" vation of the Peace, when it ſhall be concluded: And the
" Object the King propoſes to himſelf, being to ſecure the Fron-
" tiers of his Kingdom, without diſturbing in any Manner what-
" ſoever, the neighbouring States, he promiſes to agree, by
" the Treaty which ſhall be made, that the Dutch ſhall be put
" in the Poſſeſſion of the fortified Places, which ſhall be men-
" tioned in the Netherlands, to ſerve hereafter for a Barrier;
" which may ſecure the Quiet of the Republick of Holland, a-
" gainſt any Enterprize from the Part of France.

5. " The King conſents, likewiſe, that a ſecure and conve-
" nient Barrier ſhould be form'd for the Empire, and for the
" Houſe of Auſtria.

6. " That notwithſtanding Dunkirk coſt the King very great
" Sums, as well to purchaſe it, as to fortify it, and that it is

" farther

1711. " farther neceſſary to be at a very conſiderable Expence for " razing the Works: His Majeſty is willing, however, to en- " gage, to cauſe them to be demoliſh'd, immediately after the " Concluſion of the Peace, on Condition, that, for the Fortifi- " cations of that Place, a proper Equivalent, which may be ſa- " tisfactory, be given him: And as England cannot furniſh that " Equivalent, the Diſcuſſion of it ſhall be referr'd to the Con- " ferences, to be held for the Negotiation of the Peace.

7. " When the Conferences for the Negotiation of the Peace " ſhall be form'd, all the Pretenſions of the Princes and States, " engag'd in the preſent War, ſhall be therein diſcuſs'd, *bona* " *fide*, and amicably; and nothing ſhall be omitted to regulate " and terminate them, to the Satisfaction of all the Parties.

By Virtue of a full Power from the King, we, the underwritten Knight of his Order of St. Michael, Deputy of the Council of Commerce, have concluded, in the Name of his Majeſty, the preſent Preliminary Articles. In Witneſs whereof, we have ſign'd. Done at London, Sept. 27, *O. S. and the* 8*th of October, N. S.* 1711.

MESNAGER.

Great Murmurings occaſion'd thereby.

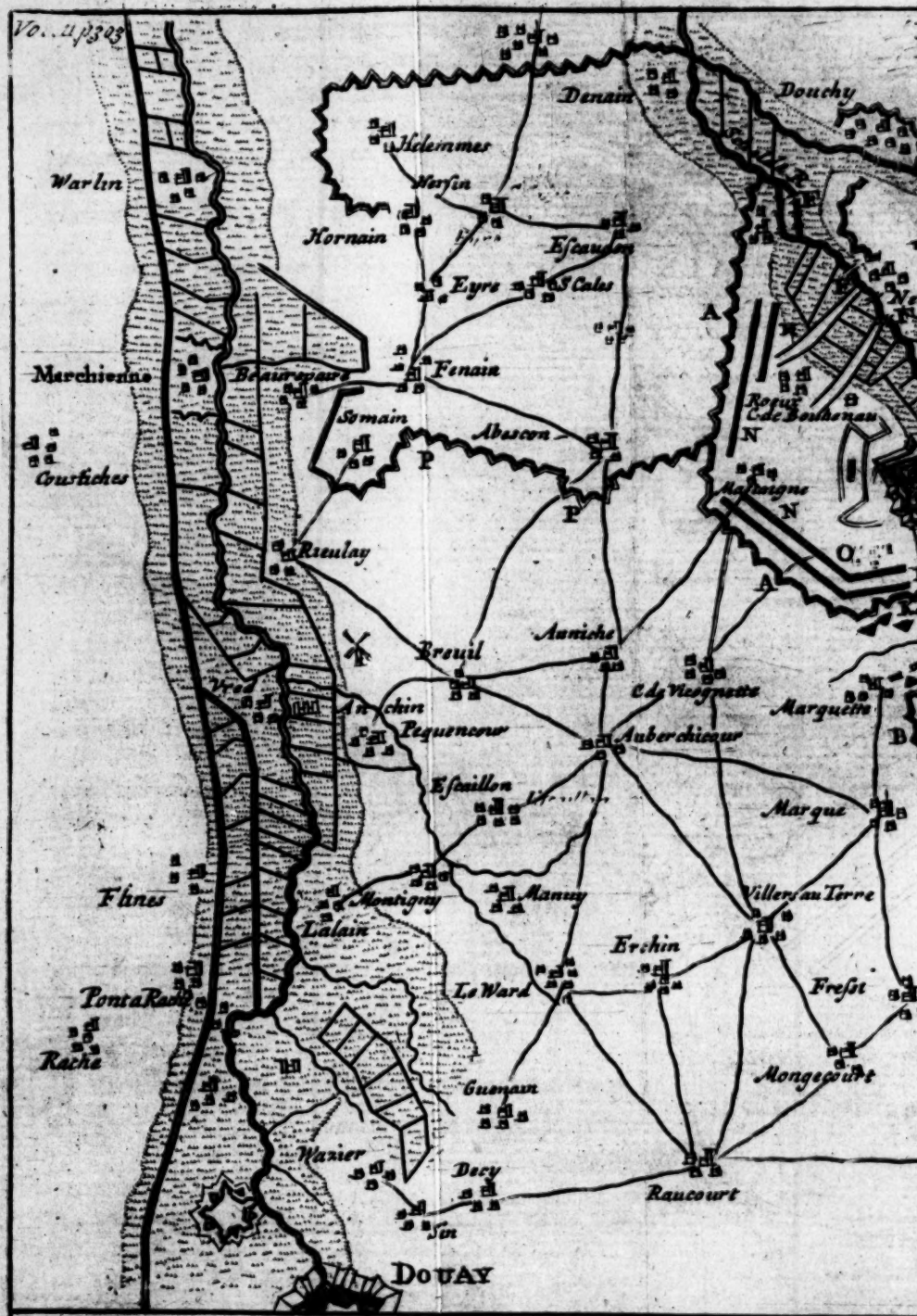
Theſe Preliminary Articles, as they were call'd, tho' they were Offers ſign'd only by the French Agent, being ſo very different from what had been propoſed, when Monſieur de Torcy was ſent to Holland, but two Years before, ſurprized every one, and occaſioned great Murmurings, among the Generality of the People of both Parties. They were look'd upon as captious, inſidious, and inſufficient to ground a Treaty upon; nay, many would hardly believe them to be genuine. It was natural for People to aſk, what Advantages France had gained, during the two laſt Campaigns? What Victories the French had obtained over the Allies? That they could have the Aſſurance, to make Offers now, ſo vaſtly diſtant from thoſe the Allies had Reaſon to expect, and France, itſelf, had been upon the very Point of accepting.

Means uſed to calm them.

To calm, in ſome Meaſure, the Minds of the People, and to put a ſtop to theſe Murmurings, an Addition of ſix other Preliminary Articles, were, the ſame Day, made publick, in the News-Paper, call'd *The Poſt Boy*; which were ſaid to be agreed to by France, tho' they were not yet ſign'd, nor communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies. Theſe were in Subſtance:

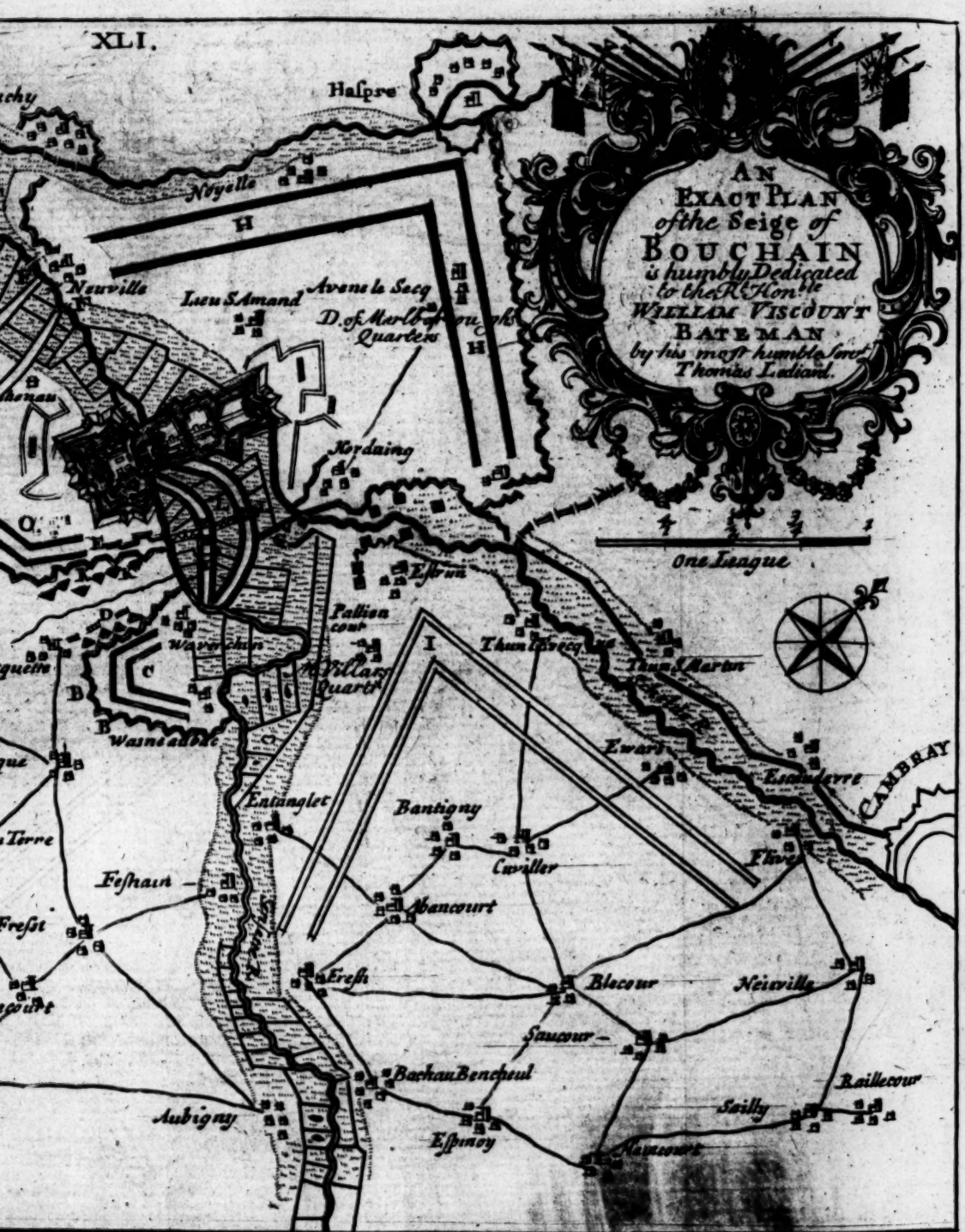
1. That the Kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Duchy of Milan, with the Fortreſſes of Tuſcany, which belong'd to the Crown of Spain, and all Flanders, ſhould remain for ever, to the Houſe of Auſtria.

2. That



A The Lines of Circumvallation
B The Enemy's Retrench'd Camp at Waverchin
C 30 Batt. Commd. by Monsr Albergotti in ye said Camp
D The Enemy's Batteries
E The Batteries of the Allies
F Bridges of Communicati
G The Facinade between th
H The Confederate Army
I The Frinch Army.
K A Line of Comunication

XLI.



nunication upon the Schelde.
etween the Schelde and Sensette:
e Army.
ny.
nication abandond by y.e Enemy.

L The Enemys Comunication in the Morasse, Cut off
M 40 Squadrons Comanded by Genl. Dopff.
N The Beseiging Army 30 Batt.s & 12 Squadrons.
O 20 Batt.s to guard y.e line from Marquett to y.e Sensette
P Lines of Comunication with Marchiennes.

2. That King Philip ſhould have all Spain, with the Iſlands of Majorca and Minorca, and the Weſt-Indies. 1711.

3. That the Engliſh ſhould have a Garriſon in Cadiz, and the South-Sea-Company a Settlement on that Continent, according to the Act of Parliament.

4. That Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſh'd, and the Harbour deſtroy'd.

5. That the Dutch ſhould appoint Commiſſaries, to treat with other Commiſſaries, to be appointed by France, concerning a neceſſary Barrier.

6. That Satisfaction, and Security, ſhould be given to the other Allies, at the General Congreſs.

The ſeven Propoſals, or Preliminary Articles, were no ſooner made Publick, than Swarms of Pamphlets appear'd, arraigning the Queen's Conduct; and on the other Hand, as many were publiſh'd, to beſpeak a favourable Reception of theſe Articles. Some of the Foreign Miniſters were likewiſe alarm'd at the Apprehenſions of an approaching Peace. Count Gallas, the Emperour's Miniſter, could not, upon this Occaſion, contain himſelf, as it has been ſaid, within the Bounds of Decency; but let fall ſuch Expreſſions, with regard to her Majeſty's Adminiſtration, as were not thought very becoming the Miniſter of a Prince, who had ſo great Obligation to the Queen and Nation. Her Majeſty, therefore, thought ſhe could do no leſs than forbid him her Court; but ſhe had ſtill ſo much Affection for his Imperial Majeſty, as to let him know, that any other Miniſter from him, would be agreeable to her.

I ſhall now poſtpone theſe Affairs, till I have given an Account of the Campaign in Flanders, and then ſhall reſume them.

CHAP. V.

The Entering of the Enemy's Lines, in Flanders, *by Stratagem, in* 1711, *with other Tranſactions to the Siege of* Bouchain.

IN the foregoing Chapter, we left the Duke of Marlborough on his Voyage for Holland. He arrived at the Hague, the fourth of March, N. S. very much to the Satisfaction of the States-General, and of all the Miniſters of the Allies reſiding there. He continued there ſome time, and was daily in Conference with the Deputies of the States, to concert the Operations of

The Duke of Marlborough arrives in London.

1711. of the enſuing Campaign. The Advantages obtain'd by the Confederates, in the foregoing Campaign, in the Netherlands, by the taking of Douay, Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant, were ſo conſiderable, that they were reſolved, if poſſible, to improve thoſe Conqueſts, and to proſecute the War with the utmoſt Vigour. In order thereto, it was thought a Matter of the greateſt Importance, to be in the Field before the Enemy; it was, therefore, reſolved, "To cauſe Detachments from all the Garriſons, to canton along the Scarpe, and between that River and the Canal of Douay, whereby a great Body might, in a few Hours, be formed, and in a Readineſs to march." This was put in Execution with great Diligence, under the Direction of Lieutenant General Cadogan, and ſuch Care was taken to conceal the Number of theſe Detachments, that the Enemy could have no Account of it. At the ſame time, vaſt Magazines were providing at Tournay, from whence Proviſions and other Neceſſaries were to be ſent up the Scheld, and the Scarpe, to Douay, for the Subſiſtence of the Troops.

Both Armies take the Field.

On the other hand, the French Forces began to aſſemble, near Cambray and Arras, about the Middle of April; and the Duke of Marlborough getting Intelligence, that the Marſhal de Villars was expected at one of thoſe Places, on the five and twentieth of April, he ſet out, from the Hague, the twenty-third of the ſame Month, and arrived at Tournay, the ſix and twentieth, near which Place the Troops were encamp'd in ſeveral Bodies. His Grace having held a Council of War, with the Deputies of the States, and the Generals, it was reſolved, *That thoſe Troops ſhould join, and form the Army*; which was, accordingly done, the thirtieth, at Orchies, between Liſle and Douay. The next Day, his Grace paſs'd the Scarpe, and encamp'd between Douay and Bouchain, and found that the Enemy had aſſembled their Army behind the River Senſet, being this Year as numerous as ever they had been, and in a moſt advantageous Poſt, which was reckon'd inacceſſible.

The Duke arrives in the Confederate Army.

As does, likewiſe, Prince Eugene.

Upon this, his Grace decamp'd, the firſt of May, and his Army having paſs'd the Scarpe, took Poſt all along the Road, from Douay to Valenciennes. Here he expected the reſt of the Troops, which were to form his Army, and the Arrival of Prince Eugene, who had been detain'd at Vienna, and in the Empire, by the unexpected Death of the Emperour Joſeph. He ſpent ſome Days about Franckfort, to concert, with the Elector of Ments, the neceſſary Meaſures for the Security of the Empire, and to view the Lines and other Poſts. Having given ſuch Directions as he thought neceſſary in theſe Parts, he proceeded to the Court of the Elector Palatine, to regulate ſeveral Matters with that Prince, who, as one of the Vicars of the Empire, was to have the chief Adminiſtration thereof during the *Inter-regnum*.

His

His Highneſs, having made theſe neceſſary Diſpoſitions for the Security of the Empire, arrived at the Hague, the fifth of May; but being obliged to continue there, for ſome time, did not join the Grand Army, till the twenty-third of that Month. Having dined, that Day, with the Duke of Marlborough, and the Confederate Generals (who were met together to celebrate the Anniverſary of the Battle of Ramellies) he went, in the Evening, to his Quarters, at the Abby of Anchin. 1711.

The Confederate Army being now fully aſſembled, conſiſted as follows: The Right Wing, under Command of Prince Eugene, of 66 Battalions of Foot, and 120 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons; the Left, under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough, of 119 Battalions and 226 Squadrons; together, 184 Battalions, and 340 Squadrons, with 111 Cannon, 8 Hawbitzers, and 40 Pontons. His Grace, and the Prince reſolved to continue in their Poſts, as long as poſſible, in Hopes, that the Scarcity of Forage would oblige the Enemy to decamp.

While the Troops were thus encamp'd, the Duke of Marlborough wrote the two following Letters to a Gentleman with whom he had a regular Correſpondence; by which we may ſee how deſirous he was to continue his Services for the Good of the Common Cauſe.

Tranſlation of a Letter, from the Duke of Marlborough, to Monſieur **** *at the Hague.*

SIR, From the Camp at Warde, May 17, 1711.

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to Monſ. **** at the Hague.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the News you was "pleas'd to communicate to me, by the laſt Poſt; and beg "the Continuance of it, as often as any thing occurs worthy of "Remark. When you adviſe me, that you are upon your De. "parture from the Hague, I will trouble you with a Letter to "his Electoral Highneſs: (of Hannover.)

"Every thing is very quiet here on both ſides; but the "Troops have ſuffer'd ſomething by the bad Weather, which "I hope begins to change for the better.

I am, &c.

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

1711.

*Tranſlation of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to Monſieur **** at the Hague.*

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to Monſ. **** at the Hague.

SIR, From the Camp at Warde, May 25, 1711.

"I AM highly oblig'd to you for the Letter you wrote me, "the 21ſt of this Month, as well as for that you communi- "cated to me on the Affairs of the King of Sweden; the lat- "ter I return you inclos'd, having kept a Copy of it, in or- "der to make ſuch Uſe of it, as ſhall be requiſite, according "to the Liberty you allow me, which you may depend on it, "I ſhall not exceed.

"By this time, you will have received all the Letters which "were wanting, from England; and by them have received an "ample Account what Meaſures will be there taken, in the "preſent Conjuncture, to concur with thoſe of the other Allies, "and to take the Advantage, as much as may be, of the good "Intention of thoſe, who continue ever ſtedfaſt for the Common "Cauſe: Towards which, it is not yet time for us, in theſe "Parts, to contribute any great Matter: But we muſt hope, "that it will pleaſe the Almighty, to preſent us with ſome fa- "vourable Opportunity for it, which we ſhall not neglect.

I am, &c.
The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

Marſhal de Villars ſends a Detachment to the Upper Rhine.

The French General was, in the mean time, ſo far from being under any Apprehenſions, on account of the Confederate Army being ſo near, that, upon the News of the Emperour's Death, he made a Detachment of fifteen Battalions, and as many Squadrons, for the Upper Rhine, purſuant to a Reſolution taken by the French Court, of invading the Empire, and obſtructing, as much as poſſible, the Election of King Charles III. to the Imperial Dignity: And it was confidently reported, that the Duke of Bavaria was to ſet out very ſpeedily for Straſburg, in order to command that Expedition, or, at leaſt, a ſtrong Detachment, with which he was to attempt the Paſſage of the Black Foreſt, and ſo penetrate into Bavaria, whilſt the Marſhal de Harcourt, with the reſt of the French Army, which was to be re-inforc'd with a conſiderable Body of Troops from Dauphiny, ſhould attack the Germans, in the Lines of Etlingen: Theſe Reports were rendered ſtill more probable, by a Journy the Marquis de Torcy took, at this time, to Campiegne, to confer, as it was believed, with the Elector of Bavaria, about this Deſign; and it was farther ſaid, that this Elector was to

And pretends to oppoſe the Election of K. Charles.

The Marquis de Torcy confers with the Elector of Bavaria.

go

go in Perſon, and have an Interview with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, at Marli. 1711.

Prince Eugene ſends a Detachment to the Rhine

Tho' theſe Reports were grounded chiefly on Suppoſitions; yet Prince Eugene thought himſelf oblig'd, as General of the Empire, to conſult the Security of it. He, therefore, detach'd Count Feltz, with the Imperial and Palatine Troops, conſiſting of 50 Squadrons, and 12 Battalions, with Orders to obſerve the March of the Enemy's Detachment, and move accordingly; his Highneſs deſigning to join them himſelf, at their paſſing the Rhine, at Coblentz, after taking a Tour to the Hague, to concert Meaſures with the States-General.

The French ſend 2 Detachments more thither.

Monſieur de Villars, believing himſelf to be ſtill of ſufficient Force, to reſiſt any Attempt the Duke of Marlborough might make, his Army, before he ſent away the firſt Detachment, having been computed to conſiſt of 192 Battalions of Foot, and 348 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, with 90 Pieces of Cannon, and 12 Hawbizers, or little Mortars, reſolv'd to ſend a ſecond Detachment, conſiſting of ten Battalions and ſix and twenty Squadrons, with Orders to follow the firſt: And to convince the French Court of the Truth of his Aſſertion, that his Army was ſo diſpoſed, as to have nothing to fear from the Confederates, he made a third Detachment, of two Brigades of Foot and one of Horſe, who were to follow the ſame Route as the two former. Theſe Notions of Security, which the French had embraced, proceeded, probably, from the Inactivity, in which the Confederate Army had hitherto remained, and their General was ſo fond as to believe, they would not dare to attempt the Paſſage of the Lines.

Reaſon of the Security of the French.

Some ſmall Skirmiſhes between Parties of the two Armies.

And, indeed, nothing remarkable had hitherto happen'd, except ſome ſmall Encounters, in which the Enemy had ſome little Advantages: Eſpecially at Mortaigne, where a Detachment of 1900 Men, of the Garriſon of Condé, and 1100 of the Garriſon of Valenciennes, commanded by Monſieur Permangle, ſurprized a Convoy of five and forty Boats, laden with Hay and Corn, going up the Scarpe, from Tournay to the Army, and convoy'd by two Battalions, under the Command of Brigadier Chambrier, a Swiſs. The Engagement was very hot, and the Battalions behav'd bravely, for above an Hour: But the Enemy being ſo much ſuperior in Number, and throwing ſome combuſtible Matter into the Boats, ſet fire to them, burnt and ſunk thirty, and took the Brigadier, with ſeveral other Officers, Priſoners, diſperſing the reſt, after they had killed and wounded about 500 of them.

This is the moſt general Account given of this Action; but there are other Accounts which ſay, that the Garriſon of St. Amand advancing to the Aſſiſtance of the Guard, the Enemy retir'd, having firſt ſet on Fire twelve of the Boats, with the Loſs

1711. of about a hundred Men kill'd and wounded, and the Allies loſt about the ſame Number.

Another Party of the Enemy, under the Command of the Count de Villars, march'd out of Ipres, and attack'd a ſmall Fort, at Harlebeck, in which were only forty Men, commanded by Lieutenant Dunbar, of Lieutenant-General Murray's Regiment, who, after a brave Reſiſtance, were made Priſoners. On the other hand, a Detachment of the Enemy's Grenadiers, ſuſtained by four hundred Huſſars, endeavour'd to ſurprize a Poſt, the Allies had taken at the Convent of Virmy, but were repuls'd, by three hundred Engliſh, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmley, of the Guards, with Loſs.

The Duke of Marlboro' marches to the Plains of Lens.

The Duke of Marlborough march'd, with the Army under his Command, the fourteenth of June, in ſix Columns, over the Scarpe, in the Sight of the Enemy, and encamp'd in the Plains of Lens, without the leaſt Interruption. His Deſign, by this Motion, was in Hopes to draw the Enemy to ſome Action; and they did, indeed, alter the Situation of their Camp, and began to lay Bridges over the Scheld, as if they deſign'd to paſs it. This obliged his Grace to mark out a Field of Battle, which, upon that Suppoſition, he look'd upon to be unavoidable: But the Enemy made no farther Motion, and a hundred Dragoons, with the ſame Number of Huſſars, of the Allies, advancing almoſt to the Banks of the Scarpe, over againſt the Left of the Enemy's Camp, where ſome Bridges were laid, a ſmall Number of them ſhewed themſelves to the Enemy, while the reſt remained unſeen at a Diſtance. Upon this, three hundred of the Enemy's Horſe purſued them to their Body of Reſerve; but they were charged with ſo much Vigour, that forty were kill'd on the Spot, and two Captains, a Cornet, with fifteen private Men, taken Priſoners.

A Skirmiſh to the Diſadvantage of the Enemy.

A fruitleſs Attempt on their Side.

The eighteenth, in the Night, the whole Picquet of the French grand Army advanc'd from Arras to Vimi Chateau, deſigning to ſurprize a ſmall advanc'd Guard of four hundred Men, poſted there, from the Confederate grand Army at Lens; but they being diſcover'd, in time, the Guard was in a Poſture to receive them, and, upon their Approach, firing briſkly upon them, they made a Halt: By this time, the Army was alarm'd, and the Picquet being order'd out, to aſſiſt the advanc'd Guard, the Enemy immediately retreated to their Camp at Arras.

The Duke of Marlboro' takes the Poſt of Arleux.

The Duke of Marlborough being inform'd, that after he had left his former Camp, the Enemy had repair'd the Dyke at Arleux, in order to ſtop the Waters of the Senſet, from running into the Canal of Douay, and thence into the Scarpe, thereby rendering this laſt River unnavigable; and that they had, likewiſe, fortified the Caſtle of Chanterin, and caſt up a Redoubt before the Mills of Arleux: His Grace, therefore, ordered thoſe

Poſts

Posts to be attack'd by 700 Men, of the Garrison of Douay, supported by the Picquets of his whole Army; who, marching all Night, took Post between the Villages of Sailly and L'Ecluse, to prevent any Succours from the Enemy. The Conduct of the French, on this Occasion, was unaccountable; for they lay quiet all the while, tho' the Right Wing of their Army was not a League off, whereas that of the Allies was above five. The Post was carried with a great deal of Courage, and ninety Soldiers, a Captain, and three Subalterns, who were in Garrison in the Castle, together with five and twenty Men, and one Subaltern, in the Redoubt before the Mills, were taken Prisoners. 1711.

And causes it to be fortified.

The Duke considering the great Importance of this Post, ordered Monsieur Des Roques, an Engineer, with 600 Men, to fortify it; and lest the Workmen should be interrupted by the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, Count Hompesch march'd with ten Battalions, and twelve Squadrons, and encamp'd at Fieren, in order to cover them. Monsieur de Villars, getting Intelligence of this March, and being jealous to see the Allies fortifying a Place of that Importance, under his very Nose, resolved to oppose them. To this End, as he took Care always to act upon sure Grounds, and never to hazard an Attack but with a considerable Advantage, he detach'd the Count de Gassion, and the Count de Coigni, both Lieutenant-Generals, with two and thirty Squadrons, Part of the King's Houshold, and Part of other Cavalry, Dragoons and Hussars, about one in the Morning; who, by the Advantage of a very dark Night, passed the Outguards unseen, and sent 800 Dragoons, and 200 Hussars, who surprizing four of the Squadrons, commanded by Count Hompesch, put them into Disorder: But the other Squadrons, with the Battalions of Selwin aud St. Maurice, coming to their Assistance, some in their Shirts, and some half dressed, with Sword in Hand, they soon put a Stop to the Enemy's Carreer, and obliged them to retire. The four Squadrons which were thus surprized, suffer'd very much, and their Horses breaking loose from their Picquets, about 300 of them were dispersed, and about fifty carried off by the Enemy; but the rest returned by Degrees. The Loss, however, besides this, was very inconsiderable, and cost the Enemy dear enough; tho' they were not wanting to magnify the Advantage greatly, and pretended that they cut off the whole Detachment. According to the Marquis de Quincy's Account, Count Hompesch himself allowed his Loss, on this Occasion, to have been 950 Men kill'd, 1300 wounded, and 12 or 1300 Horses taken; but I find no such Account.

The Enemy surprize Count Hompesch's Camp.

The Loss of the Allies, however, inconsiderable.

Upon hearing of this Accident, the Duke of Marlborough went thither the next Day, and, to prevent the like again, ordered, not only that the Situation of his Camp should be chang'd; but that all Diligence should be used to compleat the Works begun

The Duke of Marlboro' changes the Situation of his Camp.

1711. begun at Arleux. As ſoon as they were finiſhed, Colonel Savary was ordered to garriſon that Place with 600 Men, under his Command.

The French attempt Arleux in vain.

The Marſhal de Villars, who himſelf was advanc'd, with Part of his Army, to ſupport his two and thirty Squadrons, in caſe any Detachments had been made from the Confederate Army, to oppoſe them, ſummon'd Colonel Savary, who commanded in Arleux, to ſurrender, telling him, at the ſame time, that the Troops under Count Hompeſch were entirely cut off: But the Colonel anſwered him, that he had both Men and Ammunition to defend his Poſt to the laſt Extremity; and the Marſhal put up with this Anſwer, without daring to attempt any thing farther.

Thus Matters remained, till the twentieth of July, when the Duke of Marlborough, ſeeing no Likelihood of bringing the Enemy to an Engagement, decamp'd from the Plains of Lens, and came to Gonay, in the Neighbourhood of Bethune, and from thence the next Day, to Coté, near Aire.

Juſt before the Army decamp'd, the two following Letters were written, one by Mr. Cardonnel, and the other by the Duke himſelf.

*Tranſlation of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, to Monſieur *** at Hannover.*

From the Camp at Lens, July 19, 1711.

SIR,

A Letter from Mr. Cardonnel to Monſ. *** at Hanno-ver.

"I Received the Honour of your Letter of the 16th Inſtant, "which I immediately communicated to my Lord Duke, "and have made Uſe of it according to your Deſire.

"We are, without doubt, very unhappy, as to this Northern "Affair. For my Part, I believe the only Means to make our-"ſelves eaſy in it, would be to ſend the Body, deſign'd for "Preſervation of the Neutrality, to the Rhine, if King Au-"guſtus ſhould recall his Troops which are here: The Loſs "would not be great; becauſe, according to their own Confeſ-"ſion, that Body is not half compleat, and they have kept "back more than 4000 Recruits all this while, in their own "Country. In my Opinion, we ſhould, without Heſitation, "give that Prince to underſtand, that he might recall thoſe "Troops, when he pleaſed, the ſooner the better; and that an "Abatement would be made of the Pay for the Recruits, for the "whole time they were wanting. I am perſuaded, that after "ſuch a Declaration, he would not be in ſuch Haſte to recall his "Troops; but would ſoon cauſe his Recruits to march. At "worſt the Loſs would not be very great.

I am, &c.

A. CARDONNEL.

The

1711.

The Diſpute with King Auguſtus, concerning the Saxon Troops, which occaſioned this Letter, being very well known, and not immediately to my Purpoſe, I paſs it by.

*Tranſlation of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to Monſieur **** at the Hague.*

From the Camp at Lens, July 20, 1711.

A Letter from the D. of Marlboro' to Monſieur **** at the Hague.

"INcloſed you have the Letter, which I have done myſelf the Honour of writing to his Electoral Highneſs (of Hanover) to thank him for that he had honoured me with, by your Means. I wiſh you a good Journy, and beg you would aſſure the Elector, and the whole Electoral Houſe, of my moſt humble Duty. You will find that moſt Serene Houſe encreas'd by the Birth of a Princeſs, on which Occaſion I heartily congratulate you, and am, *&c.*

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

The French retake Arleux.

Upon this Motion of the Confederate Army, the Marſhal de Villars likewiſe made a Motion, and encamp'd with his Right, at Etrum, near Arras, and his Left, at Heſdin. From thence he ſent eight and twenty Battalions, and thirty Squadrons, to cover the Poſt of Arleux; a Force ſufficient to have inveſted a large Fortreſs; to which he added a Stratagem, and pretended this Detachment was deſign'd for the Sambre. The Marſhal de Monteſquiou commanded this Expedition, in Perſon, and attack'd this ſmall Poſt in Form; firſt cannonading, and then ſtorming it, Sword in Hand. The Duke of Marlborough was no ſooner informed of this, than he immediately detach'd General Fagel, with forty Squadrons (ſome Accounts ſay General Cadogan, with thirty Squadrons) and all the Grenadiers of the Army, to hinder their Deſign; but they came too late. The Garriſon made a gallant Defenſe, and repuls'd the Enemy, with a great Slaughter, in three ſeveral Attacks; but what could 600 Men do againſt a whole Army? They were oblig'd, at length, to ſurrender the Place, the Garriſon, together with their Commander, being made Priſoners of War.

The French, for Want of greater Cauſes of Triumph, made a great Work about this ſmall Conqueſt, and, to magnify the Honour of it, pretended the Number of their Forces, employed in this mighty Action, to have been much leſs, than in Reality it was: The following Account of this Matter was publiſhed, at that time, in Paris.

1711. Paris Account of it.

"The Enemy having taken the Redoubts of Arleux, defended "by ſeventy Men, and the Mill, in which were only fifteen "Men, ſeparated from the French Army, by impracticable "Moraſſes, they work'd for three Weeks together, to put them "into ſuch a Poſture, that they could not be attack'd but by a "formal Siege. They erected a very good Fort, ſurrounded "with three Ditches, which covered three ſeveral Works, lin'd "with Palliſadoes, and put a Garriſon of 500 Men in it, un-"der Colonel Savary, with ten Pieces of Cannon, and a great "Quantity of Ammunition, beſides 130 Men in the Mill. Ne-"verthelefs the Marſhal de Villars only waited till the Enemy's "Army ſhould remove a March's Diſtance from it, to cauſe it to "be attack'd again; which they doing the twentieth, upon a "Suppoſition that the Poſt was now ſecure, the Marſhal de-"tach'd the Count d'Eſtain, with twelve Battalions, and eight "Squadrons, to go to Quievrain, near Mons, but ſent him Or-"ders to halt at Cambray. The Marſhal de Monteſquiou "would take upon him the Charge and Care of this Expedition, "and Monſieur de Villars conſented to it. The Artillery was "conducted, the Bridges on the Sanſet made, and the Troops "under the Command of the Count d'Eſtain, the Marquis de "Coigny, and the Prince d'Iſenguien march'd, with ſo much "Diligence and Secrecy, that the Poſt was inveſted, the 23d, "at Break of Day, before the Enemy had any Notice of the "Deſign. The Beſieged defended themſelves very bravely, "and yet the Mill and the Fort were taken by Storm, at one in "the Afternoon, and the Garriſon made Priſoners of War, as a "Repriſal for the like Treatment made to the French, when the "Allies took that Poſt. The Officers and Soldiers ſhew'd an "extraordinary Valour, wading thro' the Ditches up to their "Middle. The Sieur de Thil, Brigadier, had one of his Legs "broke; the Sieur la Fonde was dangerouſly wounded, but we loſt "but fifteen or twenty Men, whereas the Beſieged had above 150 "Men kill'd, and a greater Number wounded." A very pro-bable Account, indeed, that Troops uncovered, and expoſed to the Fire both of the Cannon and ſmall Arms of their Enemy, attempting a ſtrong Fort by Storm, ſhould loſe but a tenth Part of the Number loſt by thoſe they attack'd under the Shelter of a good and regular Fortification, who, according to their own Account, defended themſelves bravely.

The Duke reſolves to attempt the Lines by Stratagem.

The Duke of Marlborough was now fully determin'd, to attempt getting within the Enemy's Lines; of which we had the following Deſcription; They began at Bouchain, on the Scheld, and were continued along the Senſet, and the Scarpe, to Arras; from thence, along the Upper Scarpe, and the River, to the Canche, the Opening to thoſe Rivers being entrench'd and fortified (with all poſſible Care) by a large Ditch, defended with

Redoubts and other Works. His Grace, upon a narrow View, finding that it would be too dangerous, to endeavour to force them, he reſolved upon a Stratagem. That he might the better compaſs his Deſign, and make the Enemy believe, that he really intended to attack them, he ordered 1200 Men out, to make Roads and Bridges in the Front, and advanc'd, with the whole Army, to Rebreuve, and from thence to Villars Brulin, within two Leagues of the Lines. Here he ſet all his Troops to work, in making Faſcines, but gave ſtrict Orders for them not to exceed the Length of four Foot, that they might not tire the Infantry, too much, to carry them, and gave out, that he intended to attack the Lines, the next Morning. The French General was ſo fully perſuaded of it, that he ſent Orders to a ſtrong Detachment, commanded by Lieutenant General Count d'Eſtain, which had been ſent upon a ſecret Expedition, to halt at Peronne, and to the Garriſons of Ipres and St. Omer, to come and join his Army, which he drew all together, behind the Lines. 1711.

The Day before the Duke of Marlborough began to put this Project in Execution, Mr. Cardonnel, his Grace's Secretary, wrote the following Letter to Monſieur **** at Hannover.

*Tranſlation of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, to Monſieur *** at Hannover.*

From the Camp at Villars-Brulin, Auguſt 3, 1711.

SIR,

A Letter from Mr. Cardonnel to Monſieur **** at Hannover.

" I Have received the Honour of your Letter, of the 30th " paſt, and rejoice that you found my Lord Duke's Letter " to his Electoral Highneſs, to your Mind. I likewiſe hope " that it will be of ſome Advantage to you; for I can aſſure " you, it was written with that View.

" We are, at preſent, in a pretty critical Situation; we " have march'd two Days to come near the Enemy, and are now " but at two ſmall Leagues Diſtance from them. Monſieur de " Villars has aſſembled all the Troops he could, and our Ad- " vices even ſay, that the Garriſon of Ipres and St. Omer are in " March to join him. Nevertheleſs, we may probably attempt " to force his Lines, before two Days are at an End, all poſ- " ſible Preparations being making for that End: Tho' the " Weather is not the moſt favourable; it having rain'd conti- " nually to-day, from Noon to this Hour, (eight in the Even- " ing.) Pray my Reſpects to Monſieur Bothmar, and believe " me to be, &c.

A. CARDONNEL.

P. S.

1711. *P. S.* "My Lord Duke has received your Letter, with the "inclos'd; but hopes you will be ſo good to excuſe his not an- "ſwering, in this Hurry.

The Duke goes to view the Lines.

His real Deſign,

The Duke, to amuſe the Enemy more effectually, went, the fourth of Auguſt, N. S. by Break of Day, with ſeveral of the General Officers, and 2000 Horſe, to take a nearer View of the Lines, and of the Situation of the Enemy's Camp: But his real Deſign, when he advanc'd from Coté, was to endeavour to get within the Enemy's Lines, by attempting the Paſſage of the Senſet, by Arleux, which he now believed was left unguarded, (as, in Effect, it happened to be.) To this End, he ordered Lieutenant-General Cadogan, and Count Hompeſch, to repair, with all Expedition, to Douay, and aſſemble ſome Troops, that were left, on purpoſe, thereabout, which, together with a Detachment of that, and the neighbouring Garriſons, of Liſle and St. Amand, made together a Body of three and twenty Battalions, and ſeventeen Squadrons. Their farther Orders were to march directly, with theſe Troops to Arleux, and endeavour to paſs the Senſet, while the Duke himſelf would advance, with the whole Army, to ſuſtain them. And that nothing might retard this extraordinary March, Brigadier Sutton was ſent before-hand, with the Artillery and Pontons, under a good Guard, to make Bridges over the Scarpe, near Vitry, and over the Canal of Arleux, near Goulezin: And Bread was ordered to be baked, at Liſle, for ſix Days.

He begins to put it in Execution.

All theſe things were manag'd ſo privately, and the Grimace carried on ſo well, that the Confederate Generals themſelves had not the leaſt Thought that any thing elſe was meant, but the attacking of the Lines the next Morning. Theſe Amuſements had ſo good an Effect on the Marſhal, that he kept his Troops under Arms, Night and Day, and re-inforc'd them with all the Strength he could poſſibly draw together, on that Side, not leaving any Number of Troops in the Poſts he had upon the Senſet.

The Confederate Army, in the mean time, were expecting Orders to march, which were not given out, till ſix in the Evening. The March was to begin between eight and nine, as ſoon as it was dark enough to ſtrike their Tents, without being diſcovered by the Enemy; but whether the March was to be to the Right or Left was not known. They were only told, that the ſeveral Columns, which the Army was to march in, ſhould find an Officer at the Head of each of them, at ſuch an Hour, who ſhould lead them the Way they were to take, when the time came.

The Army marches towards Arleux.

About nine, the whole Army, to their great Surprize, were ordered to march by the Left, in four Columns, without Beat of Drum, and the Duke himſelf, with the Horſe of the Left Wing,

Wing, led the Van, and advanc'd with ſuch extraordinary Expedition, that, the next Morning, by five, he paſs'd the Scarpe, at Vitry. Here he received Advice, that Count Hompeſch had paſs'd the Senſet, without any Oppoſition, had taken Poſſeſſion of the Paſſes, on that River, and on the Scheld, at Oiſy; the French having, ſome time before, withdrawn the Detachments they had on that Side. His Grace, upon this, haſtened his March, leſt the Enemy ſhould get there before him; and, at the ſame time, diſpatch'd Orders to the grand Army to purſue their March, with the utmoſt Diligence. 1711.

Count Hompeſch paſſes the Senſet.

The Duke, with his Van-guard of fifty Squadrons, having paſs'd the Scarpe, haſten'd towards Arleux, and Bac à Bacheul, where he arrived before eight o'Clock, and the Heads of the Columns join'd him there about ten; having march'd above ten Hours, at a great Rate, without halting, a Diligence hardly to be parallel'd in Hiſtory.

The Marſhal de Villars had no ſooner Notice how he had been deceiv'd, and of this unexpected March of the Confederate Army, but he was immediately apprehenſive of their Deſign. He, therefore, after having waited from eleven at Night, till two the next Morning, for certain Intelligence, decamp'd, with his whole Army, and putting himſelf at the Head of the King's Houſhold, march'd all Night, with ſuch Diligence, that he appear'd, with the Head of his Line about eleven o'Clock, ſoon after the Duke of Marlborough had join'd Count Hompeſch, and paſs'd, with twenty Squadrons, thro' the Defilee of Marquion; but when he ſaw, that the Duke was advancing, with his Horſe drawn up, to attack him, he retreated behind a Moraſs, where the reſt of his Troops join'd him quickly after; and 100 Dragoons, with ſome few Officers, whom he threw into the Caſtle of Oiſy, were ſoon after made Priſoners of War. Two Regiments, which the Marſhal de Villars detach'd, under the Command of the Chevalier de Luxembourg, for Valenciennes, and a Brigade of Foot, ſent to Cambray, had, however, better Luck, and threw themſelves into thoſe Places.

The Marſhal de Villars marches to oppoſe him:

But comes too late.

It was, beyond all Doubt, a ſenſible Mortification to the Marſhal de Villars, to be thus viſibly out-general'd, after he had given the Court of France repeated Aſſurances, that he had taken ſuch Meaſures, as put him beyond Apprehenſion of meeting with any Inſult from the Allies, and after he had written to the French King, that theſe Lines were the NON PLUS ULTRA of the Duke of Marlborough. He therefore gave out, in order to keep up the Spirits of his Troops, that he would attack the Duke of Marlborough, the next Morning.

The Marſhal extreamly mortified.

French Writers pretend, that the Duke of Marlborough's Deſign, in this Enterprize, was to have paſſed both the Senſet, and the Scheld, before the Marſhal de Villars ſhould be able to

Pretences of the French to palliate the Matter.

1711. get to the latter, to oppoſe his Paſſage; but that, by the Marſhal's extraordinary Diligence, ſeeing the French Troops before him, ready to diſpute that Paſſage, he began to be much diſcontented, and to repent of his Temerity. He found he could not remain in that Situation, and that he ſhould be obliged to paſs, either the Senſet, or the Scheld, with his Army; both which would be attended with great Danger; becauſe, the Enemy being ſo near, it was to be fear'd, when Part of his Army was paſt either of theſe Rivers, the Marſhal would fall on the other Part, which would not then be in a Condition to reſiſt his whole Force. It will be natural now to aſk, why Monſieur de Villars, having theſe Advantages, did not purſue them? Why truly *(continues my Author)* he had his Reaſons for not doing it, which tho' they could not be dived into then, were afterwards very evident. A pretty Come-off! It is certain, the Duke was under no ſuch Apprehenſions, as the Reader will ſoon ſee.

His Grace having, however, Intelligence of the Marſhal's Threats, tho' he had little Reaſon to fear the Conſequences of them, loſt no Time, but drew out his Troops, as faſt as they arriv'd, in Order of Battle, and they lay under their Arms all Night, tho' they could not but be extreamly fatigued, after a March of ten Leagues, without halting.

The whole Confederate Army paſſes the French Lines.

Thus the whole Confederate Army entered the French Lines, which they had ſo vainly boaſted to be impenetrable; the moſt noble and boldeſt Attempt that had been made during the whole War: And the Honour of this Attempt was the greater to the Duke of Marlborough, as his Army was not only weakened, by the Detachment which Prince Eugene had carried to the Rhine; but by the calling over 5,000 of the beſt Troops in his Army, for an Expedition deſign'd by Sea; ſo that the Enemy were actually ſuperiour to him in Number.

Great Honour to the Duke of Marlboro'.

"This (ſays a late Author) rais'd his Character beyond all "that he had done formerly; the Deſign was ſo well laid, and "ſo happily executed, that, in all Men's Opinions, it paſt for "a Maſter-piece of military Skill; the Honour of it falling en-"tirely on the Duke of Marlborough, no other Perſon having "any Share, except in the Execution.

His juſt Encomium.

The wiſe and prudent Management of this whole Deſign was as great a Mortification to the Marſhal de Villars, as it was a Glory to our incomparable Hero. A Glory that was his, and only his, and which Envy itſelf could never ſully. It was a Kind of Trial of Skill between the Britiſh and the French Generals; in which the former obtain'd a compleat Victory over the latter, without ſtriking a Stroke; a Victory in which the Armies on both Sides, only made their Appearance, to grace and ſet it off, with the greater Luſtre and Magnificence. In Battles and Sieges, Chance, the Valour of Soldiers, the Skill of Engineers,

gineers, and a thouſand other Circumſtances, concur, to ſhare the good or ill Succeſs of them, with the General; but here, the great Duke of Marlborough, and he alone, ſhines forth, in the Height of Glory, without a Rival or Competitor, and triumphs over every Difficulty. The Allies would willingly have purchaſed theſe Lines at the Expence of ſome thouſands of Men; but by his Wiſdom, they became Maſters of them, with no other Coſt but that of a little Fatigue, and a diligent and aſſiduous March of their Troops; a March hardly to be match'd but by another, which proceeded from the ſame inimitable Foreſight, I mean that which brought on the Battle of Oudenarde. The French General, blinded by the trifling Conqueſt of Arleux, weakned by the great Detachment he made from his Army to obtain it, and puff'd up with this Shadow of good Fortune, threatens all Brabant; but is lull'd aſleep by a fond Security for his own Lines: Our BRITISH HERO obſerves the Critical Moment, lays hold of it, and ſurprizes theſe Lines, without the Loſs of a Man. The Deſign, the Secrecy, and, in ſhort, the whole Management of it, were equally great and wonderful.

1711.

A Compariſon between his and the Marſhal de Villars's Conduct.

I muſt not, on this Occaſion, omit a Paragraph of the incomparable *Spectator*, of the ninth of Auguſt, of this Year, ſoon after the News of this Glorious Action came to England; where the Author, in order to raiſe an Idea of true Glory, having given his Readers a brief Compariſon, between the Glory of Lewis of France, and Peter of Ruſſia, both furnamed the Great, concludes his Paper with theſe memorable Words:

A Quotation from the *Spectator*.

"But let us conſider (ſays he) what is truly glorious.
"The Perfection of Glory, ſays Tully, conſiſts in theſe three "Particulars, *That the People love us, that they have Confidence "in us, that being affected with a certain Admiration towards us, "they think we deſerve Honour*. This was ſpoken of Greatneſs "in a Common-wealth: But if one were to form a Notion of "conſummate Glory under our Conſtitution, one muſt add, to "the above-mentioned Felicities, a certain neceſſary Inexiſtence, "and Diſreliſh of all the reſt, without the Prince's Favour. "He ſhould, methinks, have Riches, Power, Honour, Com-"mand, Glory; but Riches, Power, Honour, Command and "Glory, ſhould have no Charms, but as accompanied with the "Affection of his Prince. He ſhould, methinks, be Popular, "becauſe a Favourite, and a Favourite, becauſe Popular. Were "it not to make the Character too imaginary, I would give "him Sovereignty over ſome foreign Territory, and make him "eſteem that an empty Addition, without the kind Regards of "his own Prince. One may meerly have an Idea of a Man "thus compoſed, and circumſtantiated, and if he were ſo made

"for

1711. " for Power, without any Incapacity of giving Jealouſy, he " would be alſo glorious without Poſſibility of receiving Diſ- " grace. This Humility, and this Importance, muſt make his " Glory immortal.

" Theſe Thoughts (*ſays the Author of the* Spectator) are apt " to draw me beyond the uſual Length of this Paper; but, if " I could ſuppoſe ſuch Rhapſodies would outlive the common " Fate of ordinary things, I would ſay, theſe Sketches, and " faint Images of Glory were drawn in Auguſt 1711, when " John Duke of Marlborough made that memorable March, " wherein he took the French Lines without Bloodſhed.

The French paſs the Scheld.

The next Day (Auguſt the ſixth) whilſt the Allies expected the Enemy lying upon their Arms, Advice was brought to the Duke of Marlborough, that they were in Motion towards the Scheld, in order to paſs it, at Crevecoeur, and encamp between Cambray and Bouchain, to prevent the Siege of the latter. His Grace, hereupon, detach'd forty Squadrons with Orders to fall upon their Rear, but they found it impracticable, by reaſon of the Moraſs that was between them: And a Council of War being call'd, it was reſolv'd, that the Army ſhould, without further Delay, paſs the Scheld, leſt the Enemy ſhould get before them, and render it impoſſible.

Advice given by the Dutch Deputies;

Diſapproved by the Duke.

His Reaſons.

When the Confederate Army firſt got within the Lines, the Field-Deputies of the States-General propoſed to purſue the Enemy, and hazard a Battle; ſince this Surprize had put them in no ſmall Diſorder. The Duke of Marlborough was, however, of another Opinion; he wiſely conſider'd, that the Attempt might be attended with too much Danger: The Army being much fatigued with ſo long a March; the Cavalry had been eight and forty Hours on Horſeback, and had only alighted twice, about an Hour each time, to feed their Horſes. The French were freſh; (having had a much nearer March, within their Lines, than the Confederates round them; and the Allies were not in the beſt Condition for Action, till ſome time was allowed them, to refreſh themſelves. And, beſides, he prudently foreſaw, that in caſe of a Misfortune, their being within the Enemy's Lines, might be of fatal Conſequence to them.

He propoſes the Siege of Bouchain,

His Grace having thus diſapproved of the Propoſal made by the Deputies, it was expected he ſhould make another, and he was not long in determining his Choice. He propoſed the Siege of Bouchain, which he thought would oblige the French to endeavour to raiſe the Siege; and that might give Occaſion to their engaging on more equal Terms; or it would bring both a Diſreputation and a Diſcouragement on their Army, if a Place of ſuch Importance ſhould be taken in their Sight. As well the Dutch Deputies, as the General Officers, thought the Enterprize too

too daring; yet they ſubmitted to his Judgment. It ſeem'd to them next to impracticable, to take a Place ſituated among Moraſſes, well fortified, with a good Garriſon in it, provided with all Requiſites for a ſtout Defenſe; and that in the Sight of a ſuperior Army: For the French lay within a Mile of them. But to be more particular with regard to the Difficulty of attacking this Place, ariſing as well from the Situation of it, as otherwiſe: 1711.

Difficulties which muſt attend that Undertaking.

"Bouchain is but a little Town, or rather Fortreſs, ſituate at "the Confluence of the Senſet, and the Selle or Raſelle, into "the Scheld. It is about nine Miles North of Cambray, ten "South-weſt of Valenciennes, and twenty-eight almoſt Weſt of "Mons. The Senſet ſeparates the Upper Town from the "Lower, forms an Inundation between that and the Selle, and "fills the Ditches, which ſurround the Works between the "Upper and the Lower Town. The Selle ſeparates the Lower "Town into two Parts, and between the Lower Town and the "Scheld, there is a Horn-work, which covers two ſeparate "Baſtions, and which is cut in two by a Ditch, ſupplied by the "Scheld. Beſides theſe Difficulties ariſing from the Situation of "the Place, there were two other very eſſential ones. The firſt, "a formidable Intrenchment, fenc'd with Redoubts and fifty "Pieces of Cannon, which thirty Battalions, commanded by the "brave and vigilant Monſieur Albergotti, had raiſed between "Wavrechin and Pont à Wane, on the Senſet; which being "but a Quarter of a League from the Town, and parallel to "the Circumvallation of the Confederates, the Batteries of that "Intrenchment might play upon the Circumvallation, without "Interruption, there being nothing but an Inundation between "them. Secondly, The Communication, which the Enemy "kept open with the Town, by Means of a Paſſage thro' a "Moraſs, which it was deemed impracticable to cut off. To "which we may add, that there were eight Battalions, and "600 Swiſs Soldiers in the Town; that the Place was furniſh'd "with all Requiſites for a vigorous Defenſe; that Monſieur de "Ravignan had thrown himſelf into the Town to command "the Troops, and taken 500 Grenadiers with him; and that "Monſieur de Selve, who defended St. Venant, was in the "Town before; ſo that the Garriſon was commanded by two "Major-Generals, animated by the Neighbourhood of the "whole French Army.

There was, beſides all this, a great deal to be apprehended from the Excurſions, which the Garriſons of Valenciennes and Condé might make, to cut off their Proviſions, which were to come to them from Tournay. All who were about the Duke endeavoured to divert his Thoughts from ſo dangerous an Undertaking; ſince a Misfortune in his Conduct would have furniſh'd his Enemies with the Advantages they lay in wait for. All this he

All about the Duke diſſuade him from it.

1711. he was ſenſible of; but he had laid his Scheme, and taken his Meaſures ſo well, that he was aſſured of Succeſs; and therefore reſolved to venture on it, amidſt all the Impediments that ſtood in his Way. But before this Reſolution was put in Execution, the Duke diſpatch'd Brigadier Sutton to England, with the agreeable News, that, without ſtriking a Stroke, he was got within thoſe Lines, which had coſt the Enemy ſuch an Expence of Time and Labour, to make and fortify, and the Strength of which they had been ſo full of.

But he perſiſts in his Reſolution.

The following Letter, which was written by the Field-Deputies to the States General, illuſtrates the Matter more, and contains ſome Circumſtances, not yet mentioned.

A Letter from the Field-Deputies to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

" THE Baron de Hompeſch *(our Relations call him Count)* " Lieutenant-General, took Poſt yeſterday Morning, at " Four o'Clock, at Palne, and Bac à Bacheul, with about " 8000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, partly drawn out of the Gar- " riſons of Douay, Liſle and St. Amand, and partly conſiſting " of the Detachment, which covered the Baggage near Bethune. " The Enemy had, a little before, withdrawn the Troops they " had in thoſe Poſts, to re-inforce their Army; ſo that ours " found no Reſiſtance. By way of Precaution, for the Succeſs " of this Enterprize, Orders were given, about ſix in the Even- " ing, for the Army to be in a Readineſs to march, which, ac- " cordingly they began to do, about ten, in four Columns, " by the Way of Villers au Bois; and filing off by Neufville " and Telu, directly to Vitry, they paſſed the Scarpe, and next " Morning, by ten o'Clock, the Vanguard was advanc'd as far " as Arleux, and Bac à Bacheul. This March was made with " ſuch Diligence, that the like has hardly been known, the " Foot having, in that ſhort time, march'd above ten Leagues, " without halting, to which the Moon-light, and fair Weather, " with which GOD ALMIGHTY favoured us, that Night, did " not a little contribute. The Marſhal de Villars was informed " of our March, about eleven; but was ſo ſtrongly perſuaded, " by the Feint we made for ſome Days, that our Deſign was " ſtill to attack his Lines, near Aveſnes le Comte, that he " waited till two, the next Morning, to be aſſured of our " March. He then gave Orders to his Army to march imme- " diately; but finding that our Army was already got too far " for his to be able to come up with it, he himſelf advanc'd " with all the Troops of the Houſhold, in Hopes to arrive time " enough, to diſpute us the Paſſage of the Senſet: But upon " Notice, that fifty or ſixty of our Squadrons had already paſſed, " at eleven, and particularly thoſe of General Hompeſch, he " retired to the main Body of his Army, which was, by that " time, advanc'd to the high Road, between Arras and Cambray.

" In

" In the mean time, our Troops advanced, with all poſſible " Diligence; but as the Paſſage could not be made by Bac à " Bacheul, and Palne, our Rear could not get over till Mid- " night. Our Army is encamped upon the Scheld, between " Oiſy and Eſtrun. This Morning, at eight o'Clock, we ſaw " the Enemy's Army file off, in four Columns, towards the " Scheld, either to paſs that River, or intrench themſelves, be- " tween it, and a Marſh that lies near Marquion. Our Gene- " rals did not think it proper to attack them in their March, " but have reſolv'd to paſs the Scheld, this Evening, and in- " veſt Bouchain. We are, with profound Reſpect, 1711.

High and Mighty Lords,

Yours, &c.

Auguſt 6, 1711.

A. van CAPELLE.
G. HOOFT.
S. van GOSLINGA.
De KLAERBERGEN.

The Duke's Enemies attempt to leſſen his Glory.

This News was received in Holland with an univerſal Joy, and no Encomiums were too great for the wiſe Projector, and indefatigable Conducter, of this noble and well executed Deſign: But the Joy was not ſo general in England. When Brigadier Sutton arrived at Whitehall, with the Account of the Duke of Marlborough's paſſing the French Lines, it gave his Grace's Friends, indeed, the greater Joy, becauſe his Enemies had given out, as they without Doubt wiſh'd it, that *nothing would be done this Year, in Flanders*; they went yet farther, and pretended to aſſign a Reaſon, why nothing would be done: Becauſe (ſaid they) the Duke was reſolved no Affair ſhould ſucceed under the preſent Adminiſtration, if he could help it. They had the Aſſurance to repreſent the Duke and Ducheſs under the Characters of Anthony and Fulvia, and to inſinuate, that his Grace, like Anthony, would reſolve to let his Laurels fade, and ſacrifice the Intereſt of the Publick to his own: But they ſoon found how they were deceiv'd, and this unexpected Succeſs did not very well ſuit the Scheme of certain Perſons, who having, underhand, made Advances towards a Peace, ſtudied nothing more, than how publickly to avow and juſtify them. The Duke's Enemies, being thus fruſtrated in their Hopes, endeavoured to leſſen the Glory and Reputation of the Action, by pretending, *that he had only removed his Army from a plentiful, to a ſtarving Camp*: But that malicious Inſinuation ſoon fell away, as well on account of the Sequel of his late Succeſs, as the Applauſe all Europe gave to the Conduct of the Britiſh General; while Monſieur de

1711. Villars was openly reflected on and lampoon'd, as well in his own Army, as at Paris, and had enough to do, to ſtand his Ground at Court: An evident Inſtance how ſome Men are led away by the Spirit of Party, and can be biaſs'd by it to ſuch a Degree, as to be blind to the moſt conſpicuous Merit.

The Confederate Army paſſes the Scheld.

Purſuant to the Reſolution taken in the Council of War, the Army began to paſs the Scheld, at Eſtrun, about Six in the Evening, over Bridges which the French had built there, and were ſecured by the Confederates, when firſt they entered the Lines, and, by the next Morning, all the Troops were got over, without any Oppoſition from the Enemy, and encamped about half Way between Cambray and Bouchain: The Duke of Marlborough having his Head-Quarters at Aveſne le Sec, and Count Tilly his, at Harſpre, upon the River Selle. The Marſhal de Villars ordered, in the mean time, a Battery to be erected, on an Eminence, near St. Martin, in order to annoy the Confederate Generals of the Right Wing, in the Village where they were quarter'd, but without any Effect. Bridges were ordered to be laid, the ſame Day, below Bouchain, as well to open a Communication with Douay, and other Places on the Scarpe, as for the Paſſage of ſuch Troops as were to be employed in the Siege of Bouchain, which was now fully reſolved upon. This Place was inveſted, the tenth, by thirty Battalions (viz. ſeventeen from the Right, and thirteen from the Left) and twelve Squadrons, commanded by General Fagel, who had under him two Lieutenant-Generals, Collier and Lord North and Gray, four Major-Generals, Goven, Syburg, Ivoy and Huffel, and four Brigadiers, La Roche, Lebec, Schmeling, and Schavonne.

Bouchain inveſted.

CHAP. III.

The Siege of Bouchain, *with other Tranſactions, to the Concluſion of the Year* 1711.

A Detachment of the Enemy paſs the Senſet:

THE eighth of Auguſt, N. S. the French General ſent a Detachment over the Senſet; upon which, the Duke of Marlborough, imagining that their Deſign was to intercept the Bread Waggons and Artillery, that were expected from Douay, paſſed the Scheld, with the Left Wing of the Horſe, and took Poſt on the Hill of Vignonette, where he continued till the Convoy arrived ſafe in the Camp; as did likewiſe, the next Day, the heavy Baggage, from Marchienne, which was convoy'd by Lieutenant-General Wood, with 2000 Horſe. The Marſhal de Villars had, however, quite another Deſign, and ordered

And intrench themſelves.

thoſe

those Troops to entrench themselves behind Marquette and Wavrechin, in order to preserve a Communication with Bouchain, and prevent its being invested. 1711.

The Duke plainly saw, it would be impossible for him to draw the Lines of Circumvallation quite round the Town, if the Enemy went on with that Work; he, therefore, ordered General Dopf to pass the Lower Scheld, at Neufville, with twenty Battalions and forty Squadrons, the ninth, in the Night, to dislodge the Enemy, and followed himself early the next Morning; but he found them so strongly intrench'd, that they were not to be attack'd, without a very great Hazard. Whilst his Grace was thus viewing the Situation of the Enemy, and the Ground between their Intrenchments and the Town, the Marshal de Villars march'd, with his whole Army, over the Upper Scheld, and made a Feint, as if his Design was to attack the Right of the Confederate Camp. This oblig'd the Duke of Marlborough to return, with his Detachment, to the Grand Army, to be ready to receive the Enemy; but the Marshal's Design was only to draw off the Duke from disturbing the Troops who were employed in carrying on the Intrenchments at Marquette; for he had no sooner gain'd this Point, than he repass'd the Scheld, and returned to his Camp: it being impossible for his Grace to bring him to any Action, tho' the two Armies were very near one another, because of the difficult hollow Way, and Defilees which parted them.

The Duke attempts in vain to dislodge them.

The French make a Shew of attacking the Confederates;

But are not to be brought to any Action.

To prevent any future Alarms, in his Camp, during the Siege, the Duke order'd the whole Front of it to be fortified with Lunettes and Redoubts, mounted with Cannon, and join'd by a strong Line from Ivoy to Haspre. This being done, in two Days, his Grace pass'd the Scheld again, with fifty Battalions, and two and fifty Squadrons, to view the Approaches of the Town, and discover by what means he could best cut off the Enemy's Communication with it; but he found that they had improv'd their Time in such Manner, and carried their Intrenchments so much nearer the Town, that it would not only be very difficult to invest it on that Side, but even impossible, if the Communication which they had begun, from Wavrechin to that Place, should be finished, before the Circumvallation was drawn; and the Enemy's Intrenchments were too strong, and too well guarded, to pretend to attack them.

The Duke fortifies his Camp.

The Enemy attempt a Communication with Bouchain:

But are frustrated by the Duke's Vigilance.

If the Lines of Circumvallation had been begun at the Lower Scheld, and carried on to the Senset, as was at first design'd, and would have been the most regular Way, the Enemy would have establish'd their Communication with the Town, in Spight of whatever the Confederates could have done to prevent it; but the Duke, with his usual Penetration, foreseing this, and finding that there was no time to lose, gave orders that the Circumvallation

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But are not to be brought to any Action.

The Duke fortifies his Camp.

To prevent any future Alarms, in his Camp, during the Siege, the Duke order'd the whole Front of it to be fortified with Lunettes and Redoubts, mounted with Cannon, and join'd by a ſtrong Line from Ivoy to Haſpre. This being done, in two Days, his Grace paſs'd the Scheld again, with fifty Battalions, and two and fifty Squadrons, to view the Approaches of the Town, and diſcover by what means he could beſt cut off the Enemy's Communication with it; but he found that they had improv'd their Time in ſuch Manner, and carried their Intrenchments ſo much nearer the Town, that it would not only be very difficult to inveſt it on that Side, but even impoſſible, if the Communication which they had begun, from Wavrechin to that Place, ſhould be finiſhed, before the Circumvallation was drawn; and the Enemy's Intrenchments were too ſtrong, and too well guarded, to pretend to attack them.

The Enemy attempt a Communication with Bouchain:

But are fruſtrated by the Duke's Vigilance.

If the Lines of Circumvallation had been begun at the Lower Scheld, and carried on to the Senſet, as was at firſt deſign'd, and would have been the moſt regular Way, the Enemy would have eſtabliſh'd their Communication with the Town, in Spight of whatever the Confederates could have done to prevent it; but the Duke, with his uſual Penetration, foreſeing this, and finding that there was no time to loſe, gave orders that the Circum-

1711. vallation ſhould be immediately begun, in the Middle Space, between the Intrenchments and the Town, and thereby cut their Deſign ſhort:

A critical Juncture between the two Generals.

During the whole Courſe of this long War, which produced ſo many ſurpriſing Events, there was not ſo critical an Inſtance as this, in which the Reputation of two great Generals was ſo nearly concern'd, and their Skill in the Art of War ſo fairly put to the Teſt. The Marſhal's Buſineſs was, if poſſible, to prevent the Siege, and thereby to retrieve, in ſome Meaſure, the Credit he had loſt, by the too eaſy Paſſage he had ſuffer'd the Allies to find into his Lines. The Duke of Marlborough, on the other hand, was fully reſolved, not to let the Advantage and Honour ſlip out of his Hands, which he had obtain'd, at ſo eaſy a Rate, by that Paſſage; and foreſaw, beſides, that it would be very difficult to make a good Retreat, in the Sight of an Army, equal, if not ſuperiour to his, and in a Situation where he was beſet with ſeveral Rivers, without having one good Poſt on any of them. This was the real Circumſtance of Affairs, at the time the Line of Circumvallation was begun, which was the twelfth of Auguſt, N. S.

The Circumvallation begun.

The Duke gave the Direction for beginning the Lines himſelf, and then left the Execution of it to Lieutenant-General Cadogan, and, under him, to his Deputy-Quarter-Maſter, Colonel Armſtrong, an Officer, who wanted no one good Quality, that could recommend a Soldier. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf before, upon many Occaſions, but never more than in this; the marking out of the Lines, with the whole Direction of it, having, under General Cadogan, lain chiefly upon him, and they were carried on ſucceſsfully without any Diſturbance from the Enemy.

The Marſhal de Villars near taken Priſoner.

The next Morning, the Marſhal de Villars narrowly eſcap'd being taken Priſoner; when, coming out of his Lines, attended by a Troop of Huſſars, and four Squadrons of Carabiniers, to obſerve the Duke of Marlborough's Motions, he was met and attack'd by an equal Number of the Confederates, under General Cadogan, who charged them ſo briſkly, that they ſoon broke their Squadrons, and took a Brigadier, a Major, and two Captains, with ſome other Perſons of Diſtinction, Priſoners, the Marſhal himſelf narrowly eſcaping. French Writers pretend, the Confederate Party was much ſuperiour, in Number, to theirs, and that the Marſhal, ſeeing his Troops ſurrounded by them, without any Poſſibility of ſtanding it againſt ſo great a Superiority, bravely fought his Way thro', and was follow'd by his Troops.

The French make three Redoubts.

The Marſhal, having now diſcover'd what Meaſures the Duke had taken, to draw his Line of Circumvallation, enter'd upon a new Project, and, the thirteenth in the Night, ordered three Redoubts

Redoubts to be made, between Wavrechin and the Town. By this, he propoſed not only to open a Communication, with it, but alſo to hinder the Circumvallation from being carried on to the Senſet. Upon Intelligence hereof, the Duke of Marlborough march'd, the fourteenth, before break of Day, with a Detachment of Troops, and twenty Cannon, to diſlodge the Enemy, who, as ſoon as he appear'd, retired from their Intrenchments; and to prevent any farther Interruption, on that Side, he reinforc'd his Troops there to 100 Battalions and 70 Squadrons; whereupon the Circumvallation was carried on to the Senſet, without any farther Oppoſition, and thoſe Redoubts taken within them. 1711.

But are driven from them.

All theſe Diſappointments did not yet deter the Marſhal from a farther Attempt. He ſet his Men to work, to open a Communication with the Town, thro' a Moraſs, between the two Rivers, where the Water was generally pretty deep: But, thro' the Middle of it, there runs a little narrow Way, call'd *le Sentier des Vaches*, (or the Cow-Path.) This was his laſt Refuge, and he was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that a Parapet was carried on with Faſcines, all the Way to the Town, from Tree to Tree, betwixt the Willows and Ruſhes which cover'd the Inundation. In order to cut off this Communication, the Confederates, on the 16th at Night, being provided with a good Number of Faſcines, laid Bridges over the Senſet, below their Line, and over the Scheld, below Hordain, and from each began a Faſcinade, into the Moraſs. The Duke of Marlborough went, the 17th, to Maſtin, in Perſon, to view their Works, and to forward thoſe on his Side, and having view'd a Poſt the Enemy had in the Cow-Way, cover'd by a Parapet, 600 Paces in Front, he ordered it to be attack'd by 400 Grenadiers, who, being ſuſtain'd by eight Battalions, deſpis'd as well the Cannon of the City, as of the Enemy's Intrenchments, and marched thro' the Inundation, up to the Middle, and ſome up to the Neck in the Water, for ſeveral hundred Paces. Being thus come up to the Parapet, they receiv'd the Fire of four Companies of Grenadiers, ſuſtain'd by the Brigade du Roy, that guarded the Poſts, and ſoon obliged them to retire.

The Marſhal de Villars opens a Communication.

But his Troops are diſlodg'd.

An Enſign of Ingoldſby's Regiment, who was at the Head of fifteen Grenadiers of the ſame Regiment, being very ſhort of Stature, ſeeing, when they were advanc'd ſome Part of the Way, in the Inundation, that he muſt either drown, or give up his ſhare of the Enterprize and return, choſe rather to get upon the Shoulders of one of his Grenadiers, till they came to the Parapet, where he was one of the firſt to jump into the Enemy's Works. The Confederates had no more than ſix Men kill'd and wounded, in this brave and bold Action, in which they took

Bravery of an Enſign.

1711. Poſſeſſion of this important Poſt, and thereby entirely cut off all Communication between Wavrechin and the Town.

The French having abandon'd ſo advantageous a Poſt, in ſo ſcandalous a Manner, the Allies had nothing to do, but to continue their Faſcinades, and cover the Poſt they had taken, from the Cannon of Wavrechin, and the Town, which the Faſcines the Enemy left behind them, enabled them to do effectually, by next Morning. From this time, they carried on their Faſcinades with great Quietneſs, which, in a Couple of Days more, were brought within 700 Paces from one to the other, and cover'd by good Redoubts, there being nothing between them but a large ſtanding Water.

The nineteenth, about Noon, the Enemy made a Sally, with a conſiderable Number of Men, and attempted to ſurpriſe a Captain's Guard of 100 Men, which were poſted towards the North Side of the Town; but were repuls'd with Loſs. The ſame Night, another large Body ſallied three ſeveral times; but were as often beat back, with great Loſs. The twentieth, the Town was wholly inveſted, excepting about 200 Paces, where the Inundation was very deep; and to prevent the Enemy's endeavouring, at any time, to convey either Ammunition, or Proviſions, by that Way, a Bridge of Hurdles and Planks was ordered to be laid croſs it, by which their Faſcinades were join'd, and all Manner of Paſſage into the Town was entirely cut off.

The 21ſt the heavy Train, from Tournay, arrived in the Camp. In their Paſſage by St. Amand, their Convoy was attack'd by a large Party of the Enemy, from Valenciennes, whom, however, after a ſharp Recounter, they oblig'd to retire with a conſiderable Loſs.

Reflections on this Undertaking.

This Undertaking being the moſt hazardous, that had happened during the whole Courſe of the War, in which the Duke of Marlborough underwent more Fatigue, than he had done in any other, and had a favourable Opportunity of exerciſing his utmoſt Talent in the Art of War, I have thought fit to relate the Preludes to it, in all their Circumſtances: And, indeed, the Marſhal de Villars, to give him his Due, ſhew'd himſelf an active Commander, and an accompliſh'd General, in the ſeveral Attempts he made to hinder the Inveſting of the Town; which, conſidering how near his Army lay, was, as I have ſaid above, a bold Enterprize. Some People took Occaſion from thence, to arraign the Duke's Conduct, and attributed it to Temerity: But they who conſider his Grace's great Foreſight, ſo viſible in all his Actions, and the great Dependance he had Reaſon to have, on the Courage and Conduct of the Officers and Troops under his Command, will readily form another Judgment.

Bouchain

Bouchain being thus inveſted, and the Contravallation drawn parallel with it, from the Senſet to the Lower Scheld, the Trenches were opened, the twenty-third, at Night, at three Attacks: Two againſt the Upper Town, to be carried on by 31 Battalions, and 12 Squadrons, commanded by General Fagel, and under him, at the Attack on the Right, by the Lord North and Gray, having four Major-Generals and as many Brigadiers under him. The Attack, on the Left, was commanded by Lieutenant-General Colyer, with the like Number of Major-Generals and Brigadiers. Beſides theſe Troops, 40 Squadrons, under General Dopf, and 20 Battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-General Withers, were poſted, on the ſame Side, to obſerve the Enemy. The third Attack was againſt the Lower Town, under the Direction of Lieutenant-General Schwartzen, with two Major-Generals, and four Brigadiers. 1711.

The Trenches before Bouchain open'd.

I ſhall not detain the Reader, by giving a Journal of this Siege; that it was carried on ſucceſsfully, and that Monſieur de Villars attempted no great Matters to divert it, tho' he was continually doing ſomething to harraſs the Troops, the Reader will ſee by the two following Letters:

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to Monſieur **** *at Hannover.*

SIR, From the Camp before Bouchain, Auguſt 27, 1711.

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to Monſ. **** at Hannover.

"I Have received your Letters of the ſeventeenth, and twenty-firſt, Inſtant, and am infinitely oblig'd to you for the "News you ſend me. As for that of the Battle gain'd by the "Muſcovites, I find we muſt wait for farther Confirmation, "before we give entire Credit to it. What has happened in "Scotland is certainly a Piece of Effrontery, beyond Example; "and I do not doubt but the Miniſtry will purſue the Authors "of it with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law. The Part which "the Electrice of Hannover takes in it, cannot but be applaud-"ed, and I am perſuaded it will have a good Effect.

"We continue our Approaches, with pretty good Succeſs, tho' "ſomewhat ſlowly, according to Cuſtom. There are, how-"ever, all the Appearances of a happy Concluſion; and the "more, becauſe Monſieur de Villars has given us all the time "we could wiſh, to take our Meaſures with the neceſſary Cau-"tion. I ſhould be glad to ſee you again at the Hague, at the "Concluſion of the Campaign, to aſſure you in Perſon, that

I am, &c.

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

1711.

*Tranſlation of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, to Monſieur **** at Hannover.*

A Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, to Monſ. **** at Hannover.

SIR, From the Camp before Bouchain, Auguſt 27, 1711.

" I AM honoured with your Letters of the ſeventeenth and " eighteenth Inſtant. The latter came to my Hands laſt " Night, with that incloſed for my Lord Duke of the twenty-" firſt. We do not yet know what to think of the Muſcovite, " or rather Saxon News; ſome of our Letters ſeem to confirm " it; others, on the contrary, will give no Credit to it: There " may, however, probably be ſomething in it; of which, as " well as of the Conduct of the Northern Allies, a few Days " will give us a better Light. Our Approaches before this " Place advance pretty well, and we have Reaſon to hope, that " when our Batteries begin to play, it will not be able to hold " out long. We are very much obliged to Monſieur de Villars, for " having ſuffered us to take the neceſſary Meaſures for carrying on " the Siege, without Interruption, by any Diverſion, either here " or elſewhere. He is without doubt, projecting ſome Deſign " or other, but we hope they will all come to nothing. Both " his Court and Army are very much exaſperated againſt him. " I pleaſe myſelf before-hand with the Honour I ſhall have, of " embracing you at the Hague, being, &c.

A. CARDONNEL.

The Approaches were carried on in the uſual Manner, till the 30th, in the Morning, when the Cannon and Mortars began to play, from the Batteries, at the three Attacks, and they continued with ſuch Succeſs, that the Cannon of the Place were ſoon diſmounted, and the Out-works ruin'd. The French made ſeveral Attempts to intercept the Convoys of the Beſiegers, but in vain; and ſo great a Progreſs was made in the Siege, by the eleventh of September, that notwithſtanding all Endeavours uſed towards its Relief, by the Marſhal de Villars (who, by the Neighbourhood of the two Armies, had repeated Skirmiſhes with the Allies) the Baſtion on the Right of the Lower Town was ſtorm'd and taken, with little or no Loſs. The Beſieged quitted, at the ſame time, the Baſtion on the Left, where the Allies likewiſe lodg'd themſelves.

Two Baſtions taken.

The twelfth of September, N. S. about Noon, the Beſieged, ſeeing that the Breaches, at the two Attacks againſt the Upper Town, were wide enough, and that all Things were preparing for a general Aſſault, beat the Chamade, and, Hoſtages being exchanged, the French, who were conducted to General Fagel's Quarters,

The Garriſon beats the Chamade;

Quarters, whither the Duke of Marlborough, and the Deputies, repaired, began to propoſe Articles of Capitulation; but were immediately anſwered, by the Duke of Marlborough, that *he would not have them read; for ſince they had waited to the laſt Extremity, they had no other Terms to expect, but to be made Priſoners of War*; bidding them *acquaint their Commander with it, and ſend back the Hoſtages, if he would not accept theſe Conditions.* Upon the Return of the Hoſtages into the Town, the Governour refuſed to comply; the Hoſtilities were, therefore, immediately renewed, with ſuch Fury, and the Beſiegers made ſuch a terrible Fire from their Cannon, Mortars, and ſmall Shot, that the Beſieged hung out a White Flag, at all their Attacks, and beat a Parly again, the ſame Day. New Hoſtages being exchang'd, they conſented to ſurrender Priſoners, but demanded to march out with the uſual Marks of Honour, and to be conducted to France, there to remain, without doing any Service, till they were exchanged. They pretended that they deſired this Favour, becauſe of the Miſery the Priſoners of their Nation were reduced to in Holland, where they ſeem'd to be abandon'd by their Court, which took no Care for their Subſiſtence. This being, likewiſe, rejected, and the Fire again renewed, with greater Fury than before, they, at length, agreed to become Priſoners of War, upon the Duke's own Terms. They delivered up one of the Gates, with twenty-four Colours, and all their Arms, the next Day, and marching out, the fourteenth, Major-General Groveſtein, who was appointed Governour of the Place, took Poſſeſſion of it. The Soldiers were conducted to Marchienne, in order to be ſent to Holland, but the Officers continued in Bouchain, till farther Orders. 1711.

And ſurrenders Priſoners of War.

The Duke of Marlborough gave an Account of this Succeſs, the ſame Day, to the Court of Hannover, in the following Letter:

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to a Gentleman at the Court of Hannover.

From the Camp before Bouchain, Sept. 14. 1711.

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to a Gentleman at Hannover.

"PERMIT me, Sir, at the ſame Time, that I thank "you for your Letter of the 31ſt paſt, to rejoice with "you, at the happy Succeſs of our Siege. The Garriſon, to "the Number of more than 3000 Men, has been obliged to "ſurrender Priſoners of War, and that in the Sight of the E-"nemy's Army. I take the Liberty of congratulating his E-"lectoral Highneſs, and his Highneſs, the Prince, on this Occa-

"ſion,

1711. " ſion, by the Letters incloſed, which I recommend to your " Care, and am, &c.

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

The Marſhal de Villars's fruitleſs Attempt at Hordain.

The Marſhal de Villars, that he might not be reckoned a tame Spectator of the Siege, form'd two Deſigns, during the Continuation of it. The firſt was to poſſeſs himſelf of the Communication the Allies had over the Moraſs, near Hordain; to this End, he detach'd 2000 Grenadiers, ſuſtain'd by a Body of 1000 Fuſiliers, to attack Hordain; and, at the ſame time, 1500 Grenadiers more, ſuſtain'd by a Brigade of Foot, from Wavrechin, were ordered to attack the Faſcines, in the Moraſs. The former made a Bridge over the Scheld, near Eſtrun, and, paſſing that River unſeen, by the Favour of a dark Night, thought to have ſurprized two Battalions at Hordain; but the Duke of Marlborough, having got Intelligence before they could get thither, ſent Word to Lieutenant-General Finck, who commanded there, to be upon his Guard: So that the Enemy advancing, that General, with the Officers and Troops under his Command, behav'd themſelves ſo bravely, and received them ſo warmly, that they were glad to retire, with the Loſs of a conſiderable Number of Men, and without any farther Advantage, than making the Pruſſian Major-General Borck, Priſoner. The Troops from Wavrechin, which attack'd the Fort in the Moraſs, had no better Succeſs, being ſoon beat off, by the Confederate Troops, and obliged to retire with the greateſt Precipitation.

French Account of it.

The French pretend to a much greater Advantage by this Attempt, and ſay, that beſides Major General Borck, Count Denhoff, who commanded that Poſt, a Colonel, three Captains, an Enſign, two Engineers, and ſixty Soldiers, were taken, with a very conſiderable Booty, in the Houſes of Hordain, in which a great Number of the Confederate Officers had their Quarters; and that the Remainder of two of the Confederate Battalions was entirely cut to Pieces.

His Deſign on Douay;

The Marſhal's ſecond Deſign was to ſurprize Douay; and this being a Matter of great Importance, he ſent fifty Waggons, laden with Boats, Scaling-Ladders, and other proper Materials, for the Enterprize, under a Detachment of 10,000 Men, commanded by Lieutenant-General Albergotti. This Officer, having paſſed the Senſet, the ſeventh, in the Evening, march'd with all the Diligence poſſible, and got to the Gate of St. Eloy, where their Deſign was to ſcale the Wall; whilſt others got over the Inundation in Boats, to favour the Attempt, which the Marſhal de Villars honoured, himſelf, with his Preſence. Count Hompeſch, Governour of the Town, had got Intelligence of their March, and neceſſary Orders were diſtributed for giving them

them a warm Reception; accordingly, they no ſooner approach'd, which was between one and two in the Morning, but they were challenged by the Centinels, and, not anſwering to the Purpoſe, were fir'd upon, as well from the Walls, as the outward Works. Upon this they retired, with ſuch Precipitation, that they left their Boats behind them, and repaſſed the Senſet. The Duke of Marlborough having Advice of theſe Proceedings, Lieutenant-General Cadogan was ſent with orders for the Troops, on the other Side of the Scheld, under the Command of General Dopf and Lieutenant-General Withers, to march and endeavour to cut off their Retreat. Theſe Troops were in Motion before Day; but, in their March, the Huſſars, who were ſent before to get Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions, came back with ſeveral Priſoners, and brought Notice of the Enemy's precipitate Retreat; upon which, they returned to their Camp. 1711. Likewiſe miſcarries. Loſs of the French at Bouchain.

Both theſe Undertakings having thus proved unſucceſsful, the Marſhal de Villars found himſelf under a Neceſſity of being a bare Eye-witneſs, at the Head of near 100,000 Men, that Bouchain was fairly taken, and the Garriſon (which was reduced from 6000 effective Men, that it conſiſted of, at the Beginning of the Siege, to half that Number) made Priſoners of War. The French Officers, as I have ſaid above, were allowed to ſtay in Bouchain, till farther Orders, to the Number of about 229, viz. Two Major-Generals, two Brigadiers, eight Colonels, four Lieutenant-Colonels, three Majors, ſeventy-ſix Captains, 83 Lieutenants, and 51 Sub-Lieutenants.

The Governour pretended, that he was in a Condition to have held out ſome Days longer; but that the Soldiers, perceiving the Marſhal de Villars did not attempt their Relief, as he had promiſed them, forced him to capitulate. It was, indeed, ſomething ſurprizing, that this General, having a ſuperior Army to the Allies, ſuffered this important Place to be taken, in his View, without making any real Efforts to raiſe the Siege: But the Duke of Marlborough had taken his Meaſures ſo wiſely, that Monſieur de Villars eaſily foreſaw, if he offered to attack his Grace's Camp, he ſhould probably loſe the greater Part of the Army, as well as the Town. Some Reflections on this Siege.

The Duke's Stratagem, in paſſing the Lines, without the Loſs of a Man; the cutting off the Communication of the Enemy with Bouchain; the Manner of the Duke's inveſting the Town, with an inferiour Army; his caſting up Lines, making regular Forts, raiſing Batteries, laying Bridges over a River, making a Moraſs paſſable, and providing for the Security of his Convoys, againſt a ſuperiour Army, on the one Side, and the numerous Garriſons of Condé and Valenciennes, on the other, were Enterprizes truly Heroick: Yet his Grace was cenſured by inſolent Scribblers of his own Nation, who gave out, *it was* A Monument of the Duke's Glory.

as

1711. *no more than a Dove-House*; of which I ſhall take Occaſion to ſay more below.

The following Medal was, however, ſtruck, on this Occaſion.

A Medal ſtruck on this Occaſion.

On the Right Side, the Queen's Head, and Inſcription, as uſual.

On the Reverſe, BRITANNIA, ſitting on a Gun, holding her Spear in her Right Hand, and her Shield in her Left, inſcrib'd with this Motto, FORTUNA MANENS; that is, *Conſtant Fortune*. A Soldier on his Knee, delivering up to her his Muſket and Sword; and by him a Mural Crown. The Town of Bouchain at ſome Diſtance, the Legend, HOSTES. AD DEDITIONEM. COACTI: In Engliſh, *The Enemy forced to ſurrender*. In the Exergue, VALLO. GALLORUM. SUPERATO. ET. BUCHEMIS. CAPTO. MDCCXI. In Engliſh, *The French Lines forc'd, and Bouchain taken*, 1711.

The French endeavour to leſſen the Glory of it.

The French according to Cuſtom, pretended, on their Side, to leſſen our Hero's Glory, that this Conqueſt, which, they ſaid, was very inſignificant in the Conſequence, coſt more Men, by half, than it was worth; but it is plain, they would have willingly ſacrificed many more Men, than it coſt the Allies, and have thought themſelves well off too, if they could have prevented the Siege.

The Unreaſonableneſs of their Aſſertion proved.

Let the French leſſen the taking of Bouchain, and the paſſing of their Lines, as much as they pleaſe; it has been allowed by every impartial Perſon of Knowledge and Judgment, that the Duke of Marlborough ſhew'd as much, if not more, of the General, in theſe Enterprizes, than in any thing perform'd during the Courſe of the War: But how are theſe things conſiſtent? The Marſhal de Villars, before the taking of theſe Lines, boaſted they were the *Non plus ultra* of the Duke of Marlborough, which his Enemies did not now forget to upbraid him with. The Marſhal is ſaid to have been ſo vain, that, whenever he heard of the Victories obtained by the Allies, at Blenheim, Ramellies, Turin, Oudenarde, &c. he was uſed to ſay; *Je ne ſçaurois être par tout*; (I cannot be every where;) proudly intimating, that Succeſs attended him every where; which Vanity of his gave Occaſion to the following Lines.

I.

Verſes on Monſieur de Villars's Vanity.

Le Non plus ultra *eſt ſurpris,*
Villars *pleurez votre imprudence;*
Vous l'avez mis à ſi haut prix,
Que la Perte en eſt d'importance:
Mai conſolez vous apres cout,
Vous ne ſçauriez être par tout.

II


ANNA · AUGUSTA ·


HOSTES · AD · DEDITIONEM · COACTI ·
VALLO · GALLORVM · SUPERATO
ET · BUCHEMIO · CAPTO ·
MDCCXI ·

P. Cole. Sculp.

BRITISH
17 AP 66
MUSEUM

II.

Prés du Moulin à quatre Vents,
Depuis trois Nuits, ſur votre Ligne,
Dans vos Airs vains et menaçants
Vous attendiez Victoire inſigne:
My Lord *vous cherche a l'autre bout,*
Vous ne ſçauriez être par tout.

Engliſhed thus:

I.

Thy *Non plus ultra*'s ſudden Fate,
Unwary *Villars* thou may'ſt mourn;
Thou priz'dſt it at ſo high a Rate,
The Loſs is hardly to be born:
But Courage! Men are ſatisfy'd,
Thou could'ſt not be on every Side.

II.

Safe in thy Line, the other Night,
Not far from yonder whirling Mill,
Thy Merc'ry roſe to ſuch a Height,
As promis'd Vict'ry notable:
But Marlbro' knocks at t'other Door,
And *Villars* can't be Back and Fore.

As for the Importance of Bouchain, the Reader will judge of it, by the Value ſet upon it, in the following Letter from the Field-Deputies to the States-General: Which, likewiſe, attributes to the Duke of Marlborough, the Honour, that his Valour and Conduct, in this Campaign, juſtly merited.

High and Mighty Lords,

The Field-Deputies Letter to the States-General.

"THE Enemy having beat a Parly, yeſterday, the Capitulation was agreed to, this Morning, whereby the Garriſon is made Priſoners of War. It is with the utmoſt Satisfaction, that we do ourſelves the Honour to congratulate your High Mightineſſes on the Conqueſt, with which God Almighty has been pleaſed to bleſs the Arms of the State, and your High Allies. This Place is of ſo great Importance, in reſpect to its Situation, which opens a Way, to penetrate farther into the Enemy's Territories, and even into the very Heart of their Country, that, for Prevention, they have found it neceſſary to burn the Forage in their

"own

1711. " own Territories. If the concomitant Circumſtances of this " Conqueſt are but duly conſider'd, as the paſſing of the Lines, " which the Enemy, and the reſt of the World, thought im- " poſſible; and the Siege carried on with ſo much Speed, and " in ſo glorious a Manner, in Sight of an Army of equal, if " not ſuperior Strength; We ſay, if all theſe things are but " rightly conſidered, it will appear, that the Conduct, Firm- " neſs, and Valour, which the Duke of Marlborough, and the " Count de Tilly, have ſhewn in the Proſecution of this glori- " ous Enterprize, cannot be ſufficiently praiſed. That we " may likewiſe do Juſtice to General Fagel, who commanded " the Siege, we find ourſelves obliged to ſay, that his Cou- " rage, and indefatigable Care, have very much contributed to " the ſpeedy Conqueſt of this important Place. But above all, " we return Thanks to Almighty God, who has made Uſe of " thoſe Generals, as happy Inſtruments for accompliſhing his " Will, and Mercies. We pray God, that he will continue " his Bleſſings on the Arms of your High Mightineſſes, that " this bloody and expenſive War may be turn'd into an happy, " and laſting Peace. We take the Liberty to propoſe Major- " General Groveſtein for Commander, and Captain Keppel for " Major of the Place, who are to take Poſſeſſion of it, and we " hope, that your High Mightineſſes will pleaſe to approve the " ſame, and remain with the utmoſt Reſpect, &c.

From the Camp before Bouchain, Sept. 13, 1711.

A van CAPELLE.
W. HOOFFT.
S. van GOSLINGA.
P. T. VEGELIN van CLAERBERGEN.

A Diſpute concerning the Garriſon of Bouchain.

The private Soldiers, which march'd out of Bouchain, to the Number of 2717, were conducted to Marchienne, in order to be ſent to Holland, as Priſoners of War; which the Count de Ravignan, late Governour of the Town, and the other principal Officers of that Garriſon, repreſented to the Court of France, as an Infringement of the Capitulation; they pretended, that the Conditions promiſed them during the Parly, were not made good to them, and inſiſted that they were only to be deemed as Priſoners, to be conducted home, and to be accounted for in future Exchanges. Upon this, the Marſhal de Villars wrote the following Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, and ſent him incloſed a Copy of the Complaint made to the French Court, by the ſaid Governour and Officers.

SIR,

1711.

Marſhal de Villars's Letter to the Duke of Marlboro' on that Account.

SIR,

" I Have been thoroughly informed, by the Count de Ravignan, and the other chief Officers of the Garriſon of Bouchain, of their juſt Complaints of the Word and Faith infringed in the Capitulation granted them by Colonel de Pagnies, Commander of the Dutch Guards, by Monſieur de Fagel's Order. You will ſee, Sir, by the encloſed Copy of all that paſs'd thereupon, and of which thoſe brave Men ſent the Original to the King, to vindicate themſelves, for not having preferred all Dangers, and even Death, to the Shame of ſurrendring Priſoners of War, that the Word given them has been formerly broke. The Place was not reduced to the Condition of being ſtormed, ſince you were not Maſters of the Half-Moon, and the Paſſage of the Ditch was not as yet begun. Give me leave to tell you, that the Want of your Conſent does not hinder the good Faith from being violated, when the General who commands the Siege ſends his Word by a Colonel, that upon that Word, the firing which had been begun anew, is diſcontinued, new Hoſtages given, and a Gate delivered up. I don't queſtion, Sir, but your own Glory will, upon ſerious Conſideration, engage you to ſend back that Garriſon, upon the Conditions that were offer'd them when they ſurrender'd. What can be more authentick, than the Publick Proteſtation which Monſieur de Pagnies made thereupon, as a Man of Honour and Probity, in the Preſence of all your Army, and of the Garriſon itſelf, declaring, that he knew not the Maxims upon which they broke the Word, which he had Order and Power to engage. I expect, Sir, an Anſwer from you conformable to Equity. *The King commands me to make Complaints to you upon a Fact without Example in War.* The Count de Borck may may be exchanged for the Count de Ravignan, provided this laſt be ſet at Liberty upon the Faith of the Capitulation.

I am, &c.

Camp at Pallincourt, Sept. 28, 1711.

Sign'd

The Duke de VILLARS,

Marſhal of France.

To this Letter, the Duke of Marlborough, after having enquired and examined into this Affair, and found that the Complaints of the Garriſon were altogether frivolous and groundleſs, returned the following Anſwer, with the Atteſtations of Baron Fagel, and Colonel Pagnies, encloſed, by which it plainly appear'd,

1711. pear'd, that they had not the leaſt Encouragement given them, to hope for any other Conditions, than to be made Priſoners of War, at his Grace's Diſcretion.

SIR,

The Duke of Marlborough's Anſwer.

" I Received the Letter you did me the Honour to write to " me yeſterday, by the King's Order, to accompany the " Account given by Monſieur de Ravignan, and the chief Of- " ficers of the Garriſon of Bouchain, concerning the Capitula- " tion; tho' it appears by that very Account, that thoſe Gentle- " men own, what they pretend to have been told them, by " Monſieur de Pagnies, was altogether without my Conſent, or " that of the Deputies of their High Mightineſſes: I am there- " fore equally ſurprized, and ſorry, it ſhould be believed, that " I ſhould have permitted any Infringement on the King's Pro- " miſes, or the leaſt Violation of the good Faith. My man- " ner of acting with many of the General Officers, on ſo many " Occaſions of this Nature, ought to be to the King, and the " whole World, as ſo many Pledges of my upright Proceeding; " and I flatter myſelf they will do me the Juſtice to believe, " that nothing was done, in the Treatment that Garriſon met " with, contrary to the Capitulation that was granted them. " You will find, by the encloſed Atteſtations of the Baron de " Fagel, and Monſieur Pagnies, that things were tranſacted ſo " much otherwiſe from what is repreſented in that Memorial, " that there is not the leaſt Ground for the Complaint therein " mentioned: And General Fagel, far from taking upon him to " grant the Capitulation inſiſted on by thoſe Gentlemen, ſent " them Word by the Hoſtages he ſent back, That he hoped " they would not acquieſce to what I offered them, in Concert " with the Deputies, viz. To be Priſoners of War, that he " might have the Honour to carry the Place Sword in Hand; " which thoſe very Gentlemen muſt agree, could not have failed " being executed in leſs than four and twenty Hours; the " Breaches in the Body of the Place, as well as in the Ravelin, " being wide enough, and our Men lodg'd on the Brink of the " Ditch, ſo as to be able to ſtorm the next Day: And it was " ſome Hours after that Meſſage was ſent to them, and the " Hoſtilities renewed, that thoſe Gentlemen thought fit to hang " out a white Flag, for the ſecond time, and deliver up a Gate " to us. As to what they alledge, that in the mean time, we " carried on our Works; I muſt have the Honour to tell you, " Sir, that when the Chevalier d'Artagnan came out with the " Hoſtages, it was declared to them, before the Deputies, that " we could not be amuſed, but that they were to expect, that " the Works ſhould be continued during the Treaty. This is a " Circumſtance which thoſe Gentlemen agreed to, and I am ſo

" well

" well perſuaded of your Equity, that when you have ſeriouſly 1711.
" conſidered theſe Facts, you will do me the Juſtice that is due
" to my Proceeding; and, if neceſſary, inform the King, that
" the Complaints of thoſe Gentlemen are groundleſs, and that
" whatever was promiſed them has been literally performed: You
" will give me Leave, Sir, to add, that the Refuſal of letting
" Count Erbach, Major General Borcke, Count Denhoff, Colo-
" nel Savory, and Major Waſſenaer, to come upon their Pa-
" role, is ſo contrary to what we always uſed, towards your
" Officers, that the Generals of this Army complain of it pub-
" lickly, and that unleſs this Grievance is redreſſed, I muſt be
" oblig'd, in Juſtice, and by Order of the Queen, and the States
" General, to recall the Priſoners, that have been ſuffered to
" continue ſo long in France, upon their Parole. I ſhould be
" ſorry that things ſhould come to this Extremity, the prevent-
" ing of which ſhall wholly depend upon the Facility that will
" be given on your Part.

Camp at Bouchain, I am, &c.
Sept. 19, 1711.

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

This Letter gave ſuch ample Satisfaction to the Court of France, that Orders were immediately given for the Enlargement of thoſe Officers, mentioned by the Duke of Marlborough, in his Letter, upon their Parole, and that the Exchanges ſhould be continued as hitherto, by both Armies. In the mean time, the Duke wrote the following Letter to the States General, in his own Juſtification.

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

" I Do myſelf the Honour to ſend your High Mightineſſes a
" Copy of a Letter, and Memorial, which I have juſt now
" received from Marſhal de Villars, wherein he complains of
" the Infraction of the Capitulation of Bouchain, and pretends
" we have violated the good Faith towards the Garriſon. I
" would not miſs imparting them to you immediately, together
" with my Anſwer, and the Declarations of General Fagel and
" Colonel Pagnies, upon the Fact which the Enemy complain
" of, that your High Mightineſſes may ſee how little Grounds
" there are for their Allegations, and that we have acted, on
" that Occaſion, with Honour, and according to the Rules of
" War. Your High Mightineſſes will be pleaſed to obſerve,
" that all has been tranſacted in Concert with your Deputies,
" and Generals: And I flatter myſelf you will likewiſe approve

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

1711. "the laſt Article of my Letter to that Marſhal, and give In-
"ſtructions to your Deputies accordingly.

I am, &c.

An Inſtance of F. Daniel's Partiality; As all theſe Pieces were made publick, and F. Daniel muſt undoubtedly have ſeen them, he gives the World an Inſtance of his Partiality; when he only takes Notice, from common Rumour, "That the Beſiegers promis'd at Midnight, to let the "Garriſon have their Liberty; upon which Aſſurance, the Be-"ſieged delivered up one Side of a Gate; but they were no ſooner "Maſters of that, than they forced the Barrier, and made them-"ſelves Maſters of the Place." Whoever will be at the Trouble of comparing this Recital with the above Letters, will be eaſily convinced of the Partiality of the French Hiſtorian: And whoever is never ſo little acquainted with the Duke of Marlborough's Character, and ſtrict Honour, muſt conclude him incapable of ſuch an Action. Monſieur de Quincy goes yet farther, and, in Oppoſition to the moſt evident Proofs, makes General Fagel acknowledge the Injuſtice done them, and blame the Duke of Marlborough's Conduct.

And of Monſieur de Quincy's.

The Dutch refuſe their Conſent to the Siege of Queſnoy. Whilſt the Works and Breaches of Bouchain were repairing, the Duke of Marlborough ſent the Earl of Albemarle to the Hague, to regulate the Operations for the remaining Part of the Campaign, with their High Mightineſſes; and as he judged, that the Enemy might be troubleſome in the Winter, to the conquer'd Places near them, without the Reduction of Queſnoy, to obtain their Concurrence for the Siege of that Place. But the States conſidering how far the Seaſon was ſpent, and the Difficulties which muſt attend ſuch an Enterprize, in the Sight of the Enemy's Army; eſpecially in a Country where they had deſtroyed all the Forage; they rejected the Propoſal. They agreed, however, that moſt of their Troops ſhould be quarter'd in the Frontier Towns; not only that they might be ready to take the Field, betimes in the Spring; but alſo to hinder the Enemy from making any new Lines, during the Winter, and oblige them, at the ſame time, to continue their Troops upon their Frontiers, where they would find it very difficult to ſubſiſt them.

Their Reaſons for it.

One more particular Reaſon. The Duke, who had been acquainted with the Negotiations, that were carrying on in England, by Monſieur Meſnager, from the French Court, and the Propoſals he had given in, to the Miniſtry, from his Maſter, could not but perceive, that the States had this alſo for an Inducement, to make no more Sieges, during the Reſidue of the Campaign; in order to ſpare their Troops till they ſaw what would be the Reſult of the Negotiations; tho' their High Mightineſſes did not think fit to inſert it, among the other Arguments they made uſe of for putting an

End

End to it. His Grace, therefore, without making any Remonſtrance, as far as I have been able to find, againſt lying ſtill ſo conſiderable a time, ſet the Forces at Work to level the Approaches, fill up the Breaches, and put the Town of Bouchain into a Poſture of Defenſe; which was not compleatly done, till about three Weeks after its Surrender, thro' the Badneſs of the Weather, which very much incommoded both the French, and the Allies, who continued encamp'd to ſee each other drawn off to their Winter-Quarters. 1711. The Duke of Marlborough acquieſces.

As ſoon as Bouchain was put in a good Poſture of Defenſe, and the Approaches were all levelled, both the Armies began to ſeparate, having already greatly ſuffer'd by the continual Rains, and the Scarcity of Forage. The Campaign ended.

This was the laſt Service the Duke ever performed in the Field, and there was all the Reaſon in the World to believe, it would have given a finiſhing Stroke to the Hopes and Expectations of the French King, and brought the War to an honourable and ſafe Iſſue, had the Duke been entruſted with the Management of the Peace: But his eminent Services were now no more regarded, or thought worthy even of an Acknowledgment.

The Allies were now in Poſſeſſion of the Maeſe, almoſt to the Inlet of the Sambre, and the Scheld beyond Tournay, and of the Lys, ſo far as it is navigable: And beſides the Conqueſts of Bavaria, Cologn, and other Countries in Germany, the Allies had alſo reduced ſo much of Guelderland, as had formerly been left to Spain, by the Treaty of Munſter: Likewiſe Limburg, Brabant, Mechlin, Flanders, two Thirds of Hainault, with their ſtrong Holds, the Conqueſt of which was, in a great meaſure, thought impracticable. The French had alſo loſt a great Part of Artois; and ſome other Provinces were brought under Contribution. By the taking of Bouchain, and the Progreſs of the Confederate Army on the Scarpe and the Lys, they were become in Effect Maſters of two Rivers, which, by the Means of the Deule, and its Canal, had been ſerviceable to the French for many Years, in their continual Invaſions of the Spaniſh Netherlands, of which they were now altogether deprived.

All theſe important Conqueſts the Allies had made, during the Courſe of this War, under the auſpicious Conduct of the great Duke of Marlborough; but what grateful Returns were beſtowed upon him, for all his Care and Labours, the Reader may beſt judge of by the Sequel.

So much has been already recorded in the foregoing Sheets, to the Honour of the Hero of this Age, from the verbal or written Teſtimonies of Perſons of known Credit and Reputation, in almoſt every Station of Life, that it may perhaps be deem'd ſuperfluous to add any thing farther: but as the Teſtimony of a profeſſed Enemy, if not to his Perſon, yet avowedly to thoſe

1711. who were neareſt and deareſt to him; and, at the ſame time, to the Meaſures purſued by him and his Friends, cannot be ſuſpected of Adulation, I ſhall only add a few Lines from the *The other Side of the Queſtion.*

"That his Grace (ſays the ſuppoſed Right Honourable Author) perform'd a Maſter-piece in the Art military, in paſſing "the French Lines, in the Neighbourhood of Bouchain, call'd "by the Marſhal de Villars, who commanded there, *The Duke's* "NE PLUS ULTRA, without the Loſs of a Man, *I am proud* "*to acknowledge:* And that he afterwards carried Bouchain it- "ſelf, tho' almoſt unapproachable, in Sight of an Army ſu- "periour to his own, *I muſt likewiſe acknowledge, was alone* "*ſufficient to render his Glory immortal.*

"In the Field (ſays the ſame Author) the Duke of Marlboro' "was, beyond all Contradiction, one of the greateſt of Men; "his Exploits have both enriched and adorned our Annals; and "whenever the Britiſh military Glory ſhall be celebrated by fu- "ture Times, his Name will be enrolled among thoſe Heroes "who have enlarged it moſt."

The Duke of Marlborough having given the neceſſary Orders for ſecuring the Navigation of the Scarpe, to Douay, and covering the Workmen employed in fortifying ſeveral Poſts on that River, and on the Scheld, left the Army, the ſeven and twentieth of October.

The Duke of Marlboro' leaves the Army.

His Grace came, the very ſame Day, to Tournay, where he was nobly received and entertained by the Earl of Albemarle, Governour of that Fortreſs. The third of November, his Grace arrived at Antwerp, attended by ſeveral General Officers, under a triple Diſcharge of all the Artillery. He there ſupp'd with the Cardinal de Bouillon, and dined the next Day with the Marquis de Terracena, Governour of the Citadel, who had invited all the Perſons of Quality in that City, upon the Account of the Feaſt of the Name of his Imperial Majeſty, Charles VI. who had been ſome time elected to that high Dignity, in the room of his Brother, the late Emperour Joſeph. On the fifth, his Grace ſet out from thence for the Hague, where he was received the next Day, with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction; and, in ſeveral Conferences with the States General, entered upon Conſultations, as well relating to Peace as the Proſecution of the War. He ſet out, the twenty-third of the ſame Month, for the Briel, and landed at Greenwich, the ſeventeenth of the ſame Month, O. S. And thus, indeed, ended the Campaign, tho' not the Hoſtilities.

Arrives at the Hague.

The Enemy getting Intelligence, that the Allies deſign'd to lay up large Magazines at Douay, to enable them to open the Campaign betimes in the Spring, reſolved to prevent it, if poſſible. To this End, they aſſembled above 30,000 Men, and march'd

The French make ſome Attempts:

in

in three ſeveral Bodies; one took Poſt on the Scarpe, between Marchienne and Mortagne, and rendered the River unnavigable, by ſinking a great Number of Trees and Stones in it. Another Party blew up the Sluices at Pont à Vendin, between Douay and Liſle, and filled up the Canal for ſeveral Miles together. The third Party advanced to Lilliers, between Aire and Bethune, made a hundred and fifty Men, who were poſted there, Priſoners of War, and ſo retired, if we will believe their Accounts, without any Loſs. But by the Account given of this Matter, in a Letter, from the Earl of Albemarle, to the States General, it appears: "That the Allies purſued them, with all poſſible Diligence, and attaining the Height of Fampoux, in ſight of Arras, were in Hopes to engage them; but they retired with ſo much Precipitation, that there was no coming at them. That the Allies, however, harraſs'd them ſo much in their March, that ten or twelve Squadrons of them were obliged to throw themſelves into the Scarpe at Fampoux, and ſo got on the other Side. That the French were expoſed to unſpeakable Hardſhips, as well thro' the Badneſs of the Roads, and Weather, as thro' the Scarcity of Proviſions, which, together, occaſioned an incredible Number of Deſerters to come over to the Allies, by Companies of thirty and forty at a time." 1711. To their great Loſs.

I ſhould now proceed, as I have hitherto done, at the End of my Relations of the foreign Tranſactions of every Year, to give a ſummary Account of what paſs'd in other Parts abroad, where the Duke of Marlborough was not immediately concern'd: But very little happened this Year worthy of our Notice: The great Event of it was the Election of an Emperour at Francfort, in the Room of Emperor Joſeph deceas'd. This great Monarch's Death, as it immediately opened to King Charles the Succeſſion to the Hereditary Dominions; ſo a Diſpoſition appear'd unanimouſly, among all the Electors, to chuſe him Emperour. Some came in Perſon, others ſent their Commiſſioners or Plenipotentiaries to Francfort. They ſpent ſome Weeks in preparing the Capitulation. Great Applications were made to them, to receive Deputies from the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne; but as theſe Princes were under the Ban of the Empire, they were rejected. The Interpoſition of the Pope's Nuncio was likewiſe very diſagreeable to them: He gave them much Trouble; but they perſiſted in their Reſolution. As Francfort was at no great Diſtance from the Armies on the Rhine, it was apprehended, that the French might have made an Attempt that Way; for, as I have ſaid above, they drew ſome Detachments from their Army in Flanders, to encreaſe their Forces on the Rhine. This obliged Prince Eugene to do the ſame, and of Courſe he commanded the Army of the Empire, there; but without any conſiderable Action. When the Duke The Election of K. Charles to the Imperial Crown. Affairs on the Rhine.

1711. of Marlborough undertook the hazardous Siege of Bouchain, his Grace's Enemies at home confidently hoped, that it would miscarry, and maliciously asserted, that his Grace could do nothing without the Assistance of Prince Eugene; but, as Matters went, the Assertion might rather have been inverted, and said, that the Prince could do little without his Friend and Companion in Glory, the Duke of Marlborough. Prince Eugene came, however, in good Time, to secure the Electors at Francfort, who being now safe from the Fear of any Insult, went on slowly, in all they thought fit to propose, previous to an Election, and concluded unanimously to chuse Charles, who was now declared Emperour, by the Name of Charles VI; and he was crown'd, accordingly, at Francfort, with the usual Solemnity, the beginning of January; after the Election, and other previous Steps necessary to be taken before they proceeded to it, with the Preparations for the Solemnity, had lasted from the first of August of the preceding Year.

Emperour Charles VI. crown'd.

Affairs in Italy.

King Charles, in his Way to Francfort, staid some Weeks at Milan, where the Duke of Savoy paid him a Visit, and it was said, that all Matters in Dispute between these two Princes, if any were left unadjusted, at the late Emperour's Death, were there settled between them. It was hoped, that the Campaign in Italy would, this Year, have produced something for the Advantage of the common Cause, upon the Agreement made before Emperour Joseph's Death. "And Mr. St. John, when he "moved, in the House of Commons, for the Subsidies to the "Duke of Savoy, said, all our Hopes of Success, this Year, "lay in that Quarter; for in Flanders we could do nothing." It happened otherwise, the Campaign in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, was glorious, that in Italy produced nothing. The Duke came into Savoy, and it was given out, that he was resolved to push forward: But, upon what Views it was not then known, he stop'd his Course; and, after a short Campaign, repassed the Mountains.

In Spain.

The Affairs in Spain had been so much pressed from the Throne, and so much insisted on all the Session of Parliament (not to mention the great Sums granted for that Service, far beyond what had been ever granted before) that it was expected Matters would have been carried there much otherwise than in former Years. The Duke of Argile was sent to command the Queen's Troops there; but for what Reasons, it is not my Province to determine, all those great Expectations came to nothing. Count Stahremberg had, indeed, some Advantage over the Duke de Vendôme, towards the Conclusion of the Year, and, it was said, that if he had received the Assistance he expected from England, he would have pierced far into Spain; but this is more than

than I ſhall pretend to affirm: I ſhall, therefore, leave this Matter undetermined, and return to England. 1711.

Negotiations for a Peace continued.

The Rumours of Peace began now to prevail every Day more and more, and very different were the Opinions for and againſt it: Some thought the Continuance of a War inſupportable, others were by no Means for finiſhing it, till the main Point, for which it was entered upon, was fully obtain'd. The latter inſiſted on the Juſtice and Reaſonableneſs of carrying on the War, as well with regard to ourſelves as to our Allies, eſpecially in Conſideration of the advantagious Situation it was in. The former, on the contrary, among other Things pretended, England was now ſo exhauſted, that it was impoſſible to carry on the War any longer; and more eſpecially ſince King Charles was choſen Emperour, that he would be too great and too dangerous to all his Neighbours, if Spain were join'd to the Empire, and his hereditary Dominions. It was apprehended, that the Reunion of the two Monarchies, in the Perſon of King Charles, might render the Houſe of Auſtria as mighty, and as formidable, as it had been in former times, and might again plunge Europe into the ſame Inconveniencies, for the avoiding of which the War was begun, that is, to prevent Spain being annexed to the Houſe of Bourbon. This was an Argument the Britiſh Miniſters ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon, to juſtify the Change of their Conduct, and to oblige the Allies, to deſiſt from their Demand of the Reſtitution of Spain, which was the principal Cauſe of the War, and be contented with ſome of the exterior Provinces of that Monarchy, and with a ſimple Renunciation of King Philip, for himſelf, and his Deſcendents, for ever, to all Title and Right to the Crown of France: But of this more below. Many other Arguments were uſed on both Sides, too tedious to be re-capitulated here. That there was a Negotiation on Foot, no one queſtioned; but few could tell where to fix it, till the Accident of Mr. Prior's being ſeiz'd at Deal, in his Return from France, put it beyond all Doubt, that ſomething extraordinary was tranſacting between that Crown and Great Britain.

Reflections thereupon.

Different have been the Opinions when and where this Negotiation began. Some, tho' they have not poſitively affirmed, yet, have not been backward to hint, that the firſt Overture was made from this Side of the Water. Others (and ſeemingly with more Probability) ſuppoſe it to have come firſt from France ſoon after (others again think before) the breaking off of the Treaty of Gertruydenberg, from the Marquis de Torcy, to the Earl of Jerſey.

The Report of the Committee of Secrecy (made June 9, 1715.) gives us the following Account of this Matter:

"The firſt material Paper (we find) is entitled; *The firſt Pro-*
"*poſitions of France*, ſign'd by Monſieur de Torcy, April 22,

1711. "1711, N. S. To whom these Propositions were directed, "what previous Steps had been made on the Part of France, or "what Encouragement had been given, on the Part of England, does not appear; but it is evident, that they are conceived in very loose and general Terms; that from the Beginning, the Design of France was to secure Spain and the West-Indies to King Philip; to create Jealousies among the Allies; and that France offered to treat with England and Holland, "either by themselves, or jointly with the rest of the Allies, "which is left to the Choice of England."

Those Propositions, we, however, find, by the same Report, were transmitted a Week afterwards, to the Lord Raby, the Queen's Ambassador at the Hague, with Orders to communicate them to the Pensionary: But the Committee adds, "They "were surprized to find, after mutual Assurances had passed, "on this Occasion, between England and Holland (to take no "Step, but in mutual Concert) not the least Communication "was made to the States of the Negotiations that were carrying on, for above five Months together, betwixt England and "France, till after the special Preliminaries were sign'd, and "the seven general Preliminaries were concluded and sent to "them."

The Person first secretly employed in this Affair, was suppos'd to be Monsieur Gautier, formerly Chaplain to Marshal Tallard, when he was Ambassadour in England, and the Marshal was, likewise, said to have had a great Share in promoting this Affair. How long this Business was in Agitation, before an Ear was given to it, is yet a Secret; but Monsieur de Torcy insisting, that some trusty Person might be sent over, to whom he might freely open his Mind, Mr. Prior was pitch'd on, as being well acquainted with that Minister, and likewise for his personal Qualifications.

The French Negotiators return.

Monsieur Mesnager, and his Partner, the Abbot du Bosc, having continued some time between London and Windsor, and having had several Conferences with the Ministry, took their Leave, the fourth of October, in order to return home, highly satisfied with the Honours done them in England. It was not then known, how far our Court had carried the Negotiations with France; whether they accepted of these Preliminaries only as a Foundation for a Treaty, or if any private Promise or Treaty was sign'd; the latter of which was positively and industriously given out, both in France and Spain: And the *Report of the Committee of Secrecy* mentions (as I have said above) special Preliminaries being sign'd before the seven general ones were communicated to the States. When, where, and how these Matters were treated is likewise a Secret. "That Monsieur Mesnager (says the "same Report) upon his Arrival here, frequently conferr'd with "the

" the Queen's Miniſters, appears by many Inſtances; but the ſub- 1711.
" ject Matter of theſe Conferences, the Times, Places, and par-
" ticular Perſons, with whom he treated, or by what Authori-
" ty, the Committee find no Account, till the 20th of Sep-
" tember, when there was a Meeting between them, at Mr.
" Prior's, at which he delivered the ſecret Preliminary Articles
" betwixt Great Britain and France, that were ſign'd as ſuch,
" the 27th, the ſame Day, the general Preliminaries were ſign'd
" by Monſieur Meſnager."

Numberleſs were the Pamphlets which were publiſhed on this Account, and on both Sides of the Queſtion; of which, but to give the bare Titles would carry me too far. I ſhall therefore, lay aſide the Controverſy, and come to Facts.

Juſtice done the Duke of Marlboro'.

However, it may not be improper to take Notice, in this Place, of an egregious Inſtance of the Madneſs of Parties: For whilſt all Europe did Juſtice to the Duke of Marlborough, and equally admired and extolled his wiſe Conduct and Valour, his inveterate and ungenerous Enemies, in this divided Nation, endeavoured to ſully his Laurels, and rob him of the great Addition of immortal Glory his Grace gain'd this laſt Campaign, inſinuating, in ſeveral ſcandalous Papers, " That the paſſing of
" the Lines was principally owing to General Hompeſch; that
" the Siege of Bouchain coſt us 16,000 Men; and that the
" taking of that Place, and that of a Pigeon-Houſe was the
" ſame thing." An impartial Pen having vindicated his Grace, in a Pamphlet called BOUCHAIN, or a *Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner*, an Anſwer was ſoon publiſhed to it, under the ironical Title of, *The Duke of Marlborough's Vindication*, ſuppos'd to be written by one of the late Authors of the *Examiner*, who inſults his Antagoniſt, and calls him a *Boutefeu, That would ſet the People on Flame, and advance the General to a Height, where none had ever been hoiſted before, only for the bare Conſequences that attended his being at the Head of an Army ſo often victorious, ſo well paid and encouraged; with no Enemies in View, but thoſe whom it was familiar to them to overcome; and who, tho' ſuperiour in Number, yet are wholly diſpirited by continual Loſſes, and at preſent reſtrained by the poſitive Commands of their Monarch; who has given it in Charge to Monſieur Villars, not to venture the Army, but upon manifeſt Advantage.*

Except by ſome People in England.

His Grace vindicated by an impartial Pen:

But his Reputation attack'd by another.

But how ſcandalouſly and ungratefully ſoever his Grace was, at this Juncture, uſed, by ſome of his Countrymen, he had, as I ſaid before, Juſtice done him by Foreigners, as appears by the following curious Piece:

A Letter

1711.

A Letter from an Officer of the Confederate Army, before Bouchain, to his Friend, at the Hague, ſent to him with a Plan of the Town of Bouchain, and of the Enemy's Lines.

A Letter written by a foreign Officer, in Praiſe of the Duke of Marlboro', and giving an Account of the Campaign in Flanders.

"WE are at laſt Maſters of Bouchain; the Siege has been "ſhort, but very bright, every Day being remarkable "for ſome Action of Eclat. The Garriſon was numerous, and "wanted nothing; it was ſupported by the French Army: "And yet, in the Sight of a hundred thouſand fighting Men, "who endeavoured to relieve them, they were made Priſoners "of War. To be fully apprized of the Greatneſs of this Con-"queſt, and the Difficulties that attended it, you need but view, "with Attention, the Plan I ſend you herewith; and conſider "the Poſture of the three Armies; the Enemy's Intrenchment "round Wavrechin; the ſeveral Rivers, with ſo many Bridges "laid over them; the Lines made to cover the Convoys; the "neighbouring Places on both Sides, fill'd with numerous Gar-"riſons, and continually upon the Watch to ſtrike ſome great "Blow: The Communication croſs the Moraſs, which with "good Reaſon made us aphrehenſive of a Siege, like that of "Verue or Keyſerſwaert; the ſtupendous Works, made in "order to cut off that Communication, and worthy either of "Julius Cæſar, or of Alexander Farneſe: Thoſe Trenches dug "out, as it were, by Enchantment, between the Enemy's In-"trenchments and the Town. In a Word, call to Mind all "that has been done, from the Entrance into the Lines, to the "Reduction of Bouchain, and you will find it to be a continued "Series of great Atchievements, in which Valour and Prudence "have acted in concert. This is an Epitome of all the moſt "celebrated Sieges: Thoſe of Elexia, and Oſtend, differ only "from this by the Length of Time, in which the Advantage "lies, by much, on the Side of this. A Gun was not ſhot, "but the Marſhal de Villars ſaw the Smoak, or heard the Re-"port of it. He try'd and attempted all poſſible Ways to force "or ſurprize us; and if, at our paſſing of the Lines, he forgot "himſelf a While, he ſeem'd afterwards to have gathered all "his Vigour; recalled his priſtine Vigilance, and recovered "his former Genius and Spirit, to revenge himſelf on my Lord-"Duke. But all his Vivacity, all his Spite, avail'd him no-"thing. Our General has been impenetrable on all Sides, and "has both foreſeen and defeated all Attacks; notwithſtanding "continual Alarm, he has maintained Tranquillity and Calmneſs "in this great Army; and what by Lines, and what by De-"tachments ſent out *à propos*, he has baffled all the Enemies "Motions, without almoſt ſeeming ſo much as to ſtir himſelf; "and while, by his Command, all is on Fire, on one Side of

"the

" the Scheld, he is on the other, in a wonderful Compoſure of 1711.
" Mind, concerting the Good of his Army, and of all Europe.
" A Hero, upon all Accounts: And no leſs dreadful by the
" Terror of his Arms, than reſpectable by his Serenity!

" Neither can I but admire the Choice his Grace made of
" General Fagel, to command this Siege: A Choice abun-
" dantly juſtified, by the Succeſs that crowns all his Enter-
" prizes. That General has ſuſtained infinite Labours: He was
" conſtantly in the Trenches, ſhewing himſelf indefatigable;
" liberal; ſeeing every thing with his own Eyes; forwarding
" and aſſiſting the Execution of the Orders he had given; im-
" proving every Moment of Time, which is ſo precious in War;
" particularly on this Occaſion, where a powerful Army, with-
" in Muſket-ſhot, and which ſilently grew daily ſtronger, might
" have changed the whole Affair, within the twinkling of an
" Eye. The Works carried on with ſo much Art and Pru-
" dence: The Tobacco ſo dextrouſly diſtributed to the Ene-
" my's Soldiers: The Reports ſo induſtriouſly ſpread amongſt
" them, to terrify them: The Mines diſcover'd on this Occa-
" ſion: The firing of Cannon on Purpoſe to give Notice of, and
" diſappoint the Deſign upon Douay. In a Word, his whole
" Conduct, from the Beginning to the End of the Siege, com-
" pleats his Glory; and as Bouchain, by a Thouſand bright
" Circumſtances, will preſerve its Luſtre, even amidſt the Bat-
" tles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Blaregnies, and
" many other ſignal Victories, General Fagel, who ſo wiſely
" executed my Lord Duke's Orders, has thereby gain'd an
" immortal Name in Hiſtory.

" My Lord North and Gray, who commanded at the Siege,
" did alſo very much diſtinguiſh himſelf; he was extream ac-
" tive in carrying on his Attack, which beyond Diſpute was the
" moſt difficult and the moſt expoſed: There often fell Showers
" of Bombs from the Enemy's Intrenchments, which made it
" neceſſary to be on all Sides upon one's Guard both Night and
" Day. You are not a Stranger to that Lord, he is, indeed,
" one of the braveſt Men in the Army: and his Valour has al-
" ready coſt him an Arm; but he values not Life, when Glo-
" ry is in View. Both Soldiers and Officers are equally pleaſed
" with him: For he has done Juſtice to the Merit of the one;
" and rewarded the Courage of the other.

" I ſhall ſay nothing of our Generals, ſave only, that they
" are all of them very great Men, and command the moſt cou-
" ragious Troops in the World: For I am neither able to re-
" cord their Actions, nor, were my Abilities equal to the Taſk,
" is this Letter a proper Place for it. I leave it to impartial
" Annaliſts and Hiſtorians, who ſhall take Care to tranſmit a
" faithful Account of this memorable Siege to After-Ages, to

" do

1711. " do them full Juſtice: For I only ſet down in writing, what " at preſent occurs to my Thoughts in the Hurry of a Camp. " However, to gratify your Deſire, I ſhall tell you, that Ge- " neral Cadogan (of whom you enquire in particular) is a Man " of Steel; is ever ready for Action; takes a Reſolution in an " Inſtant, and always the beſt: He gave ſignal Proofs of it at " Oudenarde, and on other Occaſions: and, this laſt Campaign, " he was every where. What an honourable Place will that " General hold in my Lord Duke's Hiſtory? And how bright " will that Hiſtory be, if it happens to be handled by a ſincere " and ſkilful Pen? His Grace has much of the Air of the Great " Scipio. His good Nature, Affability, Wiſdom, Valour, and " Moderation bear much Reſemblance with the other's Vir- " tues; and a few Things excepted, their Characters are " extreme like. In this Compariſon, General Cadogan will " hold the Place of Lælius: Tho' the Briton, notwithſtanding " the Diſadvantages of the Climate, ſeems to have more Fire " than the Roman. Time, which decides the Deſtiny of Men, " will alſo pronounce as to their Philoſophy.

" But now I think on't, what will you ſay of me, who " of a Soldier, on the ſudden, turn Orator, and inſtead " of a Letter write a Panegyrick? The Reaſon of it is, " becauſe the bear Recital of this Campaign is one: And as " I am fully convinc'd of it, I am confident you are ſo like- " wiſe.—— I write Poſt-haſte, and without any Deſign, nei- " ther am I any more concern'd in any thing I write, than as a " good Patriot, for, I can aſſure you, I have no Rewards in " View. To proceed, I am perſuaded that our Generals, with " ſuch an Army, might conquer the World, if they were led " by Ambition, as they are by the noble and generous De- " ſign of procuring the Tranquillity and Happineſs of Europe; " neither the Macedonian Phalanx, nor the Roman Legions " were better than our Troops. There is amongſt them a Point " of Honour, and an inexpreſſible Ardor, from the higheſt to " the loweſt, every one ſtriving to diſtinguiſh himſelf. A few " Days before the Surrender of the Town, a young Enſign of " Gauvain's Regiment, out of Vivacity, threw ſome Hand- " Granadoes into one of the Enemy's Poſts, and having ſet a " Barrel of Powder on Fire, took about 20 Men, with their " Officer that commanded them, Priſoners. Another Enſign, " of Ingoldſby's, not being able, by reaſon of his low Sta- " ture, to wade thro' the Moraſs where the Water was deep, " without being drown'd, croſs'd it, perch'd, Anchiſes like, " on a Soldier's Shoulders, chuſing rather to expoſe himſelf to " a certain Death, if the French had done their Duty, than " to turn Tail.

" Theſe

1711.

" Theſe briſk Actions ſhew the Spirit that animates this " great Body; which tho' made up of a thouſand different " Pieces, is nevertheleſs ſo well jointed, ſo well cemented, ſo " well united, by an admirable Harmony, and good Under- " ſtanding, that it ſeems not only to be form'd of one ſingle " Nation, but even of one large Family. How wiſe and for- " tunate is the Father that rules it? For, it muſt be own'd, " Fortune is no leſs conſpicuous than Wiſdom, in a Miracle " that continues ſo many Years; and which being unprecedent- " ed, in Antiquity, will, perhaps, never be match'd in After- " Ages.

" You muſt agree with me, that Fortune is much delighted " with the Low Countries, and that our Army is her con- " ſtant Favourite. Every where elſe ſhe plays with Mankind: " At Barcelona and Madrid, two Kings miſs her by Turns; " in Italy ſhe proves inconſtant, and the true Heroes are not " always Conquerors. A young and formidable Prince, upon " the Point of equalling Alexander the Great, after having " made and unmade Kings, miſcarries thro' Exceſs of Ardor, " and, neglecting ſolid Glory for a more ſhining Phantom, diſ- " appears, as it were, on the ſudden. His Conquerour, who " little expected to be ſo, becomes in his Turn, the Terror of " his Neighbours. The noble Deſign of transforming a whole " Nation in a few Years, and the Succeſs that attends it; rapid " Conqueſts, a well diſciplin'd, victorious Army; wiſe and " well laid Meaſures, powerful Allies: All ſeems diſpos'd to " compleat his Glory, and to promiſe him new Triumphs: But " the ſame Fire that conſum'd his Rival, devours him in his " Turn; and had it not a been for a Piece of inimitable Pru- " dence, in a ſudden Treaty, which, perhaps, will coſt the " Turkiſh General very dear, he might have met with the " ſame Fate on the Pruth, which the other had on the Boriſt- " henes. In Spain they look upon one another; in Germany " they go into Barracks; in Dauphiny the Snow and Rain " threaten both Armies; and here we are Victorious. Agree " with me, Sir, that a General muſt, after all, be extream " wiſe, to be ever thus fortunate; or, which is the ſame, " that his good Fortune is, in great Meaſure, owing to his " ſuperior Genius. But once more, what will you ſay of me, " who as I ſaid before, avoid entering into the Detail of our " Campaign, and neglect a Subject-Matter ready prepar'd, that " offers itſelf of its own accord, and who, after that, ſoar a- " loft, and ramble after Moralities through Europe? You'll " ſay what you pleaſe: But I own, before hand, that I ob- " ſerve no manner of Order in what I write, I told you ſo " before, and am as good as my Word; Reaſon is more wary, " more coherent, more methodical: I beg you to excuſe mine

" at

1711. "at preſent: For it is debauch'd by Affection, and only ſpeaks "the Language of the Heart. Nor is this Language without "Merit, for it is true and ſincere, and therefore it may be "allowed ſome Irregularities, nay ſome Soleciſms; and pro-"vided it have its Effect, which is to touch and perſuade, "Reaſon ought not to require any more. I love to be ſhort, "but cannot be ſo at preſent, becauſe Joy is a Tatler; and I "am tranſported with my Lord Duke's Glory, in which we "have all of us a Share, as well as yourſelf, by your ſincere "Concern for the Publick Good; and therefore you ought to "bear with my Loquacity.

"I hear every Day ſome Partiſans of France, Men otherwiſe of "tolerable Parts, ſay the moſt wretched, pitiful things, in "relation to my Lord Duke's conſtant good Fortune. They "pretend that the ſurprizing of the Lines, the Enemy's Com-"munication with Bouchain ill defended, and even the Battle "of Ramellies loſt: All this, ſay they, was done by expreſs "Orders from Verſailles, upon a Proſpect of Peace. In ſhort, "if you believe them, the Generals play'd Booty, on theſe "and the like Occaſions; and were before-hand agreed, that "my Lord Duke ſhould ever be victorious, and the French ever "beaten. Admire, I beſeech you, the Height of their In-"toxication! They rather chuſe to ſuppoſe an extravagant, an "unprecedented Piece of Policy, than frankly to own they are "beaten the common Way, as other Men are. All their Re-"ſource now is to ſay, Spain will remain in the Houſe of Bour-"bon, Peace will be concluded; and the ſhorteſt Way, in their "Opinion, to procure it, is to loſe every Year ſome Towns or "Battles. Good God! what frantick Notions does human "Reaſon ſuggeſt, when Paſſion and Prejudice puts it off the "Hinges! You, dear Sir, who (without reflecting on your po-"lite Taſte, and Literature be it ſpoken) are a thorough paced "Logician; and, if occaſion offered, would puſh a Syllogiſm "with as much Vigour, as a Grenadier a Bayonet, know very "well, that the driving one's Adverſary to argue at this Rate "is to Nonplus him, and make him as ridiculous as he is un-"fortunate.

"As for the Sequel of the Campaign, about which you deſire "my Opinion, I know no more of it than yourſelf; one of "my Lord Duke's Maxims, and which never fail'd him yet, is "to deceive his own Army, in order to deceive the Enemy's: "And ſo the French, who rely upon their Spies, are generally "impos'd on by them. However, it is certain, that if the "rainy Weather, the advanced Seaſon, the Scarcity of Forage, "and the Neighbourhood of the Enemy's Army, which daily "grows ſtronger, could permit the Siege of Queſnoy, that Con-"queſt would be very convenient for us: For by drawing two

"Lines

" Lines, one towards Mons, the other towards Bouchain, we " ſhould, thereby, incloſe Valenciennes, Condé, and ſeveral " other Places; and form a Point, that would reach pretty " deep, into the very Heart of the Enemy's Country, and " would be of mighty Uſe for the next Campaign. Who can " tell but there may be a Battle between theſe two Sieges, like " that of Blaregnies; if ſuch a Thing happens, I dare prophe- " ſy, it will coſt us leſs, becauſe, in all Appearance, my Lord " Duke's Orders will be literally executed, and Valour ſhall act " in Concert with Prudence: Nor will the Troops think they " loſe their Reputation, for being Conquerors two Hours later. " But whatever comes to paſs, you may depend upon it, that " our Generals will take the beſt Courſe; and that, in Caſe " this Campaign ends ſooner than ordinary, 'twill be in order " to begin the next earlier, and by quartering moſt of the " Troops in the Conquered Countries, lie in a Readineſs to " over-run the Enemy's in the Spring: For as to the making " new Lines, we ſhall either prevent it, or uſe them at the uſual " Rate. They are a Bugbear that frights us no more. No- " thing is difficult to Courage led by Reaſon. 1711.

I am, &c.

The Emperour ſends Circular Letters to the Princes of the Empire;

But to return to the Tranſactions previous to the Negotiations for a Peace which enſued: The new Emperour, having ſeen the Offers made by France, wrote Circular Letters to the ſeveral Electors and Princes of the Empire, to ſignify his Diſapprobation of them, and to exhort them, not to give any Ear to them: Declaring, at the ſame time, that, for his Part, he had taken an irrevocable Reſolution to ſuffer whatever might be the Event, rather than give his Conſent to a Negotiation, which would be abſolutely deſtructive to the Empire, and a Prejudice to the Liberties of all Europe.

And writes to the States-General,

He, likewiſe, ſent a Letter to the States-General, wherein, among other Things, he obſerv'd the fatal Conſequences, which muſt neceſſarily attend the giving up the Spaniſh Monarchy, and the Augmentation of Power, which would thereby accrue to the Enemy. His Imperial Majeſty thought it, likewiſe, proper to take Notice, in this Letter, that France was not in a Condition to withſtand the Army of the Allies, neither in the Field, nor in their fortified Towns, and ſaid he could not help being irritated at thoſe, who, having ſo often experienced the Illuſions of France, would again have a Reliance on that good Faith, which they always promis'd, but never kept. He continued to aſſure them, that he depended upon their Concurrence with him, to endeavour at leaſt to induce the Queen of Great Britain, to reject theſe Offers, and to continue the War: Proteſting, that for himſelf,

To diſſuade them from accepting the Offers made by France.

1711. himſelf, whatever might be the Conſequences, he abſolutely rejected them, and would never impower his Ambaſſadours to aſſiſt at the Conferences, which were propos'd for treating upon them.

The Earl of Strafford ſent to the Hague.

The Earl of Strafford, in the mean time, was diſpatch'd for the Hague, to know the Sentiments of the States-General, and to uſe his Endeavours to induce their High Mightineſſes to conſent to a General Congreſs. His Lordſhip arrived at the Hague, the tenth of October; and, eight Days after, Monſieur Buys, Penſionary of Amſterdam, whom the States appointed, on this Occaſion, as their Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Great Britain, arrived at London. To paſs by the ſeveral previous Tranſactions negotiated at London and the Hague, I ſhall only obſerve, that the States-General, at length, conſented to a Congreſs, and that, on the nineteenth of November, at a Committee of Council, held at the Cockpit, where the Lord Treaſurer, and Monſieur Buys aſſiſted, the Time and Place was fixed to the firſt of January, O. S. in Utrecht. Whereupon the next Day, Circular Letters were ſent, by her Majeſty's Order, to all the Foreign Miniſters reſiding here, to notify the ſame to their reſpective Maſters, that they might likewiſe ſend their Plenipotentiaries, at the Time and Place appointed.

The States conſent to a Congreſs.

The Time and Place of the Congreſs fix'd.

The Duke of Marlborough arrives in England,

I mention'd above, that the Duke of Marlborough came to Greenwich, the ſeventeenth of November. A Story had been raiſed, by his Grace's Enemies, that he was to have made his Publick Entry into London, that Night, when, in Commemoration of Queen Elizabeth's Inauguaration, publick Rejoicings were to have been made, (but were prevented by the Government) in burning the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender; but the Duke wiſely avoided that Cenſure, by ſtaying that Night at Greenwich, and coming the next Morning early thro' the City. His Grace took Coach ſoon after, and waited on her Majeſty at Hampton-Court, where he was graciouſly received.

And is graciouſly received.

A Memorial from the Elector of Hannover preſented.

With the Duke, came over Baron Bothmar, Envoy Extraordinary from his Electoral Highneſs of Hannover, who, about a Week after, had a private Audience of her Majeſty, and the next Day preſented that famous Memorial, which, at that Time, made a great Noiſe, and was liable to much Cenſure: Tho' it was receiv'd, with great Applauſe, by all Well-wiſhers to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, who highly commended the Elector of Hannover, for his ſeaſonable Interpoſition, in an Affair that ſo nearly concern'd him; tho' it gave no ſmall Offence to ſome Perſons.

The Duke of Marlboro' viſits the Miniſters.

The Duke, for his Part, ſpent ſeveral Days, after his Arrival, in viſiting the chief of the Miniſtry, amongſt whom, to ſhew, that he entertain'd no Perſonal Diſſatisfaction, he paid his Compliments to the Earl of Oxford. Peace was now the Subject of every

every Converſation. Her Majeſty having named her Plenipotentiaries, and given Commiſſion to the Biſhop of Briſtol, Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of Strafford, for that Purpoſe, for whom Inſtructions were actually drawing up. 1711.

It was obſervable, that tho' the Duke of Marlborough arriv'd, as I have ſaid above, the 18th in the Morning, and, the ſame Day, waited on the Queen at Hampton-Court; yet he did not aſſiſt, either at the Committee of Council, which was held, the next Day, at the Cockpit, nor at any other Conſultation, about the preſent Negotiation of Peace.

Some Obſervations on the Duke of Marlboro's Conduct.

The time for opening the Parliament approaching, Pains were taken on many Perſons, to perſuade them to agree to the Meaſures the Court were in. It was ſaid, that the Duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, ſpoke very plainly to the Queen, againſt the Steps that were already made; but he found her ſo poſſeſs'd, that what he ſaid made no Impreſſion; ſo he deſired to be excuſed from coming to Council; ſince he muſt oppoſe every Step which was made in that Affair; and this was undoubtedly the Reaſon for his abſenting himſelf.

An odd Paragraph of Biſhop Burnet's.

Biſhop Burnet, ſpeaking of theſe Matters, has a very odd Paragraph; which, for the Singularity of it, I ſhall inſert. Among others, (ſays he) the Queen ſpoke to myſelf, ſhe ſaid, "She hoped Biſhops would not be againſt the Peace. I ſaid "(continues he) a good Peace was what we daily pray'd for; "but the Preliminaries offered by France gave no hopes of ſuch "a one; and the truſting to the King of France's Faith, after "all that had paſs'd, would ſeem a ſtrange thing. She ſaid, "we were not to regard the Preliminaries; we ſhould have a "Peace upon ſuch a Bottom, that we ſhould not at all rely on "the King of France's Word; but we ought to ſuſpend our "Opinions, till ſhe acquainted us with the whole Matter. I "aſk'd Leave to ſpeak my Mind plainly; which ſhe granted; "I ſaid any Treaty, by which Spain and the Weſt Indies were "left to King Philip, muſt, in a little while, deliver up all "Europe into the hands of France; and, if any Peace ſhould "be made, ſhe was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in "leſs than three Years, ſhe would be murdered, and the Fires "would be again raiſed in Smithfield: I purſued this long, "till I ſaw ſhe grew uneaſy; ſo I withdrew."

A Remark upon it.

I ſhall not pretend to ſay, how far the Biſhop then might, or might not, have Reaſon to form ſuch harſh Conjectures; but muſt wonder, that as he lived to find Matters did not happen to fall out quite ſo bad as he had foretold, why he did not expunge this Propheſy out of his Manuſcript.

The Parliament meets. Abſtract of her Majeſty's Speech.

Both Houſes of Parliament met, after ſeveral Prorogations, on the ſeventh of December; when the Queen, in her Speech from the Throne, "gave them to underſtand, that both the "Place

1711. " Place and Time were appointed, for opening the Treaty of a " General Peace, in Concert with her Allies, the States-Gene- " ral, (whoſe Intereſt ſhe look'd upon as inſeparable from her " own) notwithſtanding the *Arts of thoſe who delighted in War.* " She ſaid, the ready Concurrence of the States, ſhewed that they " repoſed an entire Confidence in her; and ſhe promiſed to do " her utmoſt to procure reaſonable Satisfaction for all her Al- " lies. She aſked the neceſſary Supplies, for carrying on the " War, of the Houſe of Commons; and, on this Head ſaid, " That the beſt Way to have this Treaty effectual, would be " to make early Proviſion for the Campaign; that our Enemies " might be convinced, that if we cannot obtain a good Peace, " we are prepared to carry on the War with Vigour; and ſhe " hoped that none would envy her the Glory of ending a te- " dious and expenſive War, by a juſt and honourable Peace; " ſhe, in particular recommended Unanimity, that our Ene- " mies might not think us a divided People, which might pre- " vent that good Peace, of which ſhe had ſuch reaſonable " Hopes, and ſo near a View.

An Obſervation on one Expreſſion of it.

This Speech occaſion'd many and various Reflections; I ſhall only obſerve upon it, that the Expreſſion, *The Arts of thoſe who delighted in War*, was ſuppos'd to be levell'd at the Duke of Marlborough, and at the Preliminaries concerted at the Hague, with the Proceedings afterwards at Gertruydenberg; and we ſhall ſee below, what the Duke ſaid on this Occaſion.

The Queen returns to the Houſe of Peers, incognito.

Her Majeſty being deſcended from the Throne, retired to take off her Royal Robes; and imagining (as it happen'd) that very warm Debates would ariſe, ſhe return'd incognito to the Houſe of Lords, thinking, at leaſt, to keep a Temper, and calm all immoderate Heats and Animoſities, by her Royal Preſence. An Addreſs of Thanks to her Majeſty, for her moſt gracious Speech, being voted, the Earl of Nottingham, after a long and elabo-

Warm Debates concerning the Peace.

rate Speech, introductory to his Motion, in which " he ſet " forth the Inſufficiency and Captiouſneſs of the late Prelimi- " naries, made a lively Repreſentation of the Danger of treat- " ing upon ſo precarious a Foundation, urged the expreſs En- " gagements Great Britain had enter'd into with the High Al- " lies, to reſtore the entire Monarchy of Spain to the Houſe of " Auſtria, and the Neceſſity of carrying on the War with Vi- " gour till thoſe Engagements were made good: Adding, that " tho' he had a numerous Family, he would readily contribute " half his Income towards it, rather than acquieſce in a Peace, " which he thought unſafe and diſhonourable, to his Coun- " try, and to all Europe; and concluded with moving, that a " Clauſe might be added to the Addreſs; *That it was the hum- " ble Opinion and Advice of the Houſe, that no Peace could be ſafe " or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain or the*

" *Weſt-*

West-Indies should be allotted to any Branch of the House of Bourbon. This occasioned a warm and earnest Debate, and many Speeches: The Ministers very much opposed it, and moved the referring that Debate to another Opportunity, in which it might be fully debated; but said it was not proper to clog the Address with it. The Lord Guernsey said, "This Clause was "in a manner foreign to an Address of Thanks; that, in all "Probability, few of the Members of the House were prepared "to speak to it; but that it might be debated at a more con- "venient time, when, according to Custom, the House should "take into Consideration the State of the Nation. Some went "so far to add, That since Peace and War belonged, as Pre- "rogatives, to the Crown, it was not proper to offer any Ad- "vice in those Matters, till it was asked: But this (it has been "said) was rejected with Indignation; since it was a constant "Practice, in all Sessions of Parliament, to offer Advices; no "Prerogative could be above Advice; this was the End speci- "fied in the Writ, by which a Parliament was summoned. 1711.

To the Objection made by some Lords, that they were not prepared to speak to that Motion, the Earl of Sunderland an- "swer'd smartly; "What, my Lords, is it possible, that any "Member of this Illustrious House should be unprepared to de- "bate an Affair, which, for these ten Years past, has been the "principal Subject-matter of our Consultations? Do not we "sit in the same House? and are we not the same Peers, who "have constantly been of Opinion, and have often represented "to her Majesty, that no safe and honourable Peace can be "made, unless Spain and the West-Indies be recovered from "the House of Bourbon? It is true, I see some new Faces a- "mong us; but even that Lord who sits on the Wool-pack "(meaning the Lord Treasurer) may well remember, that, in "the late Reign, four Lords were impeach'd for having made "a Partition-Treaty.

A Speech supposed to be levell'd at the Duke of Marlboro'

The Earl of Anglesea, who arrived but that very Day, at London, together with the Duke of Ormond, from Ireland, re- presented the insufferable Burden, under which the Nation groan'd, and the Necessity there was of making a Peace, the Conclusion of which ought, in his Opinion, to be left entirely to her Majesty's Wisdom; and added, *That we might have enjoyed the Blessing of Peace soon after the Battle of Ramellies, had it not been designedly put off by some Persons, whose Interest it was to prolong the War.*

The Duke of Marlborough, who could not but perceive, that this Suggestion was levell'd at him; and with a great deal of Reason conceived his Reputation to be nearly concerned in that Imputation, made a long and pathetick Speech in his own Jus- tification. Among other as moving Expressions, he made use of

1711. the following: "That he thought himſelf happy in having an "Opportunity given him of vindicating himſelf on ſo material "a Point, which his Enemies had ſo loudly laid to his Charge, "before a Perſon *(meaning the Queen, and making a Bow to-wards the Place where her Majeſty was incognito)* who know-"ing the Integrity of his Heart, and the Uprightneſs of his "Conduct, would not fail doing him Juſtice. That he re-"ferred himſelf to the Queen, whether he had not conſtantly, "whilſt he was Plenipotentiary, given her Majeſty and her "Council, an Account of all the Propoſitions that had been "made, and had not deſired Inſtructions for his Conduct, on "that Subject, *&c.*

The Duke's Anſwer.

"That he could declare, with a good Conſcience, in the "Preſence of her Majeſty, and that illuſtrious Aſſembly, and of "GOD himſelf, who was infinitely above all the Powers upon "Earth, and before whom, by the ordinary Courſe of Nature, "he muſt ſoon appear to render an Account of his Actions, that "he ever was deſirous of a ſafe, honourable and laſting Peace; "and that he was always very far from any Deſign of prolong-"ing the War, for his own private Advantage, as ſeveral Libels "had moſt falſly inſinuated, *&c.*

"That his great Age, and the many Fatigues of War, made "him earneſtly wiſh for the Power to enjoy a quiet Repoſe, in "order for him to think of Eternity. As for other Matters, he "had not the leaſt Motive on any Account whatſoever, to de-"ſire the Continuance of the War, for his particular Intereſt, "ſince his Services had been ſo generouſly rewarded, both by her "Majeſty and the Parliament; but that he thought himſelf ob-"liged to ſuch an Acknowledgment to her Majeſty, and his "Country, that he was always ready to ſerve them (whenever "his Duty ſhould require) to obtain an honourable and a laſting "Peace; yet, that he could by no means give into the Meaſures "that had been taken to enter into a Negotiation of Peace with "France, upon the Foot of the ſeven Preliminaries; ſince "his Opinion was the ſame with that of the Allies, that the "leaving Spain and the Weſt-Indies, to the Houſe of Bourbon, "would be the entire Ruin of Europe, which he had, with all "Fidelity and Humility, declared to her Majeſty, when he had "the Honour to wait on her, a little after his Return. And, "therefore, he was for inſerting the Clauſe offered by the Earl "of Nottingham.

Some Reflections on it.

So ſolemn a Declaration, made in the Preſence of her Majeſty (to whom he appealed, and who could have diſproved it, if he had deviated in the leaſt Tittle from the ſtricteſt Truth) and deliver'd before ſo auguſt an Aſſembly, in ſo pathetick a Manner, and with ſo hearty Concern for the publick Good, could not but have the preſent Effect it deſerved, to remove the Prejudice con-

ceived

ceived againſt him by many, and muſt, in the Eye of Poſterity, entirely clear him of a Charge laid againſt him, with ſo little Appearance of Truth, tho' kept up then by the Clamour of the giddy and unthinking Vulgar: And this Speech had the greater Weight, as it was back'd by the eloquent Lord Cowper, late Lord Chancellour, and ſeveral others. 1711.

The Debate continued very warm, till ſeven at Night, when a Motion being made, whether the Queſtion for inſerting the Clauſe offered by the Earl of Nottingham, ought to be put, it was carried in the Affirmative, by that Earl's ſingle caſting Vote. The Queſtion itſelf for inſerting the Clauſe was alſo carried by a Majority of ſix Votes; and ſeveral Lords entered their Proteſt againſt it. In the Houſe of Commons the Miniſterial Party had a much greater Majority: For a Motion being made there for a Clauſe of the ſame Nature, with that in the Lords Addreſs, it was rejected by a Majority of above two to one: And "they "expreſſed their implicit Satisfaction in what her Majeſty had "been pleaſed to declare of the juſt and honourable Peace ſhe "had in view." Reſolutions on the Debates. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.

The Queen was highly pleaſed with, and returned moſt hearty Thanks for this Addreſs to the Commons: Whereas, in her Anſwer to the Lords Addreſs, ſhe only ſaid; "She took the "Thanks they gave her very kindly, and ſhould be very ſorry "any one ſhould think, ſhe would not do her utmoſt to recover "Spain and the Weſt-Indies from the Houſe of Bourbon.

I might now proceed to the Steps, which were the immediate Forerunners of the Duke of Marlborough's total Diſgrace, and were taken, at the Concluſion of this Year; but ſhall, for Connexion's Sake, refer the Reader to the enſuing Chapter.



BOOK VII.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH's Diſgrace and Vindication, with other Tranſactions to the Death of Queen ANN.

CHAP. I.

The Duke of Marlborough's *Diſgrace and Vindication, with the Cauſes of the former, and Circumſtances attending the latter.*

1712. Depoſitions laid before the Houſe of Commons.

TOWARDS the Concluſion of the foregoing Year, a new Scene began to open in the Houſe of Commons; Mr. Lockart reported from the Commiſſioners, which had been appointed the Beginning of that Year, for taking and ſtating the publick Accounts, ſome Practices which they had diſcovered, relating to the Affairs of the Army; the Conſideration of which was put off to the ſeventeenth of January; but mention being made therein of certain Depoſitions, they were ordered to be laid before the Houſe, which was done the next Day: Among theſe was one, which more particularly regarded the Duke of Marlborough, viz. "The "Depoſition of Sir Solomon Medina, proving great Sums of "Mony taken by the Duke of Marlborough, Adam Cardonnel "his Secretary, and others, on Account of the Contracts for "Bread and Bread-Waggons, in the Low Countries." Theſe Depoſitions

One principally concerning the Duke of Marlboro'.

Depoſitions the Clerk of the Houſe was ordered to keep very carefully, and let no Body have them out of his Hands; but that he ſhould deliver Copies of them, as alſo of the ſaid Reports of the Commiſſioners, to any of the Members of the Houſe who ſhould deſire it. 1712.

"The Miniſtry *(ſays an anonymous Author)* reſolved to make a "Puſh at the Duke of Marlborough; for as their Views were "now altogether to enter upon negotiating of Peace, ſo it be-"hoved them to have one placed at the Head of the Army, "who ſhould act conformably to their Meaſures: And therefore, "as their Agents had begun with perſonal Calumny, and had, "by that means, daily encreaſed the Number of the Duke's "Enemies, ſo it was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to confirm "all the falſe Reports that were ſpread concerning him, alſo to "advance certain Facts againſt him; being ſenſible, that what-"ever had been ſuggeſted by private Hands, would not anſwer "their End effectually, without a publick Reprehenſion."

That I may proceed regularly, I ſhall before I go farther, give the Reader a Copy of the ſaid Report and Depoſition.

The Report of the Commiſſioners for taking, examining and ſtating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom, &c.

Report of the Commiſſioners for taking the publick Accounts.

"YOur Commiſſioners humbly repreſent, That tho' they "have uſed their utmoſt Application, in taking and ex-"amining the publick Accounts, yet they are unprepar'd to of-"fer any perfect State of the particular Branches of the Re-"venue to the Houſe; but will endeavour to lay before you, "after the Receſs, a general Account of the Receipts, and Iſ-"ſues of her Majeſty's Exchequer for the current Year, 1711. "Which, they hope, is all will be expected from them, as well "in Regard of the Shortneſs of the Time they have been en-"gaged in this Work, as of the great Variety and Extent of it. "They beg Leave alſo to obſerve, that many of the Accounts "are not yet compleatly brought before them; particularly "thoſe of the Army, which are large and voluminous.

"But in the Courſe of their Examinations, relating to the Af-"fairs of the Army, they have already diſcover'd ſome Prac-"tices, which they conceive highly detrimental to the Publick, "and ſuch as they are obliged to report to you.

"In Obedience, therefore, to your Orders, of Tueſday the "eleventh Inſtant, your Commiſſioners here preſent a State of "ſeveral Facts, which with their Circumſtances and Proofs, "they humbly offer to the Wiſdom and Juſtice of the Houſe.

"Your Commiſſioners having Grounds to believe, that there "had been ſome Miſmanagements in making the Contracts for "the Uſe of the Army, ſummon'd and examin'd Sir Solomon

1712. "de Medina, the Contracter for the Bread and Bread-Waggons, "in the Low-Countries; who, after expreſſing much Uneaſi-"neſs of the Apprehenſions he had of being thought an In-"former, and of accuſing a great Man, did depoſe upon "Oath:

"That for the Years, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711, "he has been ſolely, or in Partnerſhip, concern'd in the Con-"tracts for ſupplying Bread and Bread-Waggons, to the Forces "in the Low-Countries, in the Queen of Great Britain's Pay; "and that he gave the Duke of Marlborough, for his own Uſe, "on each Contract, the ſeveral Sums following, Part of which "was paid at the Beginning, and Part at the End of each re-"ſpective Contract, in Bills or Notes, delivered by the Depo-"nent, into the Duke's own Hands, viz.

"For the Year 1707, ſixty-ſix thouſand, and ſix hundred "Guilders.

"For the Year 1708, ſixty-two thouſand, ſix hundred and "twenty-five Guilders.

"For the Year 1709, ſixty nine thouſand, five hundred, "ſeventy-eight Guilders, and fifteen Stivers.

"For the Year 1710, ſixty-ſix thouſand, eight hundred and "ten Guilders, nineteen Stivers, and eight Pennings.

"Total, two hundred, ſixty-five thouſand, ſix hundred and "fourteen Guilders, fourteen Stivers, and eight Pennings.

"For the Year 1711, twenty-one thouſand Guilders; which "is in Part of a like Sum with thoſe above-mentioned, intended "to be paid at the End of the Contract for this Year.

"That he was obliged to allow yearly, during the time of his "being Contracter, twelve or fourteen Waggons gratis to the "Duke of Marlborough.

"That during the Time of his being Contracter, as aforeſaid, "he gave, on ſealing each Contract, a Gratuity of 500 Gold Du-"cats, to Mr. Cardonnel, Secretary to the Duke of Marlborough.

"That for all the Money he received of Mr. Sweet, Deputy-"Pay-maſter at Amſterdam, he was obliged to pay one Pound "*per Cent.* That the former Contracter, Machado, did the "ſame, and that he acquainted the Duke of Marlborough, "with this Deduction of one *per Cent.*

"He farther depoſeth, That it appeared by the Accounts of "Antonio Alvarez Machado, who had been a Contracter before "him, and ſupplied the Bread and Bread-waggons, to the "Forces in the Engliſh Pay, for the Years, 1702, 1703, 1704, "1705, and 1706, that he the ſaid Machado, had paid as large "yearly Sums to the Duke of Marlborough, during the time of "his being Contracter, as this Deponent has ſince done.

"From whence it appears, that the Duke of Marlborough "has received, on account of the Bread and Bread-waggon

"Contracts,

" Contracts, from Sir Solomon de Medina (admitting the Sum 1712.
" already paid, and what is intended to be paid, for this preſent
" Year 1711, to be the ſame with that of the preceding
" Year 1710) three hundred thirty-two thouſand, four hun-
" dred twenty-five Guilders, and fourteen Stivers. From Anto-
" nio Alvarez Machado, during the five Years he was Con-
" tracter, the like Sums, which together make, ſix hundred
" ſixty four thouſand, eight hundred fifty-one Guilders, and
" eight Stivers: And computed at ten Guilders and ten Stivers,
" to the Pound Sterling, amount to ſixty-three thouſand, three
" hundred nineteen Pounds, three Shillings and ſeven Pence.

" Some time after this Evidence was given, by Sir Solomon de
" Medina, your Commiſſioners received a Letter from the Duke
" of Marlborough, by the Hands of James Craggs, Eſq; where-
" in the Duke deſires your Commiſſioners, that when they make
" their Report, they would lay ſome Facts before the Parlia-
" ment in a true Light, and this Juſtice they think they cannot
" better do than in his Grace's own Words.

Gentlemen,

" HAving been informed, on my Arrival here, that Sir So-
" lomon de Medina has acquainted you with my having
" received ſeveral Sums of Mony from him; that it might make
" the leſs Impreſſion on you, I would loſe no time, in letting
" you know, that this is no more than what has been allowed,
" as a Perquiſite to the General, or Commander in Chief, of
" the Army in the Low-Countries, even before the Revolution,
" and ſince; and I do aſſure you, at the ſame time, that
" whatever Sums I have received on that Account, have been
" conſtantly applied for the Service of the Publick, in keeping
" ſecret Correſpondence, and getting Intelligence of the Ene-
" my's Motions and Deſigns; and it has fallen ſo far ſhort, that
" I take Leave to acquaint you, with another Article that has
" been applied to the ſame Uſe, and which ariſes from her
" Majeſty's Warrant, whereof the Incloſed is a Copy. Tho' this
" does not properly relate to the publick Accounts, being a free
" Gift of the foreign Troops. You will have obſerved, by the
" ſeveral Eſtabliſhments, that before the late King's Death,
" when the Parliament voted forty thouſand Men for the Quo-
" ta of England, in the Low-Countries, twenty-one thouſand,
" ſix hundred and twelve were to be Foreigners, and the reſt
" Engliſh: For theſe laſt, they gave ten thouſand Pounds a
" Year for Intelligence, and other Contingencies, without Ac-
" count. But his Majeſty being ſenſible, by the Experience
" of the laſt War, that this Sum would not any ways anſwer
" that Service, and unwilling to apply for more to the Parlia-
" ment, he was pleaſed to order, that the foreign Troops ſhould

" contribute

1712. " contribute two and a half *per Cent.* towards it; and being
" then his Ambaſſador, and Commander in Chief abroad, he
" directed me to propoſe it to them, with an Aſſurance, that
" they ſhould have no other Stoppage made from their Pay:
" This they readily agreed to, and her Majeſty was afterwards
" pleaſed to confirm it by her Warrant, upon my acquainting
" her with the Uſes it was intended for; and it has been ac-
" cordingly applied, from time to time, for Intelligence, and
" ſecret Service, with ſuch Succeſs, that next to the Bleſſing of
" GOD, and the Bravery of the Troops, we may, in a great
" Meaſure, attribute moſt of the Advantages of the War in this
" Country, to the timely and good Advices procured with the
" Help of this Mony. And now, Gentlemen, as I have laid the
" whole Matter fairly before you, and that I hope you will allow,
" I have ſerv'd my Queen and Country, with that Faithfulneſs
" and Zeal, which becomes an honeſt Man, the Favour that I
" entreat of you is, that when you make your Report to the
" Parliament, you will lay this Part before them, in its true
" Light, ſo that they may ſee this neceſſary and important Part
" of the War, has been provided for, and carried on, without
" any other Expence to the Publick, than ten thouſand Pounds a
" Year; and I flatter myſelf, that when the Accounts of the
" Army in Flanders come under your Conſideration, you will
" be ſenſible the Service on this Side has been carried on, with
" all the OEconomy and good Huſbandry, to the Publick, that
" was poſſible. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

ANNE R.

" RIght Truſty, and Right Well-beloved Couſin, and Coun-
" ſellour; we greet you well: Whereas, purſuant to the
" Direction you have received in that Behalf, you have agreed
" with the Perſons, authorized to treat with you, for the taking
" into our Service a certain Number of Foreign Troops, to act
" in Conjunction with the Forces of our Allies, that there be re-
" ſerved two and a half per Cent. out of all the Monies payable
" to and for the ſaid Troops, as well for their Pay and Enter-
" tainment, as on any other Account, towards defraying ſuch
" extraordinary contingent Expences, relating to them, as can-
" not otherwiſe be provided for. Now, we do hereby approve
" and confirm all ſuch Agreements as you have, or may hereafter
" make, for reſerving the ſaid two and a half *per Cent.* accord-
" ingly: And do, likewiſe, hereby authorize and direct the
" Pay-maſter General of our Forces, for the time being, or his
" Deputy, to make the ſame Deduction of two and half *per Cent.*

" purſuant

" purſuant thereunto, out of all Monies he ſhall be directed to " iſſue for the Uſe of the foreign Troops in our Pay; and there- " upon to pay over the ſame, from time to time, according to " ſuch Warrants, or ſuch Proportions, as you ſhall direct; for " which this ſhall be to you, and to all others whom it may con- " cern, a ſufficient Warrant and Direction. 1712.

" Given at our Court, at St. James's, the ſixth Day of July, " 1702, and in the firſt Year of our Reign.

By her Majeſty's Command,

C. HEDGES.

" To our Right Truſty, and Right Well-beloved Couſin and " Counſellour, John Earl of Marlborough, our Ambaſſa- " dour Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary, to the States " General of the United Provinces, and Captain General of " our Land-Forces.

" Your Commiſſioners having thought themſelves obliged to " recite this Letter and Warrant at large, humbly conceive it " will be expected, that they ſhould make ſome Obſervations " upon them; as to what therefore relates to the Evidence of " Sir Solomon de Medina, his Grace has been pleaſed to admit it " in general, but with this Diſtinction, that he claims the Sums " received, as Perquiſites to the General in the Low Countries.

" On which, your Commiſſioners obſerve, that ſo far as they " have hitherto been capable of informing themſelves in the " Conſtitution of the Army, the great Sums, which appear to " have been annually paid to the Duke, on Account of theſe " Contracts, can never be eſteemed legal or warrantable Perqui- " ſites.

" For they do not find, by the ſtricteſt Enquiry they can make, " that any other Engliſh General, in the Low Countries, or elſe- " where, ever claimed or received ſuch Perquiſites; but if any " Inſtance ſhould be produced, they humbly apprehend it will be " no Juſtification of it; becauſe the Publick, or the Troops, " muſt neceſſarily ſuffer in Proportion to every ſuch Perquiſite: " And how agreeable this Practice is to that OEconomy and " good Huſbandry, with which the Service in Flanders is ſaid " to be carried on, remains yet to be explained. By the Aſſu- " rance his Grace is pleaſed to give, that this Mony has been " conſtantly employed for the Service of the Publick, it muſt be " either allowed, that he relinquiſhes his Right to his pretended " Perquiſite, or that he has been wanting to himſelf in conceal- " ing ſo great an Inſtance of his own Generoſity to the Publick.

1712. "The great Caution and Secrecy, with which this Mony "was conſtantly received, gives reaſon to ſuſpect, that it was "not thought a juſtifiable Perquiſite; for Mr. Cardonnel, the "Duke's Secretary, and Auditor of the Bread-Account, has de-"clared on Oath, that he never knew, or heard of ſuch Per-"quiſite; till the late Rumour of Sir Solomon de Medina's E-"vidence before your Commiſſioners. By the Contracts for "Bread, and Bread-Waggons, the General appears to be the "ſole Checque on the Contracters; he is to take Care, that the "Terms of the Contracts are duly perform'd; he is to judge of "all Deductions to be made from an Allowance to the Contract-"ers; and whether in ſuch Circumſtances he can receive any "Gratuity or Perquiſites from the Contracters, without a Breach of "his Truſt, your Commiſſioners preſume not to determine. The "General may, with equal Reaſon, claim a Perquiſite for every "other Contract relating to the Army, as for theſe of the Bread "and Bread-Waggons; but his Grace being ſilent as to this, your "Commiſſioners ought to ſuppoſe, he has not received any ſuch "Allowance, unleſs they ſhall underſtand otherwiſe, when they "come to examine into theſe Contracts, which hitherto they "have not been able to do, by reaſon the Contracters are "Foreigners, and reſident in Holland.

"As to what his Grace is pleaſed to ſay, in the ſecond Part "of his Letter, concerning the Deduction of two and a half per "Cent. from the foreign Troops, in her Majeſty's Pay; your "Commiſſioners can only offer ſuch Remarks, as occur to them, "on comparing what is urged in the Duke's Letter, with the "Tenour of the Warrant, and with the Method of accounting "for other Payments to the Army. Your Commiſſioners, in "the firſt Place, take leave to obſerve, that this Warrant has "been dormant for nine Years, and the Deduction conceal'd ſo "long from the Knowledge of the Parliament, for which, in "their humble Apprehenſion, his Grace has not aſſigned ſuffi-"cient Reaſons. He is pleaſed to ſay, that this two and a half "per Cent. is a free Gift from the foreign Troops, and that it "does not belong to the publick Accounts: but the firſt of "theſe Aſſurances ſeems inconſiſtent, not only with the Words "of the Warrant, which ſuppoſes and expreſſes an Agreement, "but with that Part of his Grace's Letter, which takes No-"tice, that he, being Ambaſſador and General, ſtipulated for "this very Stoppage, by the late King's Order. Your Com-"miſſioners, therefore, muſt be of Opinion, that a Deduction ſo "made in publick Mony, ought to be accounted for, in the "ſame Manner, as other publick Mony is.

"His Grace is farther pleaſed to obſerve, that the ten thou-"ſand Pounds granted yearly, for the Contingencies of the Ar-"my, is without Account, and for the Uſe of the Britiſh Forces

"only;

" only; whereas this Mony was, at firſt, intended by Parlia- 1712.
" ment, as your Commiſſioners, with great Submiſſion, appre-
" hend, for the Service of the forty thouſand Men, without
" Diſtinction: And they find it is ſo far from having always
" been thought exempt from Account, that in a Privy Seal,
" dated the fifth Day of March, 1706, for Mr. Fox's Accounts,
" there is a Clauſe to releaſe and diſcharge the Duke of Marl-
" borough, his Heirs, Executors, and Adminiſtrators, from a
" Sum of ſeven thouſand, four hundred, ninety-nine Pounds,
" nineteen Shillings and ten Pence, part of this Mony, which
" ſuppoſes his Grace would otherwiſe have been accountable for
" it: But your Commiſſioners no where meet with any Mention
" of this Deduction of two and a half per Cent; and preſume
" the Reaſon, why it has never been brought to an Account, is
" what his Grace is pleas'd to ſuggeſt, that he never conſidered
" it as publick Mony.

" Your Commiſſioners muſt ſubmit it to the Houſe, whether
" the Warrant produced to juſtify this Deduction, be legal, and
" duly counterſign'd; or whether, admitting it to be ſo, either
" the Stoppage, or the Payment of it, has been regularly made.

" The Warrant directs, that it ſhould be ſtop'd in the Hands
" of the Paymaſter, or his Deputy, and iſſued thence, by the
" Duke's Orders only: But this Method does not appear, by
" the Paymaſter's Accounts, to have, at all, been purſued;
" ſo far otherwiſe, that the Payments to the foreign Troops, are
" always compleat, and their Receipts always taken in full,
" without any Notice of the Deduction.

" When any Part of the abovementioned ten thouſand Pounds,
" contingent Mony, is drawn out of the Paymaſter's Hands,
" for any ſecret Service, the General's Warrant, and his Secre-
" tary's Receipts, are the Paymaſter's Vouchers. But Mr. Car-
" donnel, as he declares upon Oath, never gave any Receipt,
" for any Part of this two and a half per Cent. nor did Mr.
" Bridges, as he alſo declares on Oath, ever ſee any Warrant
" for that Purpoſe, or know any thing, as Paymaſter-General,
" of this Deduction.

" If Mr. Sweet, at Amſterdam, has taken upon himſelf to
" tranſact the Diſpoſition of this two and a half per Cent. with
" the Duke of Marlborough, your Commiſſioners are hum-
" bly of Opinion, that he ought to have tranſmitted conſtant
" Accounts of it to Mr. Bridges, whoſe Agent he only is; and
" not to have negotiated ſo large Sums of publick Mony, in
" ſo clandeſtine a Manner.

" By the Warrant, this Deduction is reſerved for the defray-
" ing extraordinary contingent Expences, of the Troops from
" whom it is ſtopp'd; and if the whole has been employed in
" ſecret Correſpondence and Intelligence, there muſt have been

" ſome

1712. " ſome Neglect of the other Services, for which it was origi-
" nally deſign'd; and ſuch a Diſpoſition, being, in no ſort, au-
" thorized, by the Warrant, is a Miſapplication of it. Beſides,
" your Commiſſioners apprehend, that the Article for ſecret Ser-
" vice, to which this Deduction is pretended to have been ap-
" plied, was always included in the ten thouſand Pounds above-
" mention'd, for the Contingencies of the Army; and if ſo,
" the Whole remains to be accounted for, which, on a Compu-
" tation made from the whole Sum of eleven millions, two
" hundred ninety-four thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty-nine
" Pounds, four Shillings and a Penny half Penny, paid by Bri-
" tain to, and for all the foreign Forces, ſince the thirteenth of
" December, 1701. (according to the Returns of the Auditor
" and Paymaſter) amounts to two hundred eighty-two thouſand,
" three hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, nine Shillings and ſeven Pence.
" On a Computation made from the Sum of ſeven millions,
" one hundred ſeven thouſand, eight hundred ſeventy-three
" Pounds, eighteen Shillings and eleven Pence half Penny, paid
" to and for the foreign Forces, ſince the Time aforeſaid (ex-
" cluſive of Italy, Spain and Portugal) amounts to one hundred
" ſeventy-ſeven thouſand, ſix hundred ninety-five Pounds,
" ſeventeen Shillings, and three Farthings."

A groſs Error in an anonymous Author rectified.

I muſt here rectify a groſs Error of the Author of the Life of Queen Ann, publiſh'd in 1721, 2 Vol. in 8vo, in ſaying, that the Deduction of two and a half per Cent. mentioned in the above Report, amounted to 460,061 l. which proceeds from his putting together the two Sums there given, which ought to be taken ſeparate: For the Report ſays, " That two and a half per
" Cent. on the whole Sum of 11,294,659 l. 4 s. 1 d. half
" Penny, paid by Britain, to all the Forces, ſince the thirteenth
" of December 1701 (according to the Returns of the Auditor
" and Paymaſter) amounts to 282,366 l. 9 s. 7 d. and on a
" Computation from the Sum of 7,107,873 l. 18 s. 11 d.
" half Penny, paid to and for the foreign Forces, ſince the
" Time aforeſaid, (excluſive of Italy, Spain and Portugal) a-
" mounts to 177,695 l. 17 s. three Farthings" Now it is plain, that the Duke of Marlborough could not be charged with any more than the leaſt of theſe two Sums (and we ſhall ſee below, even that is by much over-rated) as having had nothing to do with the State of War in Italy, Spain, and Portugal: So that the Author's putting theſe two Sums together, is falſe, and either maliciouſly deſign'd, to caſt the greater Odium on his Grace, or a groſs Piece of Ignorance, or at beſt, Inadvertency. Neither do I find, that the Commiſſioners blamed the Duke of Marlborough for the one per Cent. taken by Mr Sweet, at Amſterdam, on all the Mony he paid Sir Solomon de Medina; the Commiſſioners affirming Mr. Sweet, to have been an Agent to Mr.

Bridges

Bridges (afterwards Duke of Chandos,) then Paymaſter; altho' that Author affirms it to be a Charge againſt the Duke of Marlborough. 1712.

As heavy as this Charge againſt the Duke of Marlborough may, at firſt View, appear, the Reader will ſoon ſee that he had a great deal to ſay to clear himſelf of it: And, indeed, ſo much, that he ſtood intirely acquitted of it, in the Eye of much the greater Part of the Nation; tho' the Majority of the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd to be of another Opinion, as we ſhall ſee below. The Duke's Letter to the Committee, which the Reader has ſeen in the Body of their Report, having been publiſh'd, the 27th of December, in a News Paper call'd *The Daily Courant*, and been ſo favourably receiv'd by the unbiaſs'd and unprejudic'd, that many began to cenſure the Houſe of Commons, for their late and intended Proceedings againſt his Grace, the Report of the Commiſſioners was printed at large, two Days after, by Way of Anſwer.

The D. of Marlboro' diſmiſs'd from all his Employments.

It will be proper now to relate the immediate Conſequences of this Report, before it came to an Examination in the Houſe of Commons. The thirtieth of December, of the foregoing Year, the Queen, being preſent in Council, declared, That; *She being inform'd, that an Information againſt the Duke of Marlborough was laid before the Houſe of Commons, by the Commiſſioners of the publick Accounts, ſhe thought fit to diſmiſs him from all his Employments, that the Matter might take an impartial Examination:* And this Declaration was enter'd in the Council-Book. The next Day, her Majeſty was pleas'd to notify to the Duke, by a Note written with her own Hand, her Intention to reſume all the Employments ſhe had intruſted him with. A late Hiſtorian ſays, *the Queen complain'd*, in that Letter or Note, *of the ill Treatment ſhe received from him*; but as I do not ſee any Traces of this ill Treatment in the Duke's Conduct, unleſs what was laid to his Charge, as above, by the Commiſſioners for ſtating the publick Accounts, &c. be deemed ſo, I ſhall leave the Reader to judge for himſelf: That there was, however, ſome ſuch Complaint, in the Queen's Letter, is plain from the Duke's Anſwer to it, of which I ſhall give the Reader a Copy below. The Duke received the Meſſage with an heroick Reſignation; and wrote a dutiful Anſwer to her Majeſty, which he ſent by the Counteſs of Sunderland, one of his Daughters: A certain Mark, that he was incapable of ſhewing any Diſguſt or Reſentment, much leſs of treating the Queen ill, even after his Diſgrace.

Obſervation of a late Hiſtorian.

The D. of Marlboro' receives the Meſſage with an heroick Reſignation.

Writes a dutiful Anſwer to the Queen.

MADAM,

"I AM very ſenſible of the Honour your Majeſty does me, in diſmiſſing me from your Service, by a Letter of your own Hand; though I find by it, that my Enemies have been

Copy of his Letter.

" able

1712. " able to prevail with your Majeſty to do it in the Manner that " is moſt injurious to me: And if their Malice and Inveteracy " againſt me had not been more powerful with them than the " Conſideration of your Majeſty's Honour and Juſtice, they " would not have influenced you to impute the Occaſion of my " Dimiſſion to a falſe and malicious Inſinuation contrived by " themſelves, and made publick, when there was no Opportu- " nity for me to give in my Anſwer; which, they muſt needs " be conſcious, would fully detect the Falſhood and Malice of " their Aſperſions, and not leave them that Handle for bringing " your Majeſty to ſuch Extremities againſt me.

" But I am much more concern'd at an Expreſſion, in your " Majeſty's Letter, which ſeems to complain of the Treatment " you had met with. I know not how to underſtand that Word, " nor what Conſtruction to make of it. I know I have always " endeavour'd to ſerve your Majeſty faithfully and zealouſly, " thro' a great many undeſerv'd Mortifications; but if your " Majeſty does intend by that Expreſſion to find Fault with my " not coming to the Cabinet-Council, I am very free to ac- " knowledge that my Duty to your Majeſty and my Country " would not give me Leave to join in the Counſel of a Man, " who, in my Opinion, puts your Majeſty upon all manner of " Extremities: And it is not my Opinion only, but the Opinion " of all Mankind, that the Friendſhip of France muſt needs be " deſtructive to your Majeſty; there being in that Court a Root " of Enmity irreconcilable to your Majeſty's Government, and " the Religion of theſe Kingdoms. I wiſh your Majeſty may " never find the Want of ſo faithful a Servant, as I have al- " ways endeavour'd to approve myſelf to you. I am with the " greateſt Duty and Submiſſion,

MADAM,

Your Majeſty's

Moſt dutiful

and obedient Subject,

MARLBOROUGH.

The Obſervation continu'd.

The ſame Hiſtorian ſays, on this Occaſion, " that the " Queen's Meſſage was thought very extraordinary, after ſuch " eminent Services, and ſo little expected, that thoſe who " looked for Precedents could find none ſince the Diſgrace of " Belliſarius, in the time of Juſtinian. The only Thing (adds " he) pretended to excuſe it, was, his being conſidered as the " Head of thoſe who oppoſed the Peace, on which the Court " ſeem'd to ſet their Hearts. We believe (ſays another Author) " very few Inſtances will be found in Hiſtory, of a ſucceſsful " General turn'd contemptuouſly out of his Command, before

" the End of the War he was engaged in, and which he had, 1712.
" for ſeveral Years, carried on, with great Glory and Advan-
" tage, for no other Crime, than the making more of his Place,
" than was commonly known, or perhaps deſired." And even ſuppoſing that the Court had ſet their Hearts on a Peace; or, (as the anonymous Author above-mentioned ſuppoſes) " had al-
" ready proceeded ſo far, in their Engagements with France,
" in order to a Peace, as that they could not retreat with Ho-
" nour; Why (aſks the ſame Author) ſhould the Diſgrace of the
" Duke of Marlborough be eſteemed abſolutely neceſſary to
" the procuring a ſafe and glorious Peace? It is certain, that
" the Duke's Victories and Succeſſes were the Means to pro-
" cure us ſo good a Peace as we afterwards had; and why his
" Grace ſhould not have been ſuffered to have the Honour of
" putting a finiſhing Stroke to what he had been ſo long ſtrug-
" gling and contending for, is not eaſy to determine." His Enemies have, indeed, with great Confidence, aſſerted; *That the Duke would never have conſented to any Peace, by reaſon he was ſo great a Gainer by the War*; but the Abſurdity of this unlimited Aſſertion is already in ſome Part, and will be, in the Sequel, fully exploded: And if, for Argument's Sake, we admit, that the Duke's Deſires of a Peace were (notwithſtanding his ſolemn Declaration in the Houſe of Lords) not ſincere; yet the Negotiations, for that End, might have been carried on, and concluded, without removing his Grace from the Head of the Army: And it is very natural to conclude, that a Battle won, or a Town taken from the Enemy, tho' during a Treaty, would rather have forwarded than retarded a Peace.

Some thought the Duke of Marlborough's Diſgrace, which (tho', by many Circumſtances, it plainly appeared to be reſolved on) happened ſooner than expected, was haſtened and accelerated, by the Emperour's fix'd Deſign to ſend over Prince Eugene to the Court of Great Britain, to expoſtulate, with her Majeſty, concerning the Meaſures which were taken to enter into Negotiations of Peace with France; on a Surmiſe, that if the Duke of Marlborough continued in his Employments, that Hero's Repreſentations would receive no ſmall Weight from the reciprocal Confidence, which had grown into an entire Friendſhip, between them; whereas, ſhould his Grace be diveſted of all his Publick Characters, he could not converſe with the Prince otherwiſe than as a private Man. Others were of Opinion, that it was, in a great Meaſure, owing to the late Counſels his Grace is ſaid to have entered into, to thwart the Scheme of the preſent Miniſtry. Reaſons aſſigned for the Duke's haſty Diſgrace.

The Removal of the Duke of Marlborough, as he had ſeveral great and profitable Employments, was attended with many Alterations at Court; but as they are foreign to my Purpoſe, I

1712. ſhall only, on this Occaſion, obſerve, that the Counteſs of Sunderland, and the Lady Rialton, both his Grace's Daughters, reſign'd their Places, of Ladies of the Bed-chamber to the Queen.

Before I go on, to give a farther Account of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, with regard to the Duke of Marlborough. it may not be improper to give the Reader his Grace's Caſe and Juſtification, written by himſelf, and publiſhed by his Order, in an Anſwer, directed to the Houſe of Commons, to the Report of the Commiſſioners for taking the publick Accounts, &c. which Report the Reader has ſeen above.

The Duke of Marlborough's Caſe and Vindication of himſelf.

The D. of Marlboro's Caſe and Vindication, written by himſelf, and deſign'd to be laid before the Houſe of Commons.

" WHEN I firſt heard of the Proceedings before Commiſſioners for taking the publick Accounts, I was abroad, and in the Queen's Service, and though the Account " I gave you by Letter, was not, in their Opinions, ſo full, " but they have thought themſelves obliged, notwithſtanding " that, to lay the Matter before you, I think myſelf, however, " bound, to own the Juſtice they have pleaſed to do me in reporting that Letter alſo, together with her Majeſty's Warrant.

" I am ſenſible, the Nature of the Service to which the Report relates, might occaſion many Miſtakes, without any Imputation to the Gentlemen, concern'd in that Commiſſion; " and I am ſure, that thoſe Gentlemen, every one of them, " and every other Gentleman here, will be glad to find himſelf " convinced, that as I have in ſome Meaſure deſerved the good " Opinion of my Countrymen on former Occaſions, ſo nothing " will appear on this which can draw upon me the Blame of " this Houſe.

" The firſt Article, in the Report, is founded upon the Depoſition of Sir Solomon de Medina, by which you are informed of a yearly Sum paid by him and his Predeceſſors, Contracters for Bread and Bread-Waggons, to myſelf. This " Payment, in my Letter, I have called a Perquiſite, of the " General or Commander in Chief, in the Low-Countries; and " it has been conſtantly applied to one of the moſt important " Parts of the Service there, I mean the procuring Intelligence, " and other ſecret Services.

" The Commiſſioners are pleaſed to obſerve, That theſe Sums " cannot be eſteem'd legal Perquiſites, becauſe they don't find " them claim'd or received by any other Engliſh General in the " Low-Countries. But I muſt take leave to affirm to this " Houſe, that this Perquiſite or Payment has been allow'd to " that General, or Commander in Chief, in the Low-Countries, " both before and ever ſince the Revolution, to enable him to " carry ſuch ſecret Services. The like Allowance was made to " Prince Waldeck, whilſt he was General of the Dutch Army

" in

" in Flanders; it was made during the laſt War as well as this: 1712.
" And for your farther Satisfaction in this Matter, I am content
" to refer myſelf to Sir Solomon de Medina, who cannot but
" own, that when he made this Allowance, he knew it to be
" the conſtant Practice, during the former Wars in the Low-
" Countries, and particularly, when Prince Waldeck command-
" ed there: And if it be a Circumſtance worth your Notice, he
" muſt inform you alſo, that the Allowance of Waggons which
" the Report takes Notice of, is uſual likewiſe; that he has
" allowed the like, or near the like Number, to Count Tilly;
" though he was not Velt-Marſhal, and that there is a propor-
" tionable Allowance, of the ſame Kind, to the other Officers.
" The Report may have obſerved very rightly, that by the
" ſtricteſt Enquiry the Commiſſioners could make, they cannot
" find that any Engliſh General ever received this Perquiſite.
" But I preſume to ſay the Reaſon is, that there never was any
" other Engliſh General, beſides myſelf, who was Commander
" in Chief in the Low-Countries. I crave leave then to ſay,
" that this Obſervation in the Report was occaſioned thro' the
" Want of a due Information in the Uſage of the Army. In
" receiving this as an eſtabliſhed and known Perquiſite, I have
" followed and kept up that Uſage, which I found in the Army,
" when I firſt entered upon that Service; and upon this Ground
" alone, I hope that this Houſe will not think that I was un-
" warranted in taking it.

" But that no Doubt may remain with you, I will ſtate, as
" well as I can, what I have learnt, and during that Time I
" have been in the Service, have been always underſtood to be
" the Ground, as well as the Deſign of this Allowance. The
" Contracts of Bread being of Neceſſity of the ſame Rates for
" the whole Army, and it being for the Security of the Service,
" thoſe Contracts ſhould be in the feweſt Hands; the certain
" Gain upon ſo large a Sum as a Contract for the whole, or
" that Part of the Army, even at the loweſt Price, makes this
" yearly Allowance to have been thought not unreaſonable from
" the Contracter. This being an Allowance generally ariſing
" from Contracts, that concern a Variety of Troops, all under
" the ſame General, muſt naturally fall under the Direction,
" and come into the Hands of the Commander in Chief, as an
" Allowance to enable him to carry on ſuch Deſigns, which
" could not be foreſeen, but yet are neceſſary to be put in
" Execution, and which chiefly depend upon Intelligence.

" I thought it more needful to give you this Account of the
" Nature and Deſign of this Allowance; becauſe I obſerve,
" from the Report, that the Objection is to the Juſtice and Rea-
" ſonableneſs of the Perquiſite itſelf, without having regard to
" the Application or Uſe for which it is intended.

1712. " But the Commiſſioners apprehended this not to be a juſtifi-
" able Perquiſite, becauſe they ſay, the Publick, or the Troops,
" neceſſarily ſuffer in Proportion to every ſuch Perquiſite.

" If theſe Obſervations were well grounded, I ſhould think
" them good Reaſons to put an End to the Allowance, and, at
" the ſame time, to blame thoſe who firſt introduced it. But
" I take upon me to affirm, that this neither is, nor can be
" the Caſe. I have never heard a Complaint either of publick
" or particular Injury from this Allowance, nor does the Re-
" port aſſign any Particular, wherein it may be judg'd to be ſo.

" This Allowance to the General can have no Influence upon
" the Contract itſelf, which is actually made and ſigned at the
" Treaſury, and the Price regulated by what the States have
" agreed to pay for the Bread for their Forces. I appeal to all
" the Officers who have ſerved with me in Flanders, whether the
" Forces in her Majeſty's Pay have not, all along, had as much,
" and as good Bread, as thoſe of the States, and at the ſame
" Prices, which every Body will believe to be the loweſt, that
" conſider the frugal Oeconomy of the States, and the ſmall
" Pay of their Troops. And, therefore, I may ſafely conclude,
" that if the Engliſh have had their Bread as cheap as the
" Dutch, they have had it as cheap as was poſſible. Nor, in-
" deed, can it be imagined to be otherwiſe; for the very Sup-
" poſition of two different Prices paid by the different Troops
" in the ſame Army, for the ſame Quantity of Bread, would
" occaſion a Mutiny.

" But this whole Affair has been ſo regulated, and there has
" been ſo little Occaſion of Complaint, that it is well known,
" our Army in Flanders has been duly ſupply'd with Bread,
" during the whole War, and has received it with an Exactneſs
" that will hardly be thought conſiſtent with the Secrecy and
" Suddenneſs of ſome of the Motions that have been made.

" The Report farther ſays, That the General is the ſole
" Checque upon the Contracter; that he is to take Care of the
" Performance of the Contract, and to judge of all Deductions
" to be made from, and Allowances to, the Contracter; and
" from theſe Suggeſtions it infers, that under theſe Circum-
" ſtances, it is a Breach of Truſt in him to receive the Perquiſite.

" This Obſervation amounts to no more than ſuggeſting a
" Poſſibility of Inconveniencies, from an antient Uſage in the
" Army; and if by calling the General the ſole Checque upon
" the Contracter, is meant, that he is the Perſon who is to re-
" ceive Complaints concerning the Execution of the Contract
" (and ſo far only it is true) I affirm, that upon all Complaints
" I have given full Redreſs; either by ordering other Bread, or
" the Value in Mony, at the Choice of the Troops: For the
" Truth of which, I appeal to the Officers of the Army. And

" as

" as to the General being to judge of all Deductions to be made 1712.
" from, and Allowances to, the Contracters, I am entirely a
" Stranger to any ſuch Deductions and Allowances, of which
" the General is ſuppoſed to be the Judge.

" One Circumſtance remains upon this Article, which I bare-
" ly touch upon, to remove a Prejudice raiſed by the Report,
" from the Caution and Secrecy with which, it is ſaid, the Mo-
" ny has been received. This is ſuppoſed only by an Allega-
" tion, that my Secretary, Mr. Cardonnel, had declared upon
" Oath, that he never knew of any ſuch Perquiſite till lately,
" which it is ſuppoſed he ought to have done, as Auditor of the
" Bread-Account; but I take Leave to ſay, Firſt, That he ne-
" ver was Auditor of the Bread-Account, nor has any thing to
" do with it; Secondly, Tho' it is ſaid, in the Report, that he
" declared upon Oath, yet I cannot obtain or hear of any ſuch
" Depoſition; nor is it poſſible he could declare ſo. In this
" Part of the Report, there muſt have happen'd ſome Miſtake:
" For I preſume Mr. Cardonnel, who is a Member of this
" Houſe, cannot but declare, that he knows of this Perquiſite;
" tho' he might be ignorant of the ſame, till Notice came to
" the Camp of what Sir Solomon de Medina had ſworn.

" As to the One per Cent. ſaid to be allowed to Mr. Sweet,
" for prompt Payment, I do aver that I knew nothing of it, and
" tho' Sir Solomon de Medina has often complained to me of
" Mr. Sweet's Payments not being regular, I don't remember
" he ever mentioned the One per Cent.

" Now, as to the ſecond Article in the Report, allow me to
" obſerve to you, that it has ariſen only from the Information,
" I myſelf gave the Commiſſioners by my Letter to them:
" This Matter having Relation to that Part of the Service to
" which the Sums in the former Article have been apply'd,
" that the Commiſſioners might have a true State of it, I choſe
" to inſert a ſhort Account of it in my Letter to them.

" If I did this voluntarily, out of Duty to the Publick, I
" I hope I ſhall be thought to have given you Information up-
" on a certain Belief, that I was altogether blameleſs in the
" Part I have in it.

" 'Twill be neceſſary, that I trouble the Houſe with an Ac-
" count of the Time, and Occaſion, whence this Payment of
" Two and a half per Cent. by the Foreign Troops commenced.

" During the laſt War, the Allowance, by Parliament, for
" the Contingencies of the Army, of which that of Secret Ser-
" vice is the Principal, was fifty thouſand Pounds per Annum.
" But this Allowance fell ſo far ſhort of the Expence on that
" long Head, that upon the Proſpect of this War's breaking
" out, the late King aſſured me, that this Part of the Service
" never coſt him leſs than ſeventy thouſand Pounds a Year:

1712. " However, the Allowance of Parliament, for the whole Contingent Service, during this War, has been but 10000 l. per Ann. " 3000 l. of which, or thereabouts, has generally gone for other " Contingencies, than that of Intelligence. The late King, being " unwilling to come to Parliament for more Mony on that " Head of the Service, propoſed this Allowance from the Foreign Troops, as an Expedient to aſſiſt that Part of the Service, and commanded me to make the Propoſition to them; " which I did accordingly, and it was readily conſented to. By " this Means, a New Fund of about 15,000 Pounds per Annum, was provided for carrying on the Secret Service, without any Expence to the Publick, or Grievance to the Troops " from whom the Allowance was made: For when the Publick pays, thoſe Troops are not at all affected, or one Farthing increaſed, in Conſideration of this Deduction, nor is " there, in any Conventions for them, any Weight laid upon " it, the Hire of the Foreign Troops being governed by ſettled " Rules and Treaties, and the Conventions of the States, for " them, being in the ſame Terms.

" This Expedient being formed, in the Manner I have ſhewn, " her Majeſty was pleaſed to approve it by her Warrant, which " being underſtood as a Confirmation of an Agreement with " the Foreign Troops, not negotiated by, and, by Conſequence, " not within the Care or Buſineſs of the Treaſury, was counter-" ſign'd by the Secretary of State, whoſe Province it belonged " to, as the only proper Officer.

" The true Deſign of this Deduction being to ſupply the ſe-" cret Service, Gentlemen, I hope you will obſerve, that this, " together with the Sum on the former Article of the Allow-" ance by Parliament, when put together, does fall ſhort of the " Allowance given by Parliament in the laſt War, upon this Head.

" I cannot ſuppoſe that I need ſay how eſſential a Part of the " Service this is, that no War can be conducted ſucceſsfully " without early and good Intelligence, and that ſuch Advices " can't be had but at a very great Expence. No Body can be " ignorant of this, that knows any thing of Secret Correſpon-" dence, or conſiders the Numbers of Perſons that muſt be em-" ployed in it, the great Hazard they undergo, the Variety of " Places in which the Correſpondence muſt be kept, and the " conſtant Neceſſity there is of ſupporting and feeding this Ser-" vice; not to mention ſome extraordinary Expences of a high-" er Nature, which ought only to be hinted at. And I affirm, " that whatever Sums have been received on this Account, have " been conſtantly employed in procuring Intelligence, in keeping " Correſpondence, and other ſecret Service. If any Gentleman " ſhould doubt this, and imagine that this Expence could have " been ſupported by the 10,000 l. per Annum, I deſire them

" to

to conſider, that the preſent War in Flanders, from the Beginning of it, has been an offenſive War; the Campaigns 1712.
" early and long; the variety of Actions have been very great,
" wherein ſo many Battles have been fought, Lines forced,
" and ſo many ſtrong Towns taken, with Trenches opened.
" But yet during the laſt War, which was of another kind, if
" Regard be had only to what was allowed by the Publick, it
" is certain that the Charge on this Head, in three Campaigns
" of that War, came to at leaſt as much as all the ten Cam-
" paigns of this. And tho' the Merit of our Succeſſes ſhould be
" leaſt of all attributed to the General; yet the many ſuc-
" ceſsful Actions, ſuch as have ſurpaſſed our own Hopes, or the
" Apprehenſions of the Enemy, in this preſent War, in Flan-
" ders, to which our conſtant good Intelligence has greatly con-
" tributed, muſt convince every Gentleman, that ſuch Advices
" have been obtained, and conſequently that this Mony has
" been rightly applied.

" Having given this full and faithful Account of the Riſe and
" Uſe of this Deduction, it muſt, I flatter myſelf, appear to e-
" very Body that hears me, to have been a real Service, as well
" as ſaving of Mony to the Publick: And tho' Honour is due
" to the Memory of the late King, who formed this Expedi-
" ent, and to her Majeſty who approved of it, by her War-
" rant, I can't upon this Ground apprehend any Imputation to
" myſelf, who have purſued this ſo much to the Advantage of
" my Country.

" Before I take Notice of the Remarks made by the Com-
" miſſioners, upon this Part of the Letter, I make one gene-
" ral Obſervation upon the Nature of this Deduction, which
" thoſe Gentlemen, throughout their Report, call Publick Mo-
" ny, and to be accounted for, in the ſame Manner as other
" publick Mony is uſually accounted for: But the Notion, I ap-
" prehend, is wholly miſapply'd, as will appear by ſhortly ſtating
" the Fact itſelf. By the Treaties with the Foreign Princes,
" for the Hire of their Troops, the whole Subſidies ſtipulated for
" are due, and the Receipt is by them given for the whole Mo-
" ny, which is a ſufficient Voucher to diſcharge the Pay-Maſ-
" ter in the Exchequer, and thereby the Account, as to the
" Publick. This Deduction ſo made does not properly iſſue
" out of the Exchequer, but out of the Mony of the Foreign
" Troops, for their Proportion of the Contingencies; and there-
" fore, I ſtill apprehend, I ſpeak properly, when, in my Let-
" ter, I affirm, that this two and a half per Cent. does not be-
" long to the Publick Accounts. But as this Deduction ariſes
" from the Agreement ſet on Foot by his late Majeſty, and con-
" firm'd by her Majeſty, as it comes in here as a Proportion to
" the Expence, which ought to fall upon the Foreign Troops,

1712. " and being apply'd to a Part of the Publick Service; Gentle-
" men may, if they think fit, in this Senſe, call it Publick Mo-
" ny, to be accounted for, in ſuch a Manner, as the Nature of
" the Senſe admits, and as the Publick Allowance to the ſame
" Service is accounted for.

" Having thus explained this Matter to you, I beg the Pa-
" tience of the Houſe to go on, and conſider the particular Re-
" marks that have been made upon it.

" Firſt, It has been objected, that her Majeſty's Warrant
" has been kept dormant for nine Years, and the Deduction
" conceal'd from the Knowledge of the Parliament; but ſure-
" ly the Warrant cannot be ſaid to have been kept dormant,
" that has been lodg'd in the Hands of the Pay-Maſter Gene-
" ral's Deputy in Holland, which was deliver'd to me out of
" the Office of the Secretary of State, ſign'd by her Majeſty,
" and counterſign'd by him, as all Warrants are, and which
" could not poſſibly be conceal'd from the Commanders of ſo
" many Foreign Troops, nor indeed from the Troops them-
" ſelves, which conſiſt of ſo many thouſand Men, without
" whoſe Knowledge the Deduction could not have been made;
" and who, if it had been the leaſt uneaſy to them, would no
" doubt have complain'd. In what Senſe can this be call'd a
" dormant Warrant, which, from the Time 'twas ſign'd, had
" been in the Hands of the proper Officer, and conſtantly and
" publickly put in Execution? The Report adds, that the De-
" duction has been conceal'd from the Parliament; for which it
" is ſaid, I have not aſſign'd ſufficient Reaſons; but as there
" has been no Concealment, there could be no Need of aſſigning
" Reaſons for it, much leſs was it neceſſary to lay Accounts of
" the Mony before the Parliament, it being no Part of the E-
" ſtimate for the Service, nor of any Influence on the Mony to
" be given by Parliament; for the Subſidies to the Foreign
" Troops are govern'd by previous Treaties, and therefore
" muſt have continued the ſame, tho' this Deduction had
" never been made: Beſides that, the Exchequer is diſ-
" charg'd of this Mony, on the Receipt from the Foreign
" Troops for the compleat Subſidy. I have ſaid in my Letter,
" that this being a Free Gift of the Foreign Troops, does not
" properly relate to the Publick Accounts. Upon which the
" Commiſſioners obſerve, that this is inconſiſtent not only with the
" Words of the Warrant, which ſuppoſes an Agreement, but
" with that Part of my Letter which takes Notice of this Stop-
" page, to be ſtipulated for by me as Ambaſſadour; and from
" thence the Report concludes, that this Mony is to be account-
" ed for, as other Publick Mony is: But this Obſervation, I
" take to be grounded upon the miſtaken Notion of Publick
" Mony, which, as has already been obſerved, being meant of

" Mony

" Mony granted by Parliament, and ſtanding in Charge in the " Exchequer, can never be applied to this Payment; which is " a Contribution by the Foreign Troops, out of their own Mo- " ny, and not out of the Mony of Great Britain. I might ſay, " that tho' this Deduction has been ſubmitted to by the Foreign " Troops, during this War, yet it is ſo far voluntary at this " Day, that it depends barely upon a Parole-Stipulation, and " when Umbrage ſhall be given, may at any time be receded " from by them. This Report farther objects, that the 10,000 l. " given for Contingencies, is not confined to the Britiſh Troops, " but was intended for the 40,000 Men, without Diſtinction. " Now the contrary to this is evident; for in the Eſtimate laid " yearly before this Houſe, 'tis plain that this is given for the " Britiſh Troops only, and not for the reſt of the 40,000; and " in the Eſtimate for the Foreign Troops, the Article of Con- " tingencies is omitted, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe by this " Warrant it was otherwiſe provided for; and therefore the " Words of the Warrant are for defraying contingent Expences " relating to them, which is plainly ſaid in Oppoſition to the " contingent Mony allow'd for her Majeſty's own Troops. " And the like contingent Mony has not only been allowed, up- " all other Parts of the Service; but, it will appear, by exami- " ning what has been ſo allowed, that the Sums have exceed- " ed in Proportion what has been ever allowed for the Army in " Flanders. But the Report adds, that the 10,000 Pounds has " not always been thought exempt from Account, as appears " from a Privy-Seal, bearing Date in March, 1706, where- " in there is a Clauſe releaſing me from a Sum, part of the " 10,000 l. which, the Report ſays, ſuppoſes it had otherwiſe " been to be accounted for. When I ſay, in my Letter, that " the 10,000 l. given by Parliament, is without Account; I " dare ſay, I cannot eaſily be miſunderſtood: The Nature of " the Thing not admitting of a particular Account, and the " conſtant Practice never requiring any. In all the Accounts " during the War, of that Mony, my Receipt has been a ſuf- " ficient Diſcharge; but that not being a regular Voucher for " the Pay-maſter, it has been thought neceſſary from time to " time, to grant a Privy-Seal, to enable the Pay-maſter to paſs " that Part of his Account; and tho' there be that Clauſe in- " ſerted in the Privy-Seal, mention'd in the Report; of which, " I affirm, I was unacquainted; I yet preſume to ſay, that it " was not only needleſs, but alſo contrary to all Practice, both " before and ſince; for the Truth of which I appeal to the " Pay-maſter-General, who will do me Juſtice in it, if any " Gentleman can doubt it. 1712.

" As to the Legality of the Warrant, which is the next Ob- " jection, the Commiſſioners having barely touched on this,

" as

1712. " as not duly counterſign'd, I think it ſufficient to ſay, that this " Warrant, being principally intended for confirming an Agree- " ment with Foreign Princes, was properly counterſign'd by the " Secretary of State for that Province, rather than by the " Lord Treaſurer, who could have nothing to do with it; how- " ever, I muſt believe, that an Error of this Kind, if any Bo- " dy ſhould think it ſo, which depends upon a Nicety, can't be " thought to affect the General, whoſe Part has only been to " apply the Mony as the Warrant directs.

" But 'tis farther remarked, that neither the Stoppage nor " Payment of this Mony, have been regularly made. Firſt, Not " the Stoppage, becauſe the Warrant directs it ſhould be ſtop'd " in the Hands of the Pay-maſter's Account or his Deputy; but " this Method does not appear by the Pay-maſter's Account to " have been purſued; but, on the contrary, it is ſaid, that the " Payments to the Foreign Troops are always compleat, and the " Receipt taken in full, without any Notice of the Deduction. " But yet I preſume to ſay, the Stoppage has been regularly " made, in Purſuance to the Warrant. The Deputy Pay-maſ- " ter is expreſly authoriz'd, by the Warrant, to make that Stop- " page; and 'tis of Neceſſity he ſhould make it; who reſides " Abroad, where the Matter muſt be tranſacted, and the Stop- " page applied. And it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in " Caſes where Deductions are intended to be accounted for, as " publick Mony, the Warrant, which authorizes ſuch De- " ductions, directs the ſame to be accounted for, and the Man- " ner in which it is to be done: But where Deductions are " made by Virtue of Warrants, that contain no ſuch Directions " in them, as in the preſent Inſtance, it hath been preſum'd, " that there was no Intention ſuch Deductions ſhould be ac- " counted for to the Publick.

" Next, as to the Payment, this is ſaid not to be according " to the Warrant, becauſe Mr. Bridges, nor Mr. Cardonnel, " ever ſaw any Warrant, from me, directing the Payment of " it. I am not ſurpriz'd if the Gentlemen, in this Circum- " ſtance eſpecially, might not be appriz'd of the Method of iſ- " ſuing Mony only made for Secret Service, which could be in " my own Knowledge; but for their Information, and the Sa- " tisfaction of the Houſe, I take the Liberty to acquaint you, " that the Method of iſſuing this, and the publick Allowance of " 10,000 l. for ſecret Service, hath been exactly the ſame, and in " this Manner:

" I ſent my Letters to the Deputy Pay-maſter, requiring " the Payment of the Sum I had Occaſion for, to myſelf; and " for ſuch Sums as were received, from time to time, giving my " Receipt. This is the Order of the General, which is meant " by her Majeſty's Warrant; and which alone is practicable in " this, as well as in the Inſtance of the 10,000 l. contingent

" Mony. Nor is there any Gentleman that conſiders the Na- 1712.
" ture of Secret Service, but muſt ſee it is not poſſible, by the
" General's Warrant, to direct the Payment to the Perſon, for
" whoſe Uſe it is received.

" But the Commiſſioners are of Opinion, that the Deputy-
" Paymaſter ought to have tranſmitted conſtant Accounts of
" this Deduction, to the Paymaſter-General. If I could be-
" lieve the Houſe would expect from me an Account of a Cir-
" cumſtance, for which the Deputy-Paymaſter alone is an-
" ſwerable, I ſhould take the Liberty to ſay, that, in my poor
" Opinion, if he has not tranſmitted ſuch Accounts, it muſt be,
" becauſe he is neither requir'd nor authoriz'd, by her Majeſty's
" Warrant to do ſo. He is only obliged to make the Stoppage,
" and iſſue the Mony upon my Orders, which he has done. Nor
" can I conceive it to be of any Uſe to the Publick, or the Pay-
" maſter-General, to have receiv'd ſuch Accounts; he not be-
" ing chargeable with any ſuch Stoppage; nor are the Receipts
" for it any Part of his Vouchers.

" The laſt Objection is, that the Deduction being made, for
" defraying contingent Expences to the Foreign Troops; if the
" whole has been employed in ſecret Correſpondence, ſuch a
" Diſpoſition not being authoriz'd by the Warrant, is a Miſ-
" application of publick Mony. But tho' it's ſaid, in the War-
" rant, to be for defraying contingent Expences, relating to the
" Troops, the Reaſon 'tis ſo expreſs'd, I take to be nothing elſe,
" but that, in the Eſtabliſhment for the Forces ſerving abroad, the
" word (Contingencies) hath always comprehended ſecret Service,
" that having always been what was principally meant by that
" Article. And this is ſo evident, that if ſecret Service be not
" included under the Word (Contingencies) that important Part
" of the Service would have no Allowance from the Publick
" for it; which I preſume, will not be thought expedient. And
" therefore, tho' the Deduction be declared to be for Contin-
" gencies, no Streſs can, in Juſtice, be laid upon that Word, to
" prove it was not deſign'd for ſecret Service. And indeed,
" this is confeſs'd immediately after, in the Report itſelf; which
" ſays, that the Article for ſecret Service was always included in
" the 10,000 l. given for Contingencies. But if ſecret Service
" be meant by, or included under Contingencies, in the Eſta-
" bliſhments for the Britiſh Troops, how can it be ſuppoſed,
" that the Word (Contingencies) in the Warrant for the Foreign
" Troops, is not to be underſtood in the ſame Manner?

" No Body can doubt, but Contingencies, or contingent Ex-
" pences, mean the ſame in both, and, therefore, ſecret Ser-
" vice muſt be included in both or neither: But I cannot bet-
" ter explain this whole Matter, than by ſuppoſing that ſecret
" Service, being an Affair that affects the whole Army, the

" Charge

1712. " Charge of it is to be laid in Proportion upon the whole. But " the Share of the Britiſh Troops is born by the Publick, while " the Share of the Foreigners is raiſed upon the Troops them- " ſelves, by the Deduction, which is, therefore, ſaid to be for " defraying ſuch contingent Expences as to relate to them; that " is, for their Share in the Expence of ſecret Service, which be- " ing principally, and in the firſt Place, meant by Contingen- " cies, there is no Oppoſition between the Ends directed by the " Warrant, and thoſe that the Mony has been applied to, and " conſequently there has been no Miſapplication of it. I have " nothing to add upon this Article, but to take Notice of a " great Miſtake, even in the ſecond Computation, which is " made in the Report relating to this Deduction; for it is ſaid, " that the whole Stoppages from the Troops in Flanders, have " amounted to the Sum of 177,659 l. 17 s. and ¾; when, in " Truth, computing them from May, 1702, the time they " were firſt made, they do not exceed 151,748 l. taking the " Exchange at a Medium, between 11 Guilders and 10 Guil- " ders 10 Stivers: So that this Deduction, for the ten Years, " comes to no more than 15,174 l. 16 s. a Year.

" Upon the whole Matter, I can't but hope this Houſe will " find Reaſon to be ſatisfied with this Part of my Conduct; " and I think it no ill Service, that ſo neceſſary and important " a Part of the War, and which has turned to ſo good an " Account, has been manag'd with ſo little Expence to the Pub- " lick; and I may, with the greateſt Certainty, aſſure them, " that all other Parts of the Service have been carried on, with " all the good Huſbandry that was poſſible. And, I believe I " may venture to affirm, that I have, in the Article of ſecret " Services, ſaved the Government near four times the Sum the " Deduction amounts to; which I muſt reckon ſo much Mony " ſaved to the Publick.

Some few Reflections on this Vindication,

I might now naturally make ſeveral Reflections on the Weight, which the Arguments contain'd in this Vindication of the Duke's, carry along with them: But as they are moſtly ſelf-evident, and need little or no Illuſtration, I ſhall go on, to give an Account of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in this Affair, and only make ſuch farther caſual Obſervations, as may properly occur: Eſpecially as the Duke of Marlborough himſelf, tho' ſome Copies of this Vindication were handed about in writing, delayed publiſhing it, till the Nation was in ſome Meaſure returned from its Ferment, and was capable of examining theſe Things, in a more impartial Manner: This, however, I ſhall beg Leave previouſly to obſerve: That it was evident to the whole World, not only, that *the two and a half per Cent.* was allowed, by the free and voluntary Conſent of the Foreign Troops, in Britiſh Pay; and that the Duke had the Queen's

Warrant

Warrant to receive and apply it, as he ſhould judge neceſſary, *towards defraying extraordinary Contingent Expences, (a plain Argument that even this was not thought ſufficient:)* But it is as manifeſt, that the ſecret Service of the Army, which conſiſted in getting Intelligence of the Strength, Motions and Deſigns of the Enemy, could not poſſibly be carried on, at any Rate, without this additional Sum: Which, as the Duke well obſerves, with all he had been allowed beſides, fell very far ſhort of what King William had, in the former War; tho', it is plain, he was not half ſo well ſerv'd for it: and whoever conſiders all the Circumſtances of this Matter impartially, cannot but be of this Opinion. The Buſineſs of a Spy is ſo dangerous, that no Perſon of common Senſe will undertake it; unleſs with a Proſpect of ſo great an Advantage, as may ſufficiently recompenſe the great Hazard he runs of an ignominious Death, in Caſe of a Diſcovery: Yet is their Service and Aſſiſtance abſolutely neceſſary to carry on a War with Succeſs; and ſuch Perſons muſt alſo be choſen, as are qualified to give ſuch Intelligence as may be depended upon; and of ſo much Senſe and Knowledge, as to be able to judge what is neceſſary and requiſite to be taken Notice of. The Report of the Commiſſioners gives very imperfect Anſwers to the Duke's Allegations upon this Head, and they ſeem to be very much puzzled to find out, or aſſign, upon what Fund, or Branch of any Fund, they might Place this Expence of ſecret Service or Intelligence. It is true, they pretend, that *the Expence of ſecret Service was included in the Annual Sum of* 10,000 l. *given for the Contingencies of the Britiſh Troops firſt raiſed for this War*; but they give their Opinion with much Doubt, and ſeeming Heſitations, and do not appear to be at all clear in the Matter. 1712.

Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Duke of Marlboro'.

The four and twentieth of January, the Houſe of Commons proceeded to take into Conſideration the above Report of the Commiſſioners for taking the Publick Accounts, &c. which, with ſeveral Papers relating thereunto, being read, a violent Debate aroſe, which laſted about eight Hours, and many vehement Speeches were made for and againſt his Grace. The Queſtion propos'd to be put was, *Whether the taking ſeveral Sums of Mony annually, by the Duke of Marlborough, from the Contracters for furniſhing the Bread and Bread-Waggons, for the Army in the Low-Countries, was warrantable and legal:* To which the Duke's Friends, in the firſt Place inſiſted, that theſe Words ſhould be added; *and a cuſtomary Perquiſite allowed to the General, or Commander in Chief, in the Low-Countries.* To ſupport this Addition, Sir John Germain, who had ſerved in the former War in Flanders, was called in, and being examin'd at the Bar, ſaid, in Behalf of the Duke of Marlborough, *that the Allowance given his Grace, by the Contracters for the Bread and Bread-Waggons*

1712. *Waggons was a cuſtomary Perquiſite of the Commanders in Chief in Flanders, and as ſuch allowed to the Prince of Waldeck, under whom Sir John had ſerved as Aid de Camp.* Biſhop Burnet ſays, "That it was proved, both by Witneſſes, and by formal Atteſtations from Holland, that ever ſince the Year 1672, the "Jews had made the like Preſent to the General of the Army "of the States, and it was underſtood as a Perquiſite belonging to that Command. No Bargain (adds he) was made with "the Jews, for the Engliſh Troops; but that made by the "States, was applied to them; ſo that it appear'd, that the "making ſuch a Preſent to the General was cuſtomary.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Evidences, and all that the Duke's Friends could do or ſay, the Queſtion being put, *Whether the ſaid Words ſhould be added?* It was carried in the Negative, by a great Majority. Then the former Queſtion was debated, till near eleven at Night, when it was reſolved, by a Majority of above a hundred Votes, *That the taking ſeveral Sums of Mony annually, by the Duke of Marlborough, from the Contracters for furniſhing the Bread and Bread-Waggons, in the Low-Countries, was unwarrantable and illegal.* A Motion was, hereupon, made, and the Queſtion put, that the Houſe do adjourn, it paſſed in the Negative: After which it was alſo reſolved, by a great Majority; *That this two and a half per Cent. deducted from the Foreign Troops in her Majeſty's Pay, is publick Mony, and ought to be accounted for: And that the ſaid Reſolutions be laid before her Majeſty, by the Whole Houſe.*

Reſolutions againſt the Duke of Marlboro'.

Laid before the Queen.

The ſix and twentieth of January, the Houſe of Commons, with their Speaker, laid theſe Reſolutions before her Majeſty, who was, thereupon, pleas'd to make them the following Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

Her Majeſty's Anſwer.

"I have a great Regard for whatever is repreſented to me "by my Commons, and will do my Part to redreſs what you "complain of.

The Houſe of Commons contented themſelves, however, with paſſing the abovementioned Reſolutions, and preſenting the ſame to her Majeſty, not offering any Impeachment, or deſiring the Concurrence of the Lords; well knowing, that their Lordſhips had greater Reſpect for the Duke's Perſon and Services, than they themſelves thought fit to expreſs, at that time.

Prince Eugene comes to England.

Some time before this, the great Companion of the Duke of Marlborough's Glory, Prince Eugene of Savoy, whoſe coming to England had been long before talk'd of, arrived from Holland. When his Highneſs had taken a full Reſolution to embark for

for England, notwithſtanding the Endeavours us'd at the Hague, to keep him on the other Side of the Water, he applied himſelf to the Earl of Strafford, for an Order to the Captain of one of her Majeſty's Yachts, to carry him over; upon which his Lordſhip wrote the following Letter to Captain Deſborough, Commander of the Fubs. 1712.

SIR,

A Letter from the Earl of Strafford to Captain Deſborough.

" PRINCE Eugene having deſired my Orders to you, to " carry him over, you know I do not pretend to com- " mand any of her Majeſty's Yachts, without her ſpecial Com- " mand: You know your Orders, and how far they authorize " you to carry over the Prince. You know the Reſpect and " Conſideration due to the Prince, and his great Merit; there- " fore 'tis needleſs for me to tell you what Reſpect and Con- " ſideration you ought to ſhew him. I can aſſure you, I have " a particular Reſpect and Eſteem for him; and I ſhall always " be glad to do the Prince all the Service that lies in my Power.

I am,

Your moſt humble Servant,

STRAFFORD.

Tho' this Letter neither implied a Prohibition, nor a poſitive Order, and the Captain being thereby left at Liberty to uſe his own Diſcretion, he thought it his Duty, as he could not but eſteem it an Honour, to carry over ſo great a Hero, as Prince Eugene, who being embark'd, with his Retinue, at the Briel, the eighth of January, N. S. they ſet ſail the ſame Day. After a tedious and dangerous Paſſage, in which his Highneſs run ſome Hazard of being taken by a French Privateer, he, at length, came into the River Thames, on the fourth of January.

The Government being adviſed thereof, Mr. Drummond and Mr. Brinſden were immediately ordered to attend him; the former of theſe being a broken Merchant or Stockjobber, a ſuppoſed Creature of the Lord Treaſurer's, and the latter an Occuliſt, and private Agent of the Lord Bolinbroke's, they were thought very improper Attendants for a Perſon of the Prince's high Rank, and look'd upon, at beſt, but as Spies upon his Actions. Brinſden being detained at Greenwich, by an accidental Sprain in his Foot, Drummond only waited on his Highneſs, and taking him, the next Day, at Graveſend, in a Barge, landed him, in the Evening, *incognito*, at Whitehall, together with the Count de la Corſana, Count Naſſau-Woudenburg, the Chevalier de

1712. de Savoy, the Prince's Nephew, Son to the Count de Soiſons, and his Adjutant-General, the Baron de Hohndorff. He went from thence, in a Hackny-Coach to Leiceſter-Houſe, which Count Gallas had left fitted up for his Reception. He notified his Arrival, the very ſame Night, to the Lord Treaſurer, the Secretaries of State, and the foreign Miniſters; and ſome of them waited on him, ſoon after, as did, likewiſe, the Duke of Marlborough, of whoſe Diſgrace, the Prince, to his very great Diſſatisfaction, had an Account at the Buoy of the Nore; and to whom the Prince ſhewed the ſame Friendſhip and hearty Affection, as before his Diſgrace: A plain Evidence, that the Ties by which Great Souls, and true Heroes are united, are not to be diſſolved by the Caprice of Fortune. Upon this Occaſion, I cannot forbear taking Notice of the Aſſurance of one of the Attendants or Spies upon the Prince, Mr. Drummond, who preſum'd to give him the Caution, whether of his own Accord, or by Orders of them who ſent him, I ſhall not ſay, tho' the former ſeems the moſt probable, *That the leſs he ſaw the Duke of Marlborough, the better* ——— The Prince, who could not but be extreamly ſurprized at the Novelty, as well as the Audaciouſneſs of the Admonition, anſwered: *That as the Miniſtry might depend upon it, that he would not cabal againſt them; ſo, he hoped, they did not expect, he ſhould forbear his uſual Familiarity, with his good Friend the Duke of Marlborough.*

The Prince is viſited by the Duke of Marlboro'.

The Prince's Anſwer to a Caution given him.

The next Morning, his Highneſs received a Compliment from the Lord Treaſurer, which he immediately returned by his Adjutant General; and afterwards received ſeveral Viſits, as well from ſome of our own Nobility and Gentry, as from Foreign Miniſters. In the Afternoon, he returned the Duke of Marlborough's Viſit, ſent a Compliment to the Dukes of Buckingham and Ormond, the Earl of Powlet, and ſome other great Officers of State, and about ſeven in the Evening, went to St. James's Houſe, where he had a private Audience of her Majeſty, being introduced by Mr. Secretary St. John. Her Majeſty received him with a great deal of Affability, and after his firſt Compliment, which ſhe received very graciouſly, he delivered a Letter from the Emperour, which he told her Majeſty contain'd the chief Heads of his Errand; and deſir'd her to read it. This Letter being read, her Majeſty was pleas'd to tell him, "That "ſhe was ſorry the State of her Health did not permit her to "ſpeak with his Highneſs as often as otherwiſe ſhe would; but "that ſhe had ordered theſe two Gentlemen preſent (*meaning "the Lord Treaſurer, and Mr. Secretary St. John, who were the "only Perſons there*) to receive his Propoſals, and confer with "his Highneſs, as often as he ſhould think proper." This ſaid, the Prince took his Leave of her Majeſty and retired.

Has a private Audience of her Majeſty.

Tho'

Tho' Prince Eugene had not the good Fortune to ſucceed in what he came about, he had no Reaſon to complain of his Treatment; for never was ſo much Reſpect paid to any Foreigner, in England before. Vaſt Multitudes of People crowded to ſee him, and attended him, with loud Acclamations, wherever he went. The Nation was, however, variouſly affected by his Highneſs's coming to England, at this critical Juncture. Thoſe who were apprehenſive, that a Peace might be concluded upon unſafe and diſhonourable Terms, were extreamly rejoic'd at his Arrival, hoping, that by the fair Propoſals, he was ſuppoſed to have brought from the Emperour, ſupported by his great Wiſdom and Dexterity, he would go near, if not to break off the preſent Negotiation, at leaſt to engage Great Britain, to make early Preparations to carry on the War with Vigour, as the moſt effectual Means to obtain a ſafe and honourable Peace. On the other hand, thoſe who were deſirous of a Peace upon any Conditions, being apprehenſive that his Highneſs would blaſt their Expectations, could not forbear giving Inſtances of their Diſcontent, and ſome rude People committed ſome Diſorders in Leiceſter-Fields, the ſecond Night after his Arrival. The Prince, in the mean time, by his ſteady Moderation, and diſcreet Behaviour, convinced every one, that he was not come over, to meddle with inteſtine Diviſions, but, as far as in him lay, to remove ſuch Difficulties as might obſtruct the carrying on of the common Cauſe. This prudent Carriage endear'd his Highneſs to every body. The Prime Nobility, Foreign Miniſters, and Gentry, of all Parties, vied with each other, who ſhould have the Pre-eminence of his Company, and who ſhould entertain him with the greateſt Splendour and Variety; amongſt whom, the Dukes of Marlborough, Ormond, Montague, Grafton, Shrewſbury, Buckingham, Devonſhire, and Richmond; and the Earls of Powlet, Sunderland, Portland, Oxford, Stairs, Wharton, Rivers, and Orkney, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves; not to mention many others of leſs Quality. And indeed, his Highneſs's Deportment was ſuch, in every Company, as fully anſwer'd what Fame had ſaid of him: From all which it was ſufficiently evident, that whatever his Errand was, his Perſon, at leaſt, was welcome to them.

1712.

Reſpect ſhew'd him.

The Nation variouſly affected by his Preſence.

His prudent Behaviour.

On this occaſion, it was confidently reported, that when the Prince dined with the Lord Treaſurer, his Lordſhip, among other Compliments, told his Highneſs; *That he look'd upon that Day, as the happieſt in the whole Courſe of his Life, ſince he had the Honour to ſee, in his Houſe, the greateſt Captain of this Age.* To which the Prince ſhrewdly and wittily reply'd; *That, if it was ſo, he was oblig'd to his Lordſhip for it.* Alluding to the Earl's being *(as it was thought)* the Author of *the Duke's Diſgrace, which rid his Highneſs of a Competitor in military Glory.*

A witty reply-ing attributed to him.

1712. Her Majeſty was, likewiſe, not backward in teſtifying the Eſteem ſhe had for him: For, on the ſixth of February, being her Birth-Day, ſhe preſented him with a Sword, enrich'd with Diamonds, of the Value of 5000 l.

Sir Alexander Cairnes, and Sir Theodore Janſſen, wait on the Prince.

The fourteenth of January, Sir Alexander Cairnes, Baronet, and Sir Theodore Janſſen, two of the moſt wealthy and eminent Merchants of the City of London, and who had contributed moſt to the Loan, made ſome Years before, to the Emperour, upon the Security of his Revenues in Sileſia, for the Uſe of the Prince of Savoy, waited upon his Highneſs, with a Compliment from that Company. The Prince gave them a very kind Reception, and was pleaſed to tell them: "That he was very "much oblig'd to them, ſince the raiſing of the Siege of Turin, "and the Succeſſes which enſued, were under God, chiefly ow-"ing to the ſeaſonable Supply of Mony he receiv'd from Eng-"land." And indeed, his Highneſs did thoſe Gentlemen but Juſtice, in acknowledging that Truth. Their Anſwer was: "That when they made that Loan, they had not ſo much in "View the Improvement of their Mony, as the Honour of be-"ing ſerviceable to the Common Cauſe, and of having an Op-"portunity to ſhew their Reſpect for a Prince of ſo great Re-"putation; and as they accounted themſelves particularly ob-"liged to his Highneſs's Integrity, for the punctual Payment "of their Intereſt and Principal; ſo, if in the Courſe of this "War, his Highneſs ſhould have Occaſion for any greater Sums, "their Company would readily advance them, upon his High-"neſs's ſingle Security. They concluded with deſiring his "Highneſs to accept of a ſmall Entertainment, which their "Company deſign'd to give him in the City, and to fix a Day, "when it ſhould beſt ſuit with his Highneſs's Conveniency, "which he promis'd to do; but by an unlucky Miſtake after-"wards, the City did not enjoy that Honour and Satisfac-"tion."

Compliments which paſs'd between them.

He confers daily with the Miniſters.

Amidſt all this, however, his Highneſs was not negligent of the Affairs he came about; but had daily Conferences with Mr. Secretary St. John; and having received an Anſwer to a Memorial which he deliver'd him, replied to it with a ſecond, more particularly with Regard to the Recovery of Spain.

A Propoſal of his laid before the Parliament.

It was the ſix and twentieth of February, before any Anſwer was made to this Memorial, and then Mr. Secretary St. John acquainted the Houſe of Commons, that he had Orders from her Majeſty to communicate to them a Propoſition made by Prince Eugene, in the Emperour's Name, for ſupporting the War in Spain, viz. "That the Emperour judges 40,000 Men will be "ſufficient for that Service; and that the whole Expence of the "War in Spain may amount to four Millions of Crowns, to-"wards which his Imperial Majeſty offers, to make up the

"Troops

1712.

" Troops he has in that Country 30,000, and to take one " Million upon himſelf.

But it is diſregarded.

The Houſe took no Manner of Notice of this Meſſage, not a ſingle Member ſaying any thing to it, good or bad: Which, together with the Death of the Prince's Nephew, the Chevalier de Savoy, of the ſmall Pox, as was reported (tho' ſome ſay he received his Death's Wound from a Chairman, whom he would have treated, as is common with great Men, in ſome Countries, to treat their Vaſſals,) made his Highneſs very uneaſy. He ſaw no great Hopes of ſucceeding in his Negotiation, he therefore began to think of taking his Leave, and returning to Holland; which he did, accordingly, about the Middle of March. The thirteenth of that Month, he had his Audience of Leave of her Majeſty; and having ſpent three Days in receiving and paying Viſits, and having, in a particular Manner, taken Leave of his dear Friend and illuſtrious Partner in Glory, the Duke of Marlborough, he departed the ſeventeenth, in the Peregrine Yacht.

His Highneſs returns to Holland.

Various Opinions as to the Succeſs of his Negotiations.

After his Highneſs's Departure, there were various Speculations and Reaſonings, about the Succeſs of his Negotiations: Some affirm'd, not without Probability, that notwithſtanding the ſeveral Memorials he had preſented, and the lively and preſſing Repreſentations he had made, by Word of Mouth, the Britiſh Miniſtry made no Alteration in their Scheme, in relation either to War or Peace; and that, if any Change happen'd in the latter, it was owing to other Cauſes, particularly the late unexpected Death of two Dauphins of France. Others were of Opinion, that his Highneſs's coming over, at this critical Juncture, was extreamly beneficial to the common Cauſe: For as, on the one hand, the univerſal Attention, which ſo great a Commander drew after him, ſomewhat abated the Animoſity of the two contending Parties; ſo, on the other hand, the continual Entertainments, to which his Highneſs was invited, by the prime Nobility and Gentry of this Nation, gave him an Opportunity to know the Strength and Inclination of both Parties: Which, undoubtedly, was of mighty Uſe to a Prince, who had ſo great a Share in the Councils of Vienna, and of the whole Empire. After all, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that tho' his Highneſs did not go away fully ſatisfied, he obtain'd, however, the beſt Part of what he came for: viz. One third of the four Millions of Crowns, judg'd to be ſufficient for the carrying on of the War in Spain; which was, perhaps, more than the Houſe of Commons would, at this Juncture, have granted to the Emperour, had not Prince Eugene ſollicited for him in Perſon.

I muſt not omit a remarkable Reflection made by Prince Eugene to Biſhop Burnet, with regard to the Duke of Marlborough. " In one of the ſcurrilous Papers *(ſays the Biſhop)*

1712. " wrote on Deſign to raiſe the Rabble againſt the Duke of " Marlborough, one of the Periods began thus: *He was per-* " *haps once fortunate.* I took Occaſion (continues he) to let " Prince Eugene ſee the Spite of theſe Writers, and mention'd " this Paſſage; upon which he made this pleaſant Reflection; " *That it was the greateſt Commendation could be given him, ſince* " *he was always ſucceſsful; ſo this implied, that in one ſingle In-* " *ſtance he might be fortunate, but that all his other Succeſſes were* " *owing to his Conduct.* Upon that (adds the Biſhop) I ſaid, " that ſingle Inſtance muſt be then his eſcaping out of the Hands " of the Party, which took him when he was falling down the " Maeſe, in a Boat."

A remarkable Reflection of Prince Eugene, concerning the Duke of Marlboro'.

The Author of the Spectator (Vol. V. No. 340.) having given that beautiful and noble Character of Prince Eugene, which he ſo juſtly deſerved, concludes that Paper in the following Words: " This I thought fit to entertain my Reader with, concerning a " *Hero, who never was equalled but by one Man*; (Meaning the " Duke of Marlborough;) *Over whom, alſo, he has this Ad-* " *vantage, that he has had an Opportunity to manifeſt an Eſteem* " *for him in his Adverſity.* But to return to the Duke:

A Compariſon between theſe two Generals.

As a Conſequence of the Votes of the Houſe of Commons againſt his Grace, on the ſixteenth of February, the Houſe being informed from the Commiſſioners of the Publick Accounts, that they had taken ſeveral Depoſitions, and Papers relating to their Report, the ſame were read, and upon Conſideration of that Part regarding Mr. Cardonnel, he was heard in his Place, and being withdrawn, it was carried, after a long Debate, by a Majority of twenty-ſix; " That the taking a Gratuity of five " Hundred Gold Ducats annually, from the Contracters for " Bread and Bread-waggons, for the Army in the Low- " Countries, by Mr. Cardonnel, was unwarrantable and cor- " rupt; and therefore, that he ſhould, for the ſaid Offence, " be *Expell'd the Houſe.*" They afterwards heard that Part of the ſaid Report read, which related to Mr. Sweet, Deputy-Paymaſter, at Amſterdam, and reſolved; " That the One per " Cent. received by Mr. Sweet, upon the Payments made by " him to the Contracters for furniſhing Bread and Bread-wag- " gons, in the Low-Countries, was Publick Mony, and ought " to be accounted for." After which, they immediately or- der'd, " That the ſaid Report of the Commiſſioners of Ac- " counts, together with the Examinations and Depoſitions re- " lating thereunto, with the Reſolutions of the Houſe there- " upon, and her Majeſty's Anſwer to the Reſolutions laid be- " fore her, ſhould be printed.

Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons againſt Mr. Cardonnel and Mr. Sweet.

The nine and twentieth of February, the Houſe of Commons being conſidering of Ways and Means to raiſe the Supply, among

among other Particulars, reſolved; "That the Deduction of "two and a half per Cent. which had, or ought to have been "made, from the Pay, Subſidies, or other Allowances, for "foreign Forces, in her Majeſty's Service, be continued for the "Year 1712, and applied for the Service of the War, in Aid "of the Proviſion made, or to be made, in the Seſſion of Par-"liament, for that Purpoſe:" Which Reſolution was deſigned to colour the Cenſure already paſs'd on the Duke of Marlborough. 1712. And for the Application of the 2 and a half per Cent. Deduction from the Pay of foreign Forces.

Thus ended the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Duke of Marlborough; but notwithſtanding he had the Misfortune to lye under the Cenſure of that honourable Houſe, the brighteſt Pens came in, as Volunteers, to his Grace's Defenſe. Among theſe, the Author of the Hiſtory of that Parliament, expreſſes himſelf ſo nervouſly on this Subject, that from him I have borrowed the following Quotation, and hope the Reader will not think it a needleſs Digreſſion.

"I never met (ſays he) with any Subject, in my Life, in "which I more paſſionately deſired a full Liberty of Speech, "than in that of the queſtioning the Duke of Marlborough's "Conduct with reſpect to the Præmium for the Bread-Con-"tracts, and the Deduction of two and a half per Cent. of the "Pay to foreign Troops, for ſecret Services. I muſt confeſs, "Reflections upon Reflections crowd in upon my Imagination, "and Words ſtruggle to break their Way, but I muſt check the "Impetuoſity of Argument, and ſubmit to the *Ultima Ratio*. "The Wretch (meaning the Examiner) who has already handled "the Matter, would make us believe it was ſaid even in Par-"liament, *That his Grace's Salary as General, Plenipotentiary, "Maſter of the Ordnance, &c. was more than enough to ſatisfy "the moſt craving Appetite: That the Rewards he had received "from Parliament were of ſuch a valuable Nature, as to be highly "ſuperior to his Merit, had his Services been much greater than "they were; that in thoſe Services which were ſo much talk'd of, "by his Advocates, he had done no more than his Duty, &c.* I can "read no more of it; the Hiſtories of the World, from the "Creation, to the Treaty of Utrecht, have nothing like it. "You may talk of the calling the Conqueror of Carthage to ac-"count for his delivering Rome from Slavery. The Romans "could not ſtand it: *Follow me (ſays Scipio) to the Capitol, and "let us thank the Gods for the Victory that was on this Day won "of the Africans.* The Senators crowded after the Conqueror, "and the Accounts were forgot in a Minute. When his Grace "had only the Glory of his Youth to ſupport him, and the "Service of a few Campaigns in France and Flanders; when "he was reproached by the Enviers of that Merit, to which "nothing but her Majeſty's Royal Bounty could be ſuperiour,

1712. " that he was *Sine Clade Victor*; when he had only taken Ru-
" remond and Venlo, how was he loaded with Applauſe, and
" immediately ſet above the Memory of King William, as the
" Retriever of the Honour of the Nation! Who were the Men
" that were thus laviſh of their Praiſe? From what Quarter
" did thoſe glorious Votes come? Or were they intended rather
" as an Affront to that glorious King's Memory, than as a
" Compliment to the General he had given them? If he had then
" retrieved the Honour of England, good God! what did he
" do afterwards? What did he for us on the Banks of the Da-
" nube? At the Battles of Ramellies and Oudenarde? At the
" dreadful Siege of that wealthy and beautiful equivalent Liſle?
" What, in a Word, were all his Campaigns but ſo many
" Triumphs? And where ſhould we have found Room for his
" Trophies, had we not ourſelves put a Stop to his Victories?
" There is no need of any other Remembrances of theſe Things,
" than the Speeches and Votes of Parliament, and the voluntary
" Addreſſes of the Nation, with which the Gazets were filled
" for ſeveral Years ſucceſſively. Hiſtorians will always be fond
" of this Part of the Engliſh Hiſtory; it ſhines ſo bright, it
" wants no Ornament, and it is not in the Power of Envy and
" Ingratitude to tranſmit it to Poſterity, in any other Colours;
" but what are dazling and amazing."

The Attorney-General ordered to proſecute the Duke of Marlboro'.

It was the general Opinion of every one, who read the Duke of Marlborough's Caſe and Vindication, that there was no Law, upon which an Action could be laid againſt his Grace, upon account of the Deduction of two and a half per Cent. from the foreign Troops in her Majeſty's Pay, for which, and the Application whereof, he could plead her Majeſty's Warrant; notwithſtanding the Houſe of Commons had voted it publick Mony, and that, as ſuch, it ought to be accounted for. However, purſuant to the Queen's Anſwer to the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, Orders were given, about the Beginning of April, to the Attorney-General, to proſecute his Grace, on that Account; but whether out of a Senſe of Shame, or whatever elſe were the Reaſons, which ſtopp'd this Proſecution for the preſent, the Bill againſt his Grace, in the Court of Exchequer, was not exhibited till the Beginning of Auguſt; I do not find, nevertheleſs, that this Proſecution ever came to any Thing.

A Bill exhibited againſt him, in the Exchequer.

A Repreſentation of ſome foreign Princes in the Duke's Favour.

In the mean time, ſeveral foreign Princes who had Troops in her Majeſty's Pay, order'd their Miniſters to repreſent, *that the ſaid two and a half per Cent. was their own Mony, but that they were willing to allow it as a free Gift to the Duke of Ormond*, (who was declared General, and had the firſt Regiment of the Guards, in his Grace's Room) *as they had done before to the Duke of Marlborough*. This ſeemed to be a full Juſtification of the latter, and was no ſmall Mortification to his Grace's implacable

Enemies, who after a great deal of Noiſe and Clamour, could not fix any thing criminal upon him. 1712.

I ſhall ſay ſomething, in the enſuing Chapter, of the Campaign in Flanders; ſo ſhall only obſerve here, that upon the Duke of Ormond's Declaration of his being reſtrained from acting offenſively againſt the French, and News of it coming to England, a Motion was made, the eight and twentieth of May, in the Houſe of Peers, for addreſſing the Queen, that her Majeſty's Orders to the Duke of Ormond, might be laid before the Houſe: But after a very warm Debate, the Queſtion was put to adjourn it; which was carried by ſixty-eight Votes againſt forty. Debate in the Houſe of Lords about the Duke of Ormond's Orders.

During this Debate, the Duke of Devonſhire, who was for addreſſing, ſaid: "That by the Proximity of Blood, he was "more concerned for the Duke of Ormond's Reputation, than "any other; and, therefore, he could not forbear declaring, he "was ſurprized to hear any one dare to make Uſe of a Noble-"man, of the firſt Rank, and of ſo diſtinguiſhed a Character, as "an Inſtrument of ſuch a Proceeding." The Earl of Powlet ſaid, on the Side of the Court: *That no Body could doubt of the Duke's Bravery; but that he was not like a certain General, who led Troops to the Slaughter, to cauſe a great Number of Officers to be knock'd on the Head, in a Battle, or againſt Stone Walls, in order to fill his Pocket, by diſpoſing of their Commiſſions.* The Earl of Powlet reflects on the Duke of Marlboro'.

This invidious Reflection was too plain, not to be underſtood by the Duke of Marlborough, who was ſenſible that a Suggeſtion of that Nature was not fit to be anſwered by any ſolid Arguments drawn from right Reaſon; and yet that no others were proper to be offer'd by him, in that Place; he, therefore, thought it not convenient to make any Reply at that Time. His Grace could not, however, ſo far ſtifle his Reſentments; but that as ſoon as the Houſe was up, he ſent the Lord Mohun to the Earl of Powlet, to tell him that the Duke of Marlborough was willing to have an Eclairciſſement with his Lordſhip, about ſome Expreſſions he had uſed, in that Day's Debate, and, therefore, deſired him to go and take the Air in the Country. The Earl, who readily underſtood the Meaning of that uncommon Word, aſk'd the Lord Mohun, whether he brought him a Challenge? To which he anſwer'd, that his Meſſage wanted no Explanation, and that he would accompany the Duke of Marlborough, intimating, that the Earl might likewiſe provide a Second. The Earl being returned home, with ſome Emotion, and having given his Lady a Hint of what had paſs'd, the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State, was ſoon acquainted with it; who went immediately to the Duke of Marlborough, and deſir'd him not to ſtir abroad. At the ſame time, his Lordſhip ſent two Centries to be placed at the Earl of Powlet's Houſe, and The Duke reſents it.

1712. having inform'd the Queen of the whole Matter, her Majesty sent him back to the Duke of Marlborough, to desire him, that this Affair might go no farther. His Grace being ever willing to shew his humble Duty to her Majesty, notwithstanding all that had pass'd, gave his Word of Honour, that he would comply with her Majesty's Commands. And the Lord Treasurer likewise using his good Offices, between the two Parties, the Quarrel was, at least seemingly compos'd. But tho' this Dispute ended without Bloodshed, yet many began to apprehend the Consequences of the Heats and Animosities of the two Parties, which daily increased.

The Matter made up.

And, upon Occasion of a more fatal Quarrel, which happen'd soon after, the Duke of Marlborough was reflected upon, for *setting the Example of Party-Duels.*

This Reflection made upon the Duke of Marlborough, in the House of Peers, leads me naturally to take Notice of what a late Historian says, concerning disposing of Posts, &c. "Secret "Enquiries (says he) were made, in order to the laying more "Load on the Duke of Marlborough, and to see whether Posts "in the Army, or in the Guards, were sold by him; but no- "thing could be found. He had suffered a Practice to go on, "which had been begun in the late King's time, of letting Of- "ficers sell their Commissions; but he had never taken any Part "of the Price to himself. Few thought, that he had been so "clear in that Matter; for it was the only Thing in which now "his Enemies were confident, that some Discoveries would have "been made, to his Prejudice; so that the Endeavours used to "search into these Matters, producing nothing, raised the Re- "putation of his incorrupt Administration, more than all his "Well-wishers could have expected. Thus happy does some- "times the Malice of an Enemy prove! In this whole Trans- "action (continues my Author) we saw a new Scene of Ingra- "titude, acted in a most imprudent Manner: When *the Man, "to whom the Nation owed more than it had ever done, in any "Age, to any Subject*, or perhaps to any Person, whomsoever, "was for some Months pursued with so much Malice. *He bore "it with Silence and Patience, with an Exteriour, that seemed "always calm and chearful.*

Farther Vindication of the Duke of Marlboro'.

"Nothing (says another Author) can be more ridiculous and "absurd, than to charge, with a Design to perpetuate the War, "a Man, who has, in every Respect, out-done our Wishes, and "has done so much towards a good Peace, by his own Ad- "dress and Ability, both in War and Peace. By his Conduct "in the Field; by his Interest with the Allies; by his happy "Temper, to prevent or make up Differences; by his Dexterity "and Wisdom; by his great Humanity and Sweetness of Be- "haviour, which is peculiar to him; by his Zeal for the Ho-

"nour

" nour of the Queen, whom he has ſerved with more Affection, 1712.
" than moſt Men ever did a Miſtreſs, and the Liberty of Eu-
" rope, in which he had few Equals."

On the ſixth of June, the Queen having, in a Speech to both Houſes, communicated to them the Conditions of Peace, as they then were, or were about to be, agreed on, the Houſe of Lords took that Speech into Conſideration, the next Day; when very hot Debates ariſing about the ſame, the Duke of Marlborough, among others, repreſented to the Houſe, *That the Meaſures entered into, and purſued in England, for this Year paſt, were contrary to her Majeſty's Engagements with her Allies, did ſully the Triumphs and Glories of her Reign, and would render the Engliſh Name odious to all other Nations.* Upon this, the Earl of Strafford ſaid; *That ſome of the Allies (meaning the Dutch) would not ſhew ſuch Backwardneſs to a Peace, as they had hitherto done, but for a Member of that Illuſtrious Aſſembly (meaning the Duke of Marlborough) who maintained a ſecret Correſpondence with them, and endeavoured to perſuade them to carry on the War, feeding them with Hopes, that they ſhould be ſupported by a ſtrong Party here.* The Lord Cowper anſwered this Speech, and becauſe the Earl of Strafford had not expreſſed himſelf in all the Purity of the Engliſh Tongue, he took Occaſion from thence to ſay, " That this noble Lord had been ſo long abroad, that he " had almoſt forgot, not only the Language, but the very Con-" ſtitution of his own Country. That, according to our Laws, " it could never be ſuggeſted as a Crime, in the meaneſt Sub-" ject, much leſs in any Member of that auguſt Aſſembly, to " hold Correſpondence with our Allies: Such Allies, eſpecial-" ly, whoſe Intereſt her Majeſty had declared to be *inſeparable* " *from her own*, in her Speech at the Opening of this Seſſion: " Whereas it would be a hard Matter to juſtify, and reconcile, " either with our Laws, or the Laws of Honour and Juſtice, " the Conduct of ſome Perſons, in treating clandeſtinely with " the common Enemy, without the Participation of the Allies." How great Reaſon there was, or was not, for the poſitive Aſſertions, and Obſervations of the Duke's, is not my Buſineſs to enter into a Diſcuſſion of; I mention them only, to ſhew his Senſe of Things; this, however I can't forbear obſerving, that one Part of them, viz. *The Engliſh Name being render'd odious to all other Nations*, proved but too true; of which I had but too many Inſtances myſelf, in ſeveral Parts of Germany, eſpecially at Hannover, where it was almoſt dangerous for an Engliſhman to own himſelf ſo; and where I was obliged to leave my Lodgings to avoid the Inſults of certain Officers, who, I am ſorry to ſay it, were but too apt, upon this Occaſion, to exceed, not only the Bounds of Reaſon, but the Limits of good Manners: And without examining into a Man's Principles, or making any Diſtinction,

Debates in the Houſe of Peers about the Peace.

The D. of Marlboro's Senſe of the Matter.

1712. Diſtinction, laid the Blame upon the whole Nation alike. The Duke's Aſſertions were back'd, by ſeveral excellent Speeches of the Lords Nottingham, Cowper, and others, yet they had, at that time, no Effect, the Majority was too great againſt them.

During all theſe Tranſactions, ſeveral infamous Pamphlets and Libels were publiſhed, by the inveterate Enemies to the Duke of Marlborough, in order, if poſſible, to caſt a Blemiſh upon his immortal Fame, to depreciate his unvaluable Services, and to render him obnoxious, both to the Queen and Publick.

It is almoſt incredible, how much theſe vile Libels poiſon'd the Minds of the People, and prejudiced them againſt him; and yet his Grace bore them, with an Equanimity truly becoming himſelf, and the Character he ever bore among Men of Juſtice, Honour and Gratitude. Among others, a ſilly Paper appeared, entitled; *The Duke and Ducheſs of Marlborough's Loſs, being an Eſtimate of their former yearly Income:* But as this, beſides a Want of Truth, had neither Senſe, Wit, nor any thing elſe to recommend it, I paſs it by, without farther Notice; as I ſhall many other for their Scurrility.

The Muſes were alſo call'd in, to bear a Part in the Triumph of the Duke's Adverſaries: and one of the Writers of the Examiner (as it was believ'd, either Mr. Prior, or Dr. Jonathan Swift) who had conſtantly purſued the Duke with mercileſs Fury, and profligate Malice, did, on this Occaſion, publiſh the following *FABLE* of the *WIDOW AND HER CAT:* Which I inſert, to ſhew the invidious Bent of thoſe Authors, and as it has ſome Wit in it; tho' the Fable is, otherwiſe, ſo far from being applicable, that it rather diſcovers the Weakneſs of their Cauſe, that they were oblig'd to have recourſe to ſuch Meanneſſes.

Satyrical Verſes publiſhed againſt the Duke of Marlborough.

I.

The Fable of the Widow, and the Cat.

A Widow kept a Favourite Cat,
At firſt a gentle Creature;
But when he was grown ſleek and fat,
With many a Mouſe and many a Rat,
He ſoon diſclos'd his Nature.

II.

The Fox and he were Friends of old,
Nor could they now be parted;
They nightly ſlunk to rob the Fold,
Devour'd the Lambs, the Fleces ſold;
And Puſs grew Lion-hearted.

III. He

1712.

III.

He ſcratch'd her Maid, he ſtole the Cream,
He tore her beſt lac'd Pinner;
Nor Chanticleer upon the Beam,
Nor Chick, nor Duckling ſcapes, when Grim
Invites the Fox to Dinner.

IV.

The Dame full wiſely did decree,
For fear he ſhould diſpatch more,
That the falſe Wretch ſhould worry'd be:
But, in a ſawcy Manner, he
Thus ſpeech'd it like a L——re.

V.

Muſt I, againſt all Right and Law,
Like Polecat vile be treated?
I who ſo long, with Tooth and Claw,
Have kept domeſtick Mice in Awe,
And foreign Foes defeated?

VI.

Your Golden Pippins, and your Pies,
How oft have I defended?
'Tis true, the Pinner, which you prize,
I tore in Frolick; to your Eyes,
I never harm intended.

VII.

I am a Cat of Honour——Stay,
Quo' ſhe, no longer parly;
Whate'er you did in Battle ſlay,
By Law of Arms, became your Prey,
I hope you won it fairly.

VIII.

Of this we'll grant you ſtand acquit,
But not of your Outrages:
Tell me, Perfidious! Was it fit,
To make my Cream a Perquiſite,
And ſteal to mend your Wages?

IX.

So flagrant is thy Inſolence;
So vile thy Breach of Truſt is;
That longer with thee to diſpenſe
Were Want of Pow'r, or Want of Senſe:
Here Towzer!——Do him Juſtice.

The

1712. The following Copy of Verſes was alſo publiſhed, by the Duke of Marlborough's Enemies.

Another Copy of Verſes publiſhed againſt his Grace.

M. Manlius Capitolinus

Neſcia Mens Hominum Fati, ſortiſq; Futuræ
Et ſervare Modum, rebus ſublata ſecundis!
Turno tempus edit, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta, & cum ſpolia iſta, Diemq;
Oderit———

VIRG. ÆN. X.

Ambition is a Plant, that's always found,
To root the deepeſt in the richeſt Ground;
Fair to the Sight, the op'ning Bloſſoms riſe,
The Fruit's forbidden, and who taſtes it dies.
This, Manlius, was thy Guilt, this urg'd thy Doom,
Once ſtil'd Retriever of invaded Rome.
When thy ſucceſsful Arms oppos'd the Gaul,
Jove to thy Care conſign'd his Capitol,
But black Deſigns obſcur'd thy riſing Fame,
And quickly left thee nothing but thy Name:
Elſe might'ſt thou ſtill, in Camps, have loll'd at Eaſe,
Fat with the Spoils of plunder'd Provinces;
Still the brib'd Senate, and the frantick Croud,
With Votes and Ballads, had thy Deeds avow'd:
But 'twas too fierce an Ardour for Renown,
T'aſpire to regal Purple, and a Crown——
That Rock which gave thee Glory prov'd thy Doom,
And was at once thy Trophy and thy Tomb.

A Pamphlet in Vindication of the Duke of Marlboro'.

On the other hand, the Duke's Friends, and impartial Admirers of his great Actions, and ſolid Merit, were not wanting to defend his Grace, as far as they could do it with Safety; and, among other Writings in his Grace's Vindication, there was publiſhed, about this Time, a Pamphlet, entitled, *Our Anceſtors as wiſe as we, or antient Precedents for modern Facts, in Anſwer to a Letter from a noble Lord.* The Author of this Piece, having curſorily taken Notice of Generals, who, after repeated Succeſſes, have, by the ſly Inſinuations of their Enemies, been diſgraced: Such as Hannibal, Camillus, Scipio Africanus and Agricola, in the Roman Hiſtory; and of Raymond, and Sir Walter Raleigh, in our own Annals, as Inſtances of very *flagrant Ingratitude*; he begs *leave of his Lordſhip, to reaſon a little upon the preſent Fact, and turning out the Duke of Marlborough:* I will not ſay, *continues he* (p. 18. & ſeq.) that he is the greateſt Enemy of France, who is aiming at no leſs than Spain did before, viz. Univerſal Empire. I won't ſay, that France trem-

bles

bles at his Name, and would have had him diſcharged ten Years ago. I won't add, that he has been the greateſt Check to the boundleſs Ambition of the French Tyrant. But tho' this Enemy to French Tyranny, Popery, and Slavery, is diſcarded, I will not in the leaſt even venture to think, that our Enemies have the leaſt Intereſt in the Management of our Affairs, which by the very Face of 'em appear to be entirely Engliſh ——I ſhall not lay before you the great and many Victories he had obtain'd, ſuch as Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Blaregnies, nor the great Conſequences of theſe Victories, the Safety of the Empire, and a noble Barrier to our brave Allies the Dutch, and the forcing the haughty Monarch at laſt, to ſue for Peace. No, all theſe Things, I ſhall wave. Theſe might perhaps be Reaſons for turning him out, and ſo the more Succeſſes I find him guilty of, the more Reaſon I give for his diſcarding; I ſhall therefore inſiſt only on theſe two Points. Firſt, I'll ſhew you how little his outward Behaviour to the Queen deſerved it. Secondly, How decent his Behaviour towards the People has been. 1712.

1. He has always received her Majeſty's Commands with the utmoſt Deference and Reſpect; nor has he ever been remiſs in the Execution of them. After his Ducheſs was turn'd out, and all thoſe other Miniſters, with whom he uſed formerly to concert all his Meaſures; yet, becauſe he thought her Majeſty had Occaſion for his Service, he once more went and ventured his Life againſt her Enemies; and you might have ſeen him again at the Head of the Army, taking indefatigable Pains, in the Service of his Queen and Country, had not her Majeſty told him, *She had no farther Occaſion for him.* Her Majeſty, indeed, ſays, that ſhe has received ill Treatment from him; this truly ſtartles me a little, did not I know how eaſy a Thing it is to miſunderſtand. But perhaps, thro' Forgetfulneſs, his Bows have not been low and frequent enough, or ſome other Thing may have happened, that might be ill taken, tho' not ſo deſigned; or rather, he has been miſrepreſented by his Enemies, and had no Opportunity to vindicate himſelf.

2dly, As to his Behaviour to the People, when he came home loaded with the Spoils of his Enemies, how careful has he been to avoid the Acclamations of a Mob? Has he ever beſtowed inviting Careſſes on them, or has he ever ſeemed well pleaſed with their Huzza's, however well he might have deſerv'd them? No, he has check'd whatever might have made him popular; yet this is he, whom Pamphleteers revile; this *Deliverer of our Nation* is the Mark, which every one ſeems to think he muſt hit, e'er he can be preferred. *UNGRATEFUL NATION*, thus to pay, thus to reward, the many weary Nights and Days, that he paſs'd to ſave you: *UNGRATEFUL ENGLAND*, to ſee that Man ſo reviled and abuſed, by every Scribbler, who has

1712. has gain'd ſo many Victories to preſerve your Lives, Liberty and Religion, to the no ſmall Danger of his own Life!

The Treatment of our General has been, as if he came home vanquiſhed, and not Conqueror, and we ſeem to think, that he deſerves nothing at our Hands. If we examine ſtrictly, we ſhall find, that the King of France has given a kinder Welcome to his conquer'd Generals, than we have to our victorious Duke. We are told, that it is all owing to the Bravery of our Britiſh Soldiers, our General has only been free from Errors, and bleſs'd with Fortune; but I ſhall never believe theſe Things, when I hear the Thanks of all the foreign Allies given to him; when it appears, how great a Confidence they repoſe in him, and are contented with no other to head their Troops. 'Tis certain, that a General without Troops is nothing; but 'tis as certain, that Troops without a good General are uſeleſs. He firſt forms the Enterprize, and they execute it. And the Courage of Soldiers is chiefly owing to this, that their General will, they are confident, engage into no Attempt that's impracticable, or unlikely to ſucceed; when even, this laſt Campaign, our great Duke could, by a prodigious March, ſurprize the Enemies Lines, and paſs them, contrary to the Opinion of all the oldeſt Officers, ſhall we ſay this was not owing to him, and to his Conduct? This is, indeed, to encourage our Leaders, to be beaten. It looks as if we thought, that we were only well ſerved, when our Enemies got the Advantage, and ſeems to forbid our Officers to defend any more their Queen, or their Country. What Man would think after this, 'twas worth his while to go into the Army to raiſe his Fortune, when it ſeems to be a Crime to be victorious? None but thoſe of the baſeſt Minds, can revile one, who has ſo ſignally been the Deliverer of Europe; none but mercenary Pens could write againſt a Man, to whom we owe our Religion and our Liberty. I beg Pardon, if the Subject warms me, I own I can't but deteſt Ingratitude, and perhaps am tranſported too much in my Invectives againſt it.

Pamphlets written againſt the Duke of Marlboro' animadverted upon.

After this the Author animadverts upon two Pamphlets lately publiſhed, againſt the Duke of Marlborough, *that raiſed his Spleen very much* (p. 22.) The firſt is called, *No Queen or no General*. But that Author (ſays he) ſhews himſelf not worth any one's Notice; for his Stile is bombaſt, and his Facts falſe: Nay, he ſeems not to know common Hiſtory. There is, *adds he*, (p. 23.) another Paper, that ſeems to come from abler Hands; *The Repreſentation of Albinia*. I ſhall not give any farther Character of it, than that it bears the Stamp of a Clergyman, as fam'd for Knavery, as he is for Preferment and Dignity. One Paſſage in it is very remarkable. In giving a Character of the Duke, he ſays, He was perhaps once fortunate; now this is certainly the higheſt Compliment that could be paid him, tho' I could

could anſwer for it, that it was not ſo deſign'd by the Author. For all Mankind knows that he has been much more than once victorious and ſucceſsful. Now if he has been but once indebted to Fortune, all his happy Campaigns beſides (and ſuch are all that he has made) are only owing to his conſummate Wiſdom; and Fortune has no Share in them. This trite Reflection, the Reader will remember, is, by Biſhop Burnet, put into Prince Eugene's Mouth; whether this Author borrowed it from common Fame, or the Biſhop from him, I leave undetermined. 1712.

The Duke of Marlborough, as I have ſaid above, bore his Diſgrace, with all the Reſignation and Conſtancy of a Chriſtian Hero, living quietly in a ſmall Country Seat, near St. Albans: Yet the Malice and Rancour of his implacable Enemies purſued him even in this Retirement. And the ſcurrilous Writer of the *Poſt-Boy* was ſo baſe to inſert the following Paragraph, among the reſt of his mean Calumnies: His unparallelled Reſignation.

" St. Albans, Auguſt 13. About a Fortnight ago, was pitch'd " in the Duke of Marlborough's Bowling-Green here, a mag- " nificent Tent, ſaid to be the ſame his Grace formerly made " uſe of in the Camp, wherein he held the Councils of War, " before any conſiderable Enterprize was undertaken; and it is " remarkable, that, on Monday laſt, dined in the Tent, with " his Grace and Ducheſs, the Lord Godolphin, Lord Cowper, " Duke of Montague, Lord Bridgwater, Lord Rialton, Mr. " Walpole, *cum multis aliis*. What was conſulted and agreed " upon, after Dinner, is not publickly known; but it is certain, " his Grace ſet out early this Morning for London. The ſaid " Tent, being of Arras-Work, and very curious in its Kind, " draws a vaſt Concourſe of Country People, of all Sorts, to " ſee it, the Price being but Six-pence a-piece. Since his " Grace's Arrival at this Place, he has lived very hoſpitably, " and generally invites ſome or other of the neighbouring Inha- " bitants to dine with him, under his Tent. Implacable Malice of his Enemies.

What poor Shifts is Malice often put to, to vent itſelf!

But to have Recourſe to an Author of more general good Fame.

" There is not (ſays the Spectator) any Circumſtance in Cæ- " ſar's Character, which gives me a greater Idea of him, than " a Saying which, Cicero tells us, he frequently made uſe of " in private Converſation; *That he was ſatisfied with his Share* " *of Life and Fame*; (*Se ſatis vel ad Naturam, vel ad Gloriam* " *vixiſſe*;) Many indeed have given over their Purſuit after " Fame; but that has proceeded either from the Diſappoint- " ments they have met in it, or from their Experience of the " little A remarkable Obſervation of the Spectator's;

1712. " little Pleaſure which attends it, or from the better Informa-
" tions or natural Coldneſs of old Age; but ſeldom from a full
" Satisfaction and Acquieſcence, in their preſent Enjoyments
" of it. How few ambitious Men are there, who have got
" as much Fame as they deſired, and where Thirſt after it has
" not been as eager, in the very Height of their Reputation,
" as it was before they became known and eminent among
" Men.

Applied to the Duke. The Duke had by this time, (tho' he liv'd many Years after) enjoy'd a good Share of Life, and as great a one of Glory, as ever Subject did; and that he was fully ſatisfied with both, his quiet Reſignation to the Turn of the Times, without ſo much as Repining or Complaint, and the Contentment he upon all Occaſions ſhew'd, in his Retirement, are more than ſufficient Evidences.

Death of the Earl of Godolphin. The Duke of Marlborough met, about this Time, with another ſenſible Affliction, I mean the Loſs of the Earl of Godolphin, who died of the Stone, in September: I have, indeed, already given a ſhort Sketch of this great Man's Character, in his more early Days; but as, in this latter Stage of his Life, the High Office he enjoy'd, render'd him more conſpicuous in the Eye of the World, one more diffuſive now may not be unacceptable to the Reader: " He was (ſays a late Hiſtorian) the
His Character. " Man of the cleaneſt Head, the calmeſt Temper, and the moſt
" incorrupt, of all the Miniſters of State I have ever known.
" After having been thirty Years in the Treaſury, and, during
" nine of thoſe, Lord Treaſurer, as he was never once ſuſpected
" of Corruption, or of ſuffering his Servants to grow rich under
" him; ſo, in all that Time, his Eſtate was not increaſed, by
" him, to the Value of 4000 *l.* He ſerved the Queen, with
" ſuch a particular Affection and Zeal, that he ſtudied to poſ-
" ſeſs all People with great perſonal Eſteem for her: And ſhe
" herſelf ſeem'd to be ſo ſenſible of this, for many Years, that if
" Courts were not different from all other Places in the World,
" it might have been thought, that his wiſe Management at
" home, and the Duke of Marlborough's glorious Conduct a-
" broad, would have fixed them in their Poſts, above the little
" Practices of an artful Favourite.

Reaſon why the Duke of Marlboro' went out of England. The Duke of Marlborough, after the Earl of Godolphin's Death, having wiſely conſidered; that, notwithſtanding the conſtant Precaution he uſed, ſince he was removed from the Command of the Army, and other Employments, not to intermeddle in publick Affairs; yet he could not be merry with four or five intimate Friends in Town, or take a Turn into the Country, without giving Suſpicion to his Enemies; and being traduc'd by mercenary Libellers; his Grace, when he ſaw, that all the great and glorious Things he had done ſeem'd as it were

forgot, and it was even become meritorious to insult him, resolv'd, at last, to make other People easy, and his own Person more secure, by retiring out of the Kingdom. His Grace having open'd his Design, to a great Man in the Ministry, and demanded a Pass, about the latter End of October, the same was granted, and delivered to him about a Fortnight after: But it was confidently reported, that his Grace was denied the Favour of paying his personal Duty to the Queen, before he left England. 1712.

He is deny'd the Favour of seeing the Q.

The Author of the Annals of Queen Ann says: The Duke opened his Design to the Earl of Oxford, and demanded a Pass, which was readily granted: "But (says a later Author) his "Grace never open'd himself to the Treasurer since he had "the Staff; but Mr. Manwaring spoke to the Earl of Oxford "about it, and the Pass was far from being readily granted. "The major Part of the Ministers, particularly Mr. St. John, "was against it, being afraid of his Grace, as well abroad as "at home, and thought their Power would secure them better "against him here. However the Treasurer, to oblige Mr. Man"waring, remov'd all Difficulties, conquer'd all Opposition, "and concerted with that Gentleman the Manner of granting "and limiting the Pass, which was done to my Lord Duke's "Satisfaction. The Pass *(continues my Author)* was accompa"nied with a Letter from the Queen, to testify how well "pleas'd she should be with the honourable Reception his "Grace every where met with. The Duke having settled his "Affairs, sent a Gentleman from his Seat at St. Albans to "Windsor, to fetch this Pass: But the Lord Treasurer would "send it by a Messenger of his own, who was enjoin'd not to "deliver it, till the Duke of Marlborough had consented to "write a few Lines to him, which that Messenger was to bring "back, importing, that the Pass was procur'd by the Earl of "Oxford, and the Acknowledgment for it was due only to him, "which being complied with, his Grace had the Pass and Let"ter deliver'd to him.

It is observable, that both Parties were variously affected with his Grace's going away, or, as many call'd it, Voluntary Exile: Some judging it ominous, others favourable to their respective Parties; some the Effect of Fear; and others of Prudence.

In all Probability both these Motives prevail'd with the Duke.

A late Historian says; "his leaving the Kingdom was vari- Some far-
"ously censured; some pretending it was the giving up, and ther Reflec-
"abandoning the Concerns of his Country; and they repre- tions on this
"sented it as the Effect of Fear, with too anxious a Care to se- Matter.
"cure himself. Others were glad he was safe, out of ill Hands; "Whereby, if we should fall into the Convulsions of a Civil "War, he would be able to assist the Elector of Hannover, as

1712. "being ſo entirely beloved, and confided in, by all our Milita-
"ry Men; whereas, if he had ſtaid in England, it was not to
"be doubted, but, upon the leaſt Shadow of Suſpicion, he
"would have been immediately ſecured; whereas now, he
"would be at Liberty, being beyond Sea, to act as there might
"be Occaſion for it.

It was, indeed, high time for his Grace to leave the Kingdom, when ſo many Arts were uſed to render him obnoxious, and to involve him in any thing that look'd like a Deſign againſt the Government. To this Purpoſe, we may take Notice, that beſides what was ſuggeſted, by the Examiner, that his Grace *ſet the Example of Party Duels, and deputed the late Lord Mohun to be general Bully of the Faction*, it was maliciouſly inſinuated, not only in private Whiſpers, but even before the Coroner's Inqueſt, that the Duke of Marlborough was Privy to the Challenge that was ſent to the Duke of Hamilton. The Duke having ſettled his Domeſtick Affairs, and, as I am inform'd, conveyed moſt of his real Eſtate to his Sons in Law, ſet out for Dover, on Monday, the 14th of November; but the Wind being contrary, his Grace continued at the Houſe of his Friend, Sir Henry Furneſe, till Sunday following, when he embark'd at Dover, in the North-Britain Packet Boat. The next Morning, his Grace came before the Harbour of Oſtend, and the Captain of the Packet Boat hoiſting her Enſign on the Topmaſt Head, the Town took this as a Signal of his Grace's being on Board, and made a Salute of all the Cannon towards the Sea; and, on the Packet-boat's entering the Harbour, of three Rounds of the Artillery on the Ramparts. On his Grace's landing, he was receiv'd by General Cadogan and Brigadier de Caris, Governour of the Place, and conducted by a vaſt Concourſe of People to Captain Brown's, where he dined; he ſupp'd with the Governour, lay that Night at the Burgo-Maſter's, and, the next Day, December 13, (N. S.) his Grace ſet out for Antwerp, being ſaluted by another triple Diſcharge of the Cannon, and by the Yachts, and other Engliſh Ships.

Endeavours uſed to involve the Duke in Plots.

He embarks at Dover.

His Reception at Oſtend.

The following Copy of Verſes was made upon his Grace's Departure.

To his Grace the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, *on his going into* Germany.

A Copy of Verſes on his Grace's going into Germany.

GO, Mighty Prince, and thoſe great Nations ſee,
Which thy Victorious Arms before made free;
View that fam'd Column, where thy Name engrav'd,
Shall tell their Children, who their Empire ſav'd.

Point

Point out that Marble, where thy Worth is ſhown, 1712.
To every grateful Country, but thy own.
O Cenſure undeſerv'd! Unequal Fate!
Which ſtrove to leſſen Him who made her Great;
Which pamper'd with Succeſs, and Rich in Fame,
Extoll'd His Conqueſt, but condemn'd His Name.
But Virtue is a Crime, when plac'd on high;
Tho' all the Fault's in the Beholder's Eye.

Yet he, untouch'd, as in the Heat of Wars,
Flies from no Danger but Domeſtick Jars.
Smiles at the Dart which angry Envy ſhakes,
And only fears for Her, whom he forſakes;
He grieves to find the Courſe of Virtue croſt,
Bluſhing to ſee our Blood no better loſt:
Diſdains in factious Parties to contend,
And proves in Abſence moſt Britannia's Friend.

So the great SCIPIO, of Old, to ſhun
That glorious Envy, which his Arms had won,
Far from his dear ungrateful Rome retir'd,
Prepar'd, whene'er his Country's Cauſe requir'd,
To ſhine in Peace or War, and be again admir'd.

The Duke of Marlboro's Reception at Antwerp and other Places.

At his Grace's Entrance into Antwerp, he was met, without the Gates, by the Marquis de Terracena, Governour of the Citadel, whom he had before honoured with his Friendſhip, and who, in the Emperor, his Maſter's Name, made him an Offer of all the Ceremonies uſually paid to their Sovereign Princes; but his Grace deſired to be excuſed, and would have went incognito to the Houſe provided for his Lodgings, which, however, was not permitted; ſo that he was introduced, as before, with the Noiſe of Cannon, and the Acclamations of the People, who could not ſee the Perſon, that had ſo lately delivered them from the French Yoke, without giving publick Teſtimonies of their thankful Acknowledgments. From thence, after he had, with great Difficulty, been prevailed with, to be preſent at a Collation prepared for him by the Marquis, his Grace (with his Retinue) made the beſt of his Way towards Maeſtricht; and without entering into the Towns, that had made Preparations for his Reception, travell'd the moſt private Roads he could poſſibly make. Notwithſtanding which, the Country was alarm'd at his Preſence, in thoſe Parts, and every Place thro' which he paſſed, was filled with Spectators, having Notice of his coming, from the Parties of Horſe, that (by Order of the Governour of Maeſtricht) were laid on the Road between Antwerp and that Town, to eſcort his Grace. On his Arrival there, he again

1712. found himſelf under a Neceſſity of complying with the Diſpoſitions that were made to compliment him, in Reſpect to the States-General, who had ſent particular Orders for it, to ſhew the great Value they had for his Perſon and Services. The Garriſon was drawn up about Noon, under Arms, in two Ranks, from the Bruſſel's Gate, to the Governour's Houſe; and, about ſeven in the Evening, the Duke arrived, under a triple Diſcharge of the Cannon from the Bulwarks, and all other Honours that were paid him in other Places. He was accompanied by General Dopff, who waited upon his Grace without the Town, as alſo by Lieutenant General Cadogan (afterwards Earl Cadogan) who choſe rather *(to his Honour it muſt be ſaid)* to attend on his old General, than to enjoy his Places and Employments under the new Miniſtry, who, for this Reſpect ſhewed to his Grace, diveſted him of them. When the Duke alighted, at the Governour's Houſe, a great Guard was immediately placed, under a Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſign; and, the next Morning, his Grace was complimented by the Magiſtrates, in a full Body, and with as great Tokens of Reſpect, as if he had ſtill retained the Command of the Confederate Army. Nor was leſs Obſervance ſhewn him at his Departure. There was the ſame Diſcharge of all the Artillery of the Place, and the ſame Diſpoſition of the Soldiery for his Grace's Paſſage thro' the Garriſon, as was made before, and the two Generals Dopff and Cadogan, gave their Attendance on him, till he was out of the Territories of the States General. In his Journy to Aix la Chapelle (where he intended to take up his Reſidence for ſome time, till ſuitable Proviſions were made, in the Heart of Germany, for his Abode) the Peaſants, and others, flocked together, to ſee the Preſerver of the Empire; and even the People of different Nations (for all Sorts are on the Borders of Germany) agreed on beſtowing their Bleſſings on the HERO, and their Execrations on his Enemies. They were full of Aſtoniſhment at the Sight of him, and ſaid, *His Looks, his Air, and his Addreſs, were full as conquering as his Sword.* Some of them could not with all their Striving refrain from Tears; others avowed that they came with common Curioſity, and thought of nothing elſe, but when they ſaw the Man, who had filled the World with the Fame of his great Acts, dining, with few Attendants, in a poor obſcure Village, and heard how ungrateful he had been uſed in his native Country, they were ſo loſt, that they thought they ſhould ſink into the Earth. Nay even a Frenchman himſelf could not forbear ſaying, *That tho' the Sight was worth a Million to his King, yet, he believed, he would not, at ſuch a Price, have loſt the Service of ſo brave a Man, at ſuch a Time.* In fine, all Sexes, and Ages, both adored and bewailed him, whilſt the Duke himſelf ſhewed the Greatneſs of his Sufferings was only to be ſurmounted by

by the Greatneſs of his Mind, and went thro' the Town of Aix la Chapelle, to the Houſe prepared for his Reception, in ſuch a manner, as if he bore at Heart the Preſſures of other People's Misfortunes, not the Remembrance of his own. The next Day his Levee was crowded by all Perſons of Rank and Diſtinction, in the Town, who, tho' of different Intereſts, and Nations, were unanimous in their Reſpects to his great Merit. In particular, the Marquis of Leſdiſquieres, a French Man, ſpeaking of him, at his Return, to the Abbot de Guliſtre, ſaid, *He could now ſay, that he had ſeen the Man, who was equal to the Marſhal de Turenne in Conduct, to the Prince of Conde in Courage, and ſuperiour to the Marſhal de Luxemburg in Succeſs.* 1712.

His Grace, having received all imaginable Reſpect, was induced to ſtay at Aix la Chapelle, longer than he intended, and the Ducheſs of Marlborough, having landed at Oſtend, in February, 1713, the Duke met her Grace at Maeſtricht, from whence he returned again to Aix la Chapelle. They made but a ſhort Stay at that Town; for all things being prepared for their Journy, they viſited their Principality of Mindelheim, and ſeveral Towns in Germany, being received in all Places with the greateſt Honours, particularly at Frankfort, where the Duke had frequent Interviews with Prince Eugene, and received the Compliments of ſeveral other Princes.

The Duke of Marlboro' ſued for Arrears of building Blenheim Houſe.

Beſides the Suit againſt the Duke for the two and a half *per Cent.* mentioned above, there was another commenced for Arrears due to the Builders of Blenheim-Houſe. The Queen had given Orders for building it with great Magnificence; all the Bargains with the Work-men were made in her Name, and by Authority for her; and in the Preambles of the Acts of Parliament, that confirmed the Grant of Woodſtock to him and his Heirs, it was ſaid, the Queen built the Houſe for him: Yet now, that the Tradeſmen were let run into an Arrear of 30,000 *l.* the Queen refus'd to pay any more, and ſet them upon ſuing the Duke of Marlborough for it, tho' he had never contracted with any of them. Upon his going beyond Sea, both thoſe Suits were ſtaid; "which gave Occaſion to People to imagine, that "the Miniſtry, being diſturbed to ſee ſo much public Reſpect "put on a Man whom they had uſed ſo ill, had ſet theſe Proſe-"cutions on Foot, only to render his Stay in England uneaſy "to him.

CHAP. II.

A Brief Account of the Campaign of 1712.

1712. IN the foregoing Chapter, I confined myſelf wholly to the Diſgrace of our Hero, and his Vindication, with the Cauſes of the former, and Circumſtances which attended the latter, to the time of his leaving England; it will be neceſſary, for the Connexion of Hiſtory, that I now give ſome Account of what was doing during that time in Flanders, and at the Congreſs of Utrecht, together with the moſt material Paſſages of the Remainder of Queen Ann's Reign; Which, tho' they may not ſo immediately regard the Duke of Marlborough, will give Occaſion to make ſome Reflections, that will tend very much to his Honour; in my Relation of theſe Things, I ſhall, however, be very brief, and confine this Chapter to the Campaign.

The Duke of Ormond takes upon him the Command of the Army.

The Queen having, as the Reader has already ſeen, been pleaſed to remove the Duke of Marlborough, from the Command of the Army, her Majeſty appointed the Duke of Ormond to command her Forces abroad, as her Captain-General, with the ſame Authority and Commiſſion as his Predeceſſor had. The Duke, according to his Orders, went to Holland, and arriv'd at the Hague, ſome time before the Campaign was opened, where he was received by the States General, with the ſame outward Marks of Diſtinction they had uſually ſhewn to the Duke of Marlborough; and it was no ſmall Satisfaction to many, that he gave the States Aſſurances, in the Queen's Name, that he would act in Concert with the Allies. The Army was alſo in a better Condition, and all things in greater Forwardneſs than had been known ſince the Beginning of the War: For the Germans, when they underſtood that the Duke of Marlborough was out of all Favour, had beſtirred themſelves with great Diligence. The Seaſon drawing on, for opening the Campaign, his Grace departed from the Hague, and went to Tournay, where he found Prince Eugene. On the ſixth of May, theſe two Generals were nobly entertain'd by the Earl of Albemarle, Governour of that City, together with the Deputies of the States, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction.

And arrives in the Confederate Camp.

The next Day, General Lumley came to compliment his Grace, and, in the Evening, return'd to Beſieux, where the Britiſh Troops were encamp'd, having firſt aſſiſted at a Council of War, of the chief and other Generals, with the Deputies of the States. The 21ſt, the Duke of Ormond, and Prince Eugene, left Tournay, and went to Douay, to take a View of the Fortifications of that Place, and came in the Evening to the Camp of Marchiennes,

Marchiennes. The 23d, his Grace reviewed the Right Wing of the firſt Line of his Army, conſiſting of all the Britiſh Troops, then in the Camp, and 16 Squadrons of Dragoons, of the auxiliary Troops, in her Majeſty's Pay; after which his Grace entertained Prince Eugene, and the General Officers of both Armies, at Dinner. The 24th, the Duke of Ormond went to Bouchain, to view the Fortifications of that Place, and General Fagel's Camp, on the other Side of the Scheld, and the Diſpoſitions were made for the two Armies to paſs that River, the next Day. 1712.

The Reſolution of the Council of War, mention'd above, was to beſiege Queſnoy, a ſmall but ſtrong Town, in the Low Countries, in the Earldom of Hainault, and Territory of Valenciennes, ſeven Miles South-Eaſt of that City, 18 South-Weſt of Mons, and 18 almoſt North-Eaſt of Cambray. In order to this Siege, the two Armies made a Motion, the ſeventh of June, and paſs'd the River Selle, the Duke of Ormond extending his Left to Chateau-Cambreſis, and Prince Eugene his Right to Haſpre, all along the ſaid River, which they had in Front. General Fagel was detach'd, in the mean time, with thirty Battalions, and as many Squadrons, to inveſt Queſnoy, which was effected, the 8th of June, tho' with many Difficulties. The Trenches were not, however, opened till the nineteenth, at Night, after which, the Siege was carried on, with ſo much Vigour and Succeſs, that, on the firſt of July, the Counterſcarp was taken, Sword in Hand. The Garriſon, hereupon, beat a Parly, the 3d, and ſurrender'd the 4th. For the farther Circumſtances of which, I refer the Reader to the following Letter. The Siege of Queſnoy. The Town ſurrenders.

A Letter from General Fagel, to the States General.

From the Camp before Queſnoy, July 3, 1712.

High and Mighty Lords,

"I Had the Honour moſt humbly to acquaint your High Mighteneſſes, the 27th paſt, what Progreſs we had made in this "Siege, as alſo that we were preparing to attack the Counterſcarp, "which we did ſucceſsfully the firſt Inſtant; when, as we had "propos'd, we drove the Enemy out of the Cover'd Way. In "the mean time, we continued to enlarge and level the "Breaches, with inceſſant Firing of our Artillery, and to Day "they are made fit to mount, and our Saps are brought near to "the Edge of the Ditch, over againſt them, in order to fill it. "The Garriſon, not daring to ſtay till that be done, beat a Parly at three to Day, and deſired to ſend out a Brigadier, and "two Colonels, to capitulate; which I have granted, yet with "Intimation, that the Garriſon muſt yield themſelves Priſoners A Letter from Gen. Fagel to the States General.

1712. " of War, as I ſignified to the Governour, at the Beginning of
' the Siege, that he was to expect no other Uſage, if he waited
" to the laſt Extremity. I would not delay ſending your High
" Mightineſſes immediate Information of this, by my Aid de
" Camp (the Count de Berlo) moſt humbly congratulating
" your High Mightineſſes on this good News, and that with the
" greater Reaſon, becauſe Queſnoy is a Place very well fortified,
" and has above ſeventy Villages dependant on it. I am, &c.

Sign'd,

F N. Baron van Fagel.

Priſoners taken at Queſnoy.

The Garriſon of Queſnoy, conſiſting of 2662 private Men, embark'd at Marchiennes, and proceeded to Ghent, in order to be conducted to Holland. Beſides theſe, there were ſeveral Perſons, of a ſuperior Rank, made Priſoners of War, viz. Monſ. Labadie, Lieutenant-General, and Governour of the Place, the Sieur Damas, Major-General, three Brigadiers, the Major of the Place, and his Aſſiſtant, two Captains of the Guard, two Commiſſaries of War, a Treaſurer, a Commiſſary of the Artillery, with ſeven others in extraordinary, five Officers of the Artillery, one Lieutenant of the Bombardiers, four Cadets, twelve Bombardiers, eight Officers of the Ordnance, ſeventy Gunners, ſix Engineers, five Colonels, four Lieutenant-Colonels, ſix Majors, fifty two Captains, one hundred and twenty one Lieutenants, and fifty three Enſigns: Beſides five hundred and twenty eight private Men, ſick or wounded, who could not be removed. The Confederates put a good Garriſon in the Place, under Major-General Ivoy, and all Diligence was uſed to repair the Breaches, and level the Works.

Lord Bolinbroke ſent to France.

In the mean time, the Miniſtry in England, finding by many Trials, made in both Houſes of Parliament, that they might now ſafely purſue their Meaſures, thought of nothing but to haſten on the Peace, at all Events; and in order thereunto, Mr. St. John, whom the Queen had now created Viſcount Bolinbroke, was ſent over to the Court of France, who it ſeems, had full Power to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms; notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances that had been made, in both Houſes, againſt ſecret and ſeparate Negotiations; for upon this, the Duke of Ormond had Orders ſent him to publiſh this Ceſſation of Arms, (as we ſhall ſee below) tho' the Siege of Queſnoy was not yet ended, and not only to withdraw the Britiſh Troops from the Allies, but the Foreigners in the Pay of Britain.

The Duke of Ormond propoſes a Ceſſation of Arms.

The Confederate Armies remain'd in the mean while near Queſnoy, till the 16th of July, during which time, the Generals had ſeveral Conferences, particularly on the 24th of June, when the Duke of

of Ormond declar'd, that he had receiv'd Orders from the Queen, his Miſtreſs, to publiſh, within three Days, a Suſpenſion of Arms for two Months, between his Army and the French, in order to facilitate the Concluſion of a Treaty of a general Peace, which was then on Foot, as the Reader will ſee below. His Grace, at the ſame time, told Prince Eugene, and the Field-Deputies of the States, that he had poſitive Orders to propoſe, that the like Suſpenſion of Arms ſhould be publiſh'd in the Confederate Army: And that, in the mean time, he had Directions to ſend ten Battalions, to take Poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, which the French had offer'd to put into the Hands of the Queen his Miſtreſs, for the Security of the Performances of the Offers they had made. 1712.

It is eaſy to conceive, what Confuſion the Allies were put into by this Declaration; however Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States, earneſtly preſſed the Duke to ſuſpend the Execution of his Orders, and give them ſome time to write about it, to their reſpective Maſters. The Duke of Ormond anſwered, that was not in his Power to grant, and that if they perſiſted to carry on the Siege of Queſnoy, he could cover it no longer, but muſt march off, with his Troops, within three Days. His Grace, likewiſe, acquainted the Generals of the foreign Troops in the Britiſh Pay, that they muſt obey his Orders, otherwiſe they ought not to expect to have Bread, Pay, or their Arrears: However, his Grace ſuſpended the March of his Troops, ſome Days beyond the Time he had limited, to give Time to the reſt of the Allies to come into the Ceſſation of Arms.

The Imperialiſts, and the Auxiliaries ſeparate from the Duke of Ormond's Army.

The Allies not being able to agree on this Subject, Prince Eugene decamp'd, the 16th, from the Neighbourhood of Queſnoy, and encamp'd at Hartre, near Landrecy, being join'd, in his March, by all the Auxiliary Troops, belonging to the Princes of the Empire, which were in the Duke of Ormond's Army, their Generals declaring, they had Orders from their ſeveral Maſters, not to ſeparate themſelves from the Emperour's Forces, and thoſe of the States; ſo that none remain'd with the Engliſh, but ſome Battalions of Holſtein Gottorp, and the Regiments of Dragoons of Waleff.

The Duke of Ormond publiſhes a Ceſſation of Arms.

This was the fatal Day, in which the Forces of the Allies were divided, who, while they remain'd united, were always invincible; but they were, ſoon after, ſenſible, that they were not now an equal Match for the French. Prince Eugene prepar'd to beſiege Landrecy, and, the 17th, the Duke of Ormond, having cauſed a Suſpenſion of Arms, for two Months, to be publiſh'd in the Camp, as the Marſhal de Villars had done in his, his Grace march'd back to Aveſnes le Secq, repaſs'd the Scheld and the Scarpe, and came to Ghent, where he was

1712. not the beſt receiv'd, but where however, the Britiſh Army continued all the reſt of the Campaign, the Dutch having refus'd to ſuffer the Duke to enter any of their Garriſons as he paſſed by.

Mutual Civilities paſs between the two Generals.

Mutual Civilities continued, however, to paſs, between the Commanders in chief of the two Armies: For the Duke of Ormond, ſoon after, ſent General Cadogan, to Prince Eugene, with a Compliment, to tell him, that his Grace was ſorry for this Separation, and to wiſh his Highneſs a proſperous Campaign, in which he added, he ſhould meet with no Hindrance from him. The ſame Afternoon, Count Naſſau Woudenburg (Son to the late Velt-Marſhal d'Auverquerque) came to the Duke of Ormond from Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States, to acquaint his Grace, "that being inform'd of the "Commandants of Bouchain and Douay having refuſed to admit ſome of his Officers into thoſe Places, upon the March of "his Army, (as I have obſerv'd above) they had thought themſelves oblig'd to declare, that the ſame was not done, directly nor indirectly, by their Orders; and that the ſaid "Commandants ſhould be ſeverely reprimanded: Deſiring his "Grace not to impute to them, what the ſaid Commandants "had done without Order: And aſſured him, that they were "ready to give all poſſible Aſſiſtance to the Troops in their "March, and to do every Thing that could be deſir'd of them, "towards the preſerving a good Underſtanding and Union, between the Queen and their Maſters." The ſame Evening Count Hompeſch (Governour of Douay) likewiſe waited on his Grace, to excuſe himſelf, as having no Part in the Commandants refuſing Entrance to his Officers.

The Allies continued however ſtill in their Reſolution to go on with the War; but the Britiſh Troops leaving them after they had proceeded ſo far, quite broke all their Meaſures, and brought them into great Jeopardy: Nevertheleſs Landrecy was inveſted by them, the 16th of July, with thirty-four Battalions, and thirty Squadrons, under the Command of the Prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, who had, under him, three Lieutenant-Generals, ſix Major-Generals and eight Brigadiers: Being ſupported by the reſt of the Army under Prince Eugene, the Left of which join'd the Camp before Landrecy, and the Right extended along the Scheld, towards Denain, where the Allies had an intrench'd Camp, to cover the bringing up of their Artillery, Ammunition, and Proviſions, which they drew from the Magazines in Walloon Flanders, by Water.

Landrecy beſieged.

The Marſhal de Villars, who had receiv'd Orders from his Court, to relieve Landrecy, cauſed Bridges to be laid over the Scheld, the 18th of July, which he paſs'd, the 19th, and the 20th encamp'd on the Salle, towards Chateau Cambreſis. The 21ſt and 22d he order'd 1500 Men to widen and level the Roads towards

towards the Sambre, and to lay Bridges over that River. Prince Eugene, being inform'd of theſe Motions, caus'd a large Intrenchment to be made before his Left, and poſted General Fagel behind it, with forty Battalions, and caus'd his Right to move up, about three Leagues nearer, that he might be in a Condition to maintain the Siege, with his whole Army. 1712.

The Marſhal de Villars forms a Deſign of poſſeſſing the Camp of Denain.

Monſieur de Villars had, in the mean time, formed the important Deſign of poſſeſſing himſelf of the Camp of Denain, and of the Magazines of the Allies; to this end, he order'd Count Broglio, the 23d in the Evening, to advance along the Selle, with forty Squadrons, cauſing all the Paſſages of that River to be guarded, that none of the Parties of the Allies might croſs it, to obſerve the Motions of his Army. He commanded, at the ſame time, the Marquis de Vieux Pont, a Lieutenant-General, to march with thirty Battalions of his Left, ſome Artillery and Pontons, and lay Bridges, at Neufville, over the Scheld, between Bouchain and Denain. Count Albergotti was detach'd after him, with 20 Battalions more, which were followed by the whole French Army, in four Columns, and a fifth of Artillery, the heavy Baggage having been ſent, ſome Days before, to St. Quintin. Theſe Orders were all duly executed, tho' not without ſome Difficulty, by reaſon of a Moraſs, on the other Side of the Scheld.

The Allies, in order to cover their Convoy, againſt the Garriſons of Cambray and Valenciennes, had drawn a Line from the Scheld to the Scarpe: That Part of them, which began between Neufville and Denain, were attack'd by Monſieur de Broglio, and, being but weakly guarded, were forced, with little or no Reſiſtance. Being enter'd, he ſurrounded a Detachment of five hundred Horſe, and the ſame Number of Foot, who guarded five hundred Waggons, loaded with Bread, for the Army of the Allies, which they took, after having kill'd or taken moſt of the Guard. The Troops at Denain came, indeed, out of their Camp, in ſeveral Columns, to defend their Lines and their Convoy, but, upon the Approach of the French Infantry, they return'd to their Camp, which was defended by ſeventeen Battalions, under the Command of the Earl of Albemarle, with four Lieutenant-Generals, and ſeveral Major-Generals and Brigadiers. Being, beſides, cover'd by an Intrenchment, of between fifteen and twenty Foot high, mounted with twelve Pieces of Cannon.

The French Infantry having paſs'd the Scheld, and the Line which the Count de Broglio had gain'd, the Marſhal de Villars made Preparations for the Attack, by diſpoſing his Troops in eight Columns, at about two hundred Paces Diſtance from each other; the Grenadiers were at the Head of the Battalions, with a Reſerve of ſix Battalions marching in a ſecond Line, and the Cavalry behind: He put himſelf at the Right of the Infantry, and the Marſhal de Monteſquiou, with Count Albergotti, were

at

1712. at the Left. The Signal for the Attack being given, the whole Line advanc'd ſeven or eight hundred Paces towards the Intrenchment, without ſo much as firing. When they were come within half Muſket-Shot, the Allies, who lin'd the Rampart, made a Diſcharge of all their Cannon, loaded with Cartridge-Shot, and three Diſcharges of their Muſkets, notwithſtanding which, all the French Battalions remain'd unbroken, and being come within fifty Paces of the Intrenchment, the Piquet and Grenadiers leap'd into the Ditch, follow'd by the Battalions, and, after ſome Reſiſtance, they enter'd the Camp, cutting all down that came in their Way. The reſt retir'd into the Village and the Abby; but they were ſo cloſely purſued by the French, that whole Battalions threw themſelves into the Scheld; and thus the Confederate Troops were entirely defeated, before Prince Eugene could come to their Aſſiſtance. The Caution, which Monſieur de Villars had taken, to conceal his March and Deſign, ſucceeded ſo well, that Prince Eugene had no Intelligence of them, till the 24th in the Morning, when the Enemy were laying Bridges over the Scheld, and ſo could not arrive with his Troops till the Engagement was over. This Action prov'd a very unhappy one, and the Dutch loſt many brave Officers in it: The Field Deputies gave the States-General the following Account thereof.

The French force the Confederate Lines.

High and Mighty Lords,

A Letter to the States General from their Deputies.

"THE Marſhal de Villars decamped yeſterday, in the "Evening, at Sun-ſet, from Chateau Cambreſis, and "march'd with ſuch Diligence, that, early this Morning, he "paſs'd the Scheld, in eight Columns, at Sourch, and at Neuf-"ville. As ſoon as Prince Eugene of Savoy had Intelligence of "the Enemy's March, he went to Denain, caus'd ſix Battali-"ons to march thither, to re-inforce the Body commanded by "the Earl of Albemarle, viewed, in Perſon, the Intrenchment "there, and the Infantry who were poſted in it, cauſed the Ca-"valry and Baggage to come over to this Side of the Scheld, "that there might not be any Confuſion, and, about ten o'Clock, "came over to this Side of the Bridge, to make the neceſſary "Diſpoſitions for ſupporting that Body, with all the Infan-"try of the Army, who were actually on their March. In the "mean while, the Enemy having advanc'd near to the Intrench-"ment, in one very cloſe Column of their Left Wing, and main "Body, which fil'd off to attack the Intrenchment in Front, "they afterwards made ſeveral Feints, as if they would retire, "becauſe of the Fire which our Men made upon them, from "their Cannon: But, at length, they fell, with ſo much Fury, "on the Regiments poſted there, that after one Diſcharge, the

"Intrench-

" Intrenchment was abandon'd. Then the Enemy, breaking into the Intrenchment, charg'd our Men, on the Right and on the Left, broke them, and, after a vigorous but vain Reſiſtance, forced them to retire over the Bridge on the Scheld: But, that Bridge, having been unfortunately broke, by the Weight of the Baggage which had newly paſs'd it, the greateſt Part of thoſe, who attempted to paſs it, were drown'd; Others got over to this Side of the Scheld, and the reſt of the ſeven Battalions, who were in the Intrenchment, were killed or made Priſoners. The Earl of Albemarle, and Major General Lobel, are among the latter. Count Dhona, Lieutenant-General, and the Prince of Holſtein (Major-General, in the Emperour's Service) were drown'd. We have not yet any certain Advice of the Count of Naſſau Woudenburg. Among the ſeventeen Battalions, three were Imperialiſts or Palatines, and three of this State; viz. thoſe of Albemarle, Welderen and Douglas; the reſt being auxiliary Troops. We are obliged to defer, to another Opportunity, the ſending to your High Mightineſſes the Particulars of our Loſs: It is but little conſidering the great Fire, and, without the Accident of the Breaking of the Bridge, would have been yet leſs; For the Enemy durſt not penetrate to the Scheld, to avoid the Fire of our Infantry, who were poſted on this Side of that River. Brigadier Berckhofer is in Marchiennes, with ſix Battalions; and as that Place is ſituate on the Scarpe, on Ground almoſt inacceſſible, we hope he will retire elſewhere, in Caſe the Enemy ſhould paſs that River. As all Communication with Marchiennes is cut off from us, Orders have been iſſued for baking Bread for the Army here and at Mons, and the Infantry is ordered back to the Army, which is in its former Situation. To morrow, we ſhall concert with Prince Eugene of Savoy, and Count Tilly, what to do; and we will immediately inform your High Mightineſſes of it. We hope thereby entirely to prevent any ill Conſequences of this Loſs. We are, &c. 1712.

Queſnoy, July 24, 1712. High and mighty Lords, &c.

The Lord Albemarle gave a very particular Account of this Action to the States General, too long to be inſerted here: But ſeveral Reflections being caſt upon his Conduct, in this Affair, Prince Eugene wrote the following Letter, in his Juſtification, to an eminent Miniſter;

SIR,

1712.

A Letter from Prince Eugene, about the Action of Denain.

SIR,

"I AM ſurprized and troubled, to hear of the Injuſtice People do my Lord Albemarle, and all the impertinent Diſcourſes that have been vented, concerning his Conduct, in the Action at Denain. I have long been ſenſible, that the ill-inform'd Vulgar judge by Events, and that the Unfortunate are always cenſur'd by them: But I wonder that ſuch Slanders ſhould have found Reception among Men of Figure, as could only have been broach'd by his Enemies.

"I ſhould think myſelf wanting in the Duty of a Man of Honour, if I did not teſtify the Truth, of which I was an Eye-witneſs. He performed, on that Occaſion, all that a Courageous, Prudent, and Vigilant General could do; and had all the Troops done their Duty, the Affair would not have gone as it did: But when they run, as ſoon as they have given one Fire, and cannot be rallied, no General in the World can help it: And, therefore, Sir, I doubt not but that you will contribute to the diſabuſing thoſe of the Regency, who may have been miſinformed; and that you will be perſuaded, none can have more Eſteem for you than,

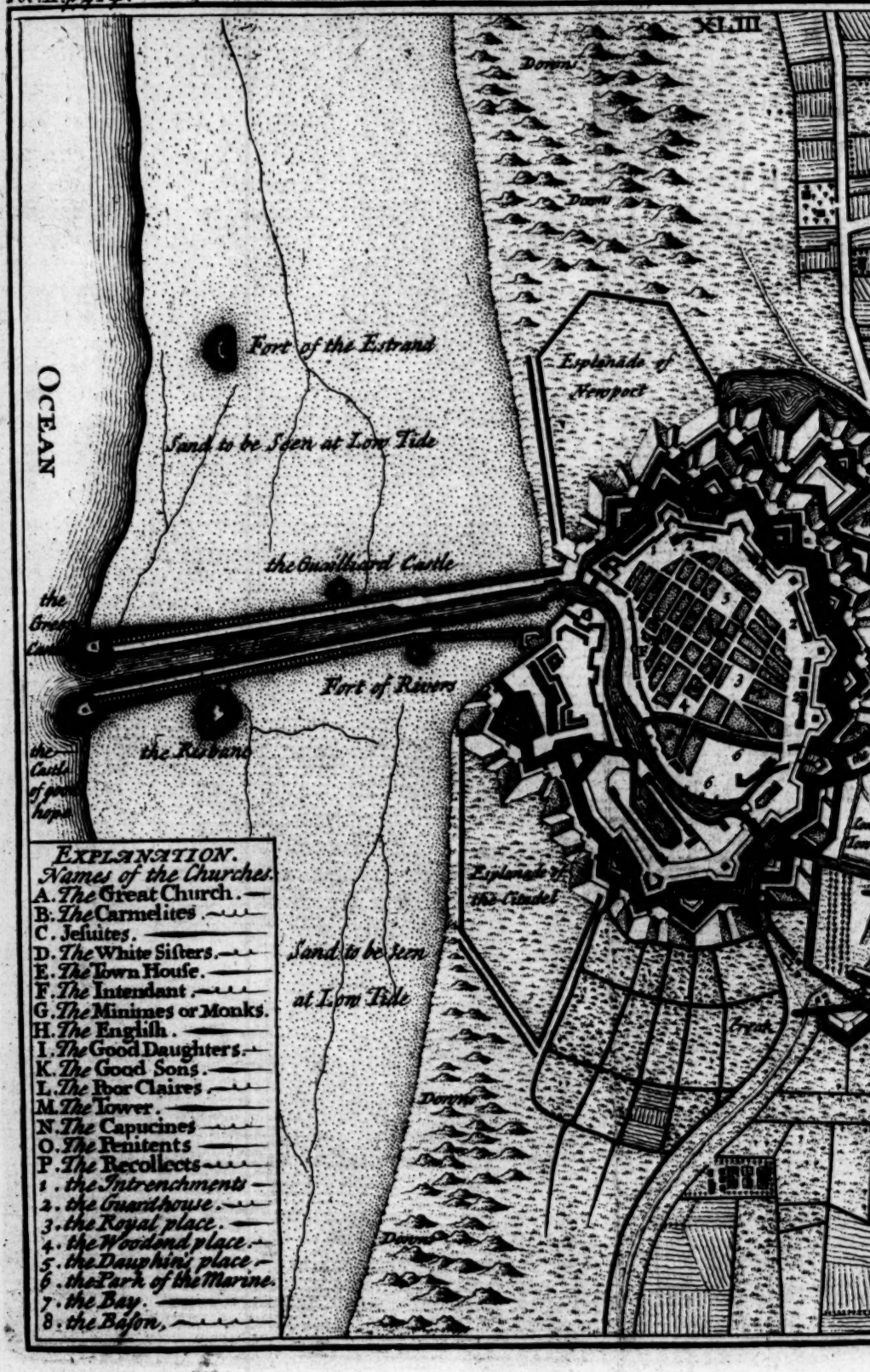
SIR,

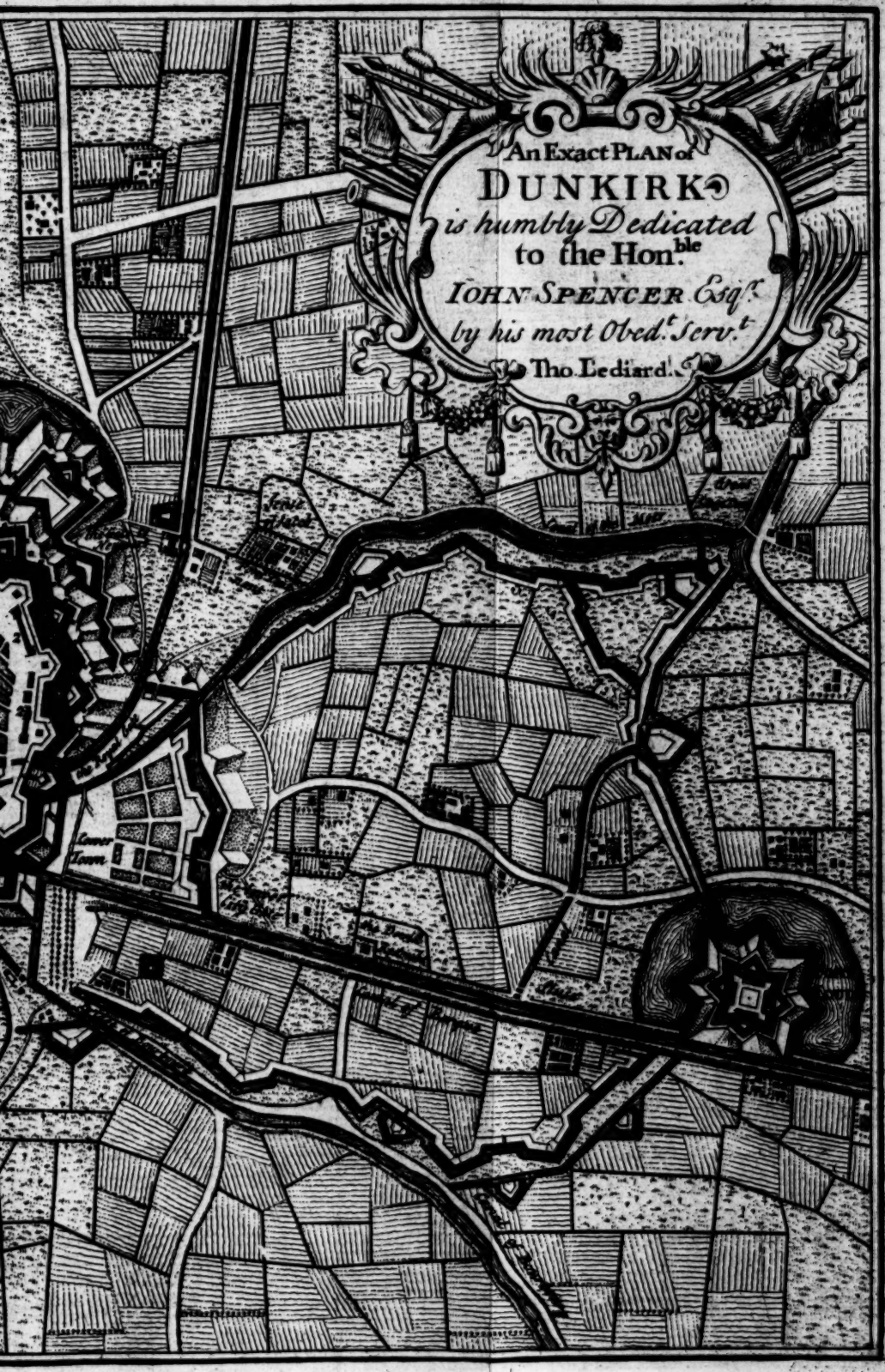
Yours, &c.

EUGENE de Savoy.

Dunkirk deliver'd into the Hands of the Engliſh.

During theſe Tranſactions, the French King, to ſhew his Intentions for a Peace were ſincere, declared his Readineſs to deliver up Dunkirk into the Hands of the Engliſh: Sir John Leake was, hereupon, ordered to convoy a Body of Troops from England, to take Poſſeſſion thereof: For as the Auxiliaries had refuſed to march with the Duke of Ormond, it was not thought adviſeable to weaken the Body of Engliſh Troops, under his Command, by ſending a Detachment of them to Dunkirk, as, at firſt, was intended. Therefore, on the ſeventh of July, Sir John Leake, with Brigadier Hill, who commanded the Land Forces, ſet ſail from the Downs, and, at two, the ſame Afternoon, they came to an Anchor before Dunkirk: The next Day the Troops being landed, the French march'd out of the Citadel, Fort Lewis, the Riſ-bank, and all the other Forts; of which the Engliſh took Poſſeſſion, and placed Guards at all the Gates: But the French Ships and Gallies were permitted to remain in the Harbour, with two or three Battalions of Marines in the Town, on Pretence of guarding the Stores. The Privateers


XLIII
OCEAN
Fort of the Estrand
Sand to be Seen at Low Tide
the Guaillard Castle
the Great Cut
Fort of Rivers
the Retrant
the Castle of Good hope
Esplanade of Newport
Esplanade of the Citadel
Sand to be seen at Low Tide
Great
Downs
EXPLANATION.
Names of the Churches.
A. The Great Church.
B. The Carmelites
C. Jesuites.
D. The White Sisters.
E. The Town House.
F. The Intendant.
G. The Minimes or Monks.
H. The English.
I. The Good Daughters.
K. The Good Sons.
L. The Poor Claires
M. The Tower.
N. The Capucines
O. The Penitents
P. The Recollects
1. the Intrenchments
2. the Guard house.
3. the Royal place.
4. the Woodend place.
5. the Dawphin's place.
6. the Park of the Marine.
7. the Bay.
8. the Bason.


An Exact PLAN of
DUNKIRK
is humbly Dedicated
to the Hon.ble
IOHN SPENCER Esq.r
by his most Obed.t Serv.t
Tho. Lediard.
Lower Town

vateers were alſo indulged the Liberty of coming in and out, provided they brought in no Engliſh Prizes. 1712.

The Duke of Ormond, continuing his March, as I have ſaid above, arriv'd, together with the Earl of Strafford, the 23d of July, N. S. at Ghent, the Troops encamping about a Mile and a half from the City. The Duke having put four Battalions of the Britiſh Troops into Ghent, and the like Number into Bruges, detach'd ſix Battalions, to reinforce the Garriſon of Dunkirk, with a Train of Artillery and Ammunition. The Duke of Ormond ſeizes Ghent and Bruges.

After the Action of Denain, Monſieur de Villars ordered the Count de Broglio to inveſt Marchiennes on the Scarpe, where the Allies has lodg'd the chief of their Stores, with upwards of 150 Bilanders (a Sort of large long Boats or Barges) laden with Artillery, and all Sorts of Ammunition and Proviſions for a whole Campaign. He commanded, at the ſame time, Count Albergotti, to attack St. Amand, and other Detachments were ordered to take Poſſeſſion of the reſt of the Poſts on the Scarpe. So elate were the French grown upon the Novelty of this Succeſs: They being become almoſt unacquainted with any thing of this Nature. Monſieur de Torcy obſerved juſtly enough, upon this Occaſion: *That the Allies might now ſee, what they had loſt by her Majeſty's withdrawing her Forces, and what Value they ought to put upon a Nation, which every where carried Victory along with it:* But to this he might have added, with as great, if not greater Juſtice, the Loſs they had ſuſtained in a General, to whoſe Valour and Conduct that Victory the Britiſh Troops every where carried with them, was (by every one but himſelf) always juſtly attributed: And this was the more apparent, in the preſent Caſe, becauſe, as, the Britiſh National Troops did not much exceed 20,000 Men, the French had before been beaten, with as great a Superiority on their Side. The French take ſeveral important Places;

The 26th, 200 Men of the Allies who were in the Abby of Anchin, and at Pont à Rache, yielded themſelves Priſoners of War. The ſame Day, the Count de L'Eſparre made himſelf Maſter of the Abby of Haſnon, where he took 100 Priſoners. Count Albergotti poſſeſſed himſelf, that Day, likewiſe, of Mortagne, at the Mouth of the Scarpe, where he took 100 Men, and then of St. Amand, which was defended by 800 Men, who alſo ſurrendered Priſoners of War. In this Place, they found Six Braſs Cannon, ſome Ammunition, ſeveral Horſes, and 40 Bilanders laden with Proviſions, which together with the 800 Priſoners, and thoſe who were taken in Mortagne, Anchin and Haſnon, were ſent to Conde and Valenciennes: All this being done, Count Albergotti commanded the Fortifications of St. Amand to be demoliſhed.

The Count de Broglio, in the mean time, purſuant to the Orders he had received from the Marſhal de Villars, inveſted Marchiennes, And inveſt Marchiennes.

1712. chiennes, and having viewed it the 25th, found the Undertaking much more difficult, than he at firſt imagined, that Place being ſituated, in the midſt of Moraſſes and Ditches, full of Water, cover'd with ſeveral Works, and defended by Brigadier Berkhoffer, with ſix Battalions, 500 Men detach'd from the Garriſon of Douay, and the Regiment of Schellart, conſiſting of the three Squadrons of Cuiraſſiers, of the Palatine Troops. In Conſideration of theſe Difficulties, Monſieur de Villars deſired the Marquis de Monteſquiou to command this Siege, who, accordingly, repaired thither the ſame Day, and after having, likewiſe, viewed the Place, informed the Marſhal, that he ſhould have Occaſion for both Artillery and Ammunition, to beſiege the Place in Form.

The Marſhal having complied with his deſire, 20 Cannon began to batter the Place the 28th, the Trenches having been opened, at two Attacks, the Day before, and being, by that time, pretty far advanced. The Beſieged beat a Parly, the ſame Day, and offered to ſurrender upon honourable Terms. This Propoſal was rejected by the Marſhal de Villars, who would grant no other Terms, than that the Garriſon ſhould ſurrender Priſoners of War: Whereupon the Hoſtilities were renew'd.

The next Day, a conſiderable Breach being made, at one Attack, and Preparations being making for the Aſſault, the Day following, the Beſieged beat a Parly, the ſecond Time, and complied with the Terms offer'd them: Purſuant to which, they march'd out, the 31ſt in the Afternoon, to the Number of about 5,000 (not including 8 or 900 ſick, or wounded at Queſnoy) and were conducted to Valenciennes. The Loſs of this Place was of fatal Conſequence to the Allies: For it was there they had their principal Magazine of all Sorts of Artillery, Ammunition and Proviſions, deſign'd for the farther Operations of the Campaign. There were in the Place above 100 Bilanders, beſides thoſe laden with 300,000 Weight of Powder, which the Dutch Commiſſary had cauſed to be ſunk in the Scarpe, before the Siege. There were alſo above 100 Pieces of Cannon, 300 Waggons, with their Harneſſes, the Hoſpital of the Army, and, in the Storehouſes, or in the Bilanders, a prodigious Number and Quantity of Bombs, Grenadoes, Bullets, Muſket-Balls, Powder, Corn, Meal, Hams, Bacon, Cheeſe, Butter, Beer, Wine, Brandy, Merchandize, Ladders, Hatchets, Bills, Planks, Match, Flint, and, in a Word, all Sorts of Proviſions neceſſary to make two Sieges; and there were, likewiſe, a good Number of Horſes.

The Place ſurrenders.

The Advantage, on the other hand, which it was of to the Enemy, was ſo conſiderable, that the French King thought it of Moment enough, to give an Account thereof to the Archbiſhop

biſhop of Paris, and to direct Te Deum to be ſung, on that Occaſion. 1712.

The forcing of the Intrenchments of Denain, and the taking of Marchiennes, proved, likewiſe, very favourable to the French, in the Conſequences: For, animated with theſe Succeſſes, and being now rid of the Enemy they moſt dreaded, the Engliſh, and their valiant and wiſe Leader, the great Duke of Marlborough, they ſeem'd to deſpiſe the reſt of the Confederates, and ventur'd, the 12th of Auguſt, to inveſt Douay, encamping, at the ſame time, their Army, in two Lines, with their Right at Carvin, and their Left at Ribaucourt. They prepar'd, the next Day, a great Number of Faſcines, and ſet about ſeveral Batteries; and, in the Night between the 14th, and the 15th, they open'd the Trenches, under the Direction of Monſieur Valori, as chief Engineer.

The French inveſt Douay.

The Trenches opened.

Prince Eugene was, hereupon oblig'd to quit his Deſign upon Landrecy, to haſten to the Relief of Douay: But, when he arrived, he found the Avenues to the French Camp ſo well intrench'd, that the Deputies of the States could not be induced to conſent to the attacking of them: So they carried on their Approaches againſt the Town, and Fort-Scarpe, with great Aſſiduity. The latter they attack'd with 30 Pieces of Cannon; notwithſtanding which, tho' the Garriſon conſiſted of but 400 Men, they defended themſelves bravely for fourteen Days: But after having repuls'd the French in ſeveral Attacks, they were oblig'd, at length, to ſubmit to ſo unequal a Force, and to ſurrender, the 28th, Priſoners of War.

Prince Eugene abandons the Siege of Landrecy.

Fort Scarpe ſurrenders;

This Fort being taken, the French redoubled their Fire againſt the Town. General Hompeſch, the Dutch Governour, tho' he had but a weak Garriſon, made a ſtout Reſiſtance; and repuls'd the French, in ſeveral Attacks, eſpecially the 7th of September, at Night, when they attack'd and took the Counterſcarp, and a Half Moon, but were oblig'd to abandon them again; however, the next Evening, they found it neceſſary to beat a Parly, and to ſurrender Priſoners of War, on the beſt Terms they could obtain.

And, likewiſe, Douay.

During this Siege, Prince Eugene made ſome Attempts for the Relief of the Place, but without Succeſs, owing, as I have ſaid above, in ſome Meaſure, to the Induſtry of the French, in ſecuring their Camp with Fortifications, but more, perhaps, to the great Caution of the Dutch, who were very backward in hazarding any thing, in this critical Juncture. However, Prince Eugene's Conduct did not eſcape Cenſure, on this Occaſion, particularly with regard to the Siege of Landrecy, which, it was objected, was imprudently undertaken before the Reduction of Maubeuge, which ought to have preceded it. What Grounds there were for theſe Reflections, I ſhall not undertake to determine:

1712. mine: And ſhall only add, in the Words of an eminent Author, who wrote about this Time, "That, as the Diſgraces and Diſ-"appointments which befell the Confederates, this Campaign, "caſt a Shade on the Reputation of the Prince of Savoy; ſo "did they wonderfully heighten the Glory the Duke of "Marlborough had gained by his uninterrupted Succeſſes and "Victories."

The Marſhal de Villars, who all this while obſerv'd Prince Eugene's Motions, encamp'd along the River Honneau, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſuch advantageous Poſts, that the Allies, who were advanced to Belain, on the other Side of Mons, found it impoſſible to advance any farther, and ſo, on the tenth of September, were obliged to look quietly on, and ſee the French inveſt Queſnoy, which ſurrender'd, the fourth of October, upon the ſame Conditions as had been granted to General Hompeſch: And Bouchain being, likewiſe, inveſted, by the now victorious French, on the tenth, ſurrender'd the eighteenth following.

The French take Queſnoy and Bouchain.

If we may believe the French Accounts, they found in Queſnoy, 116 heavy Cannon, and a great Number of ſmaller, 40 Mortars, 4 or 500,000 Weight of Powder, with a proportionable Quantity of all Manner of Ammunition and Proviſions, amounting to the Value of three millions of Livres: And they pretend, beſides, that the Garriſon of this Place compleated the Number of forty Battalions of the Allies, which they had deſtroy'd or made Priſoners, ſince the Defeat of Denain.

This being the unhappy State of Affairs, with the Confederates abroad; the Miniſtry at home made it their whole Buſineſs to put the beſt Colour on their own Management of Things, that the Nation might not be alarm'd, and from this ill State of the Confederates portend new Dangers to Britain, which indeed many did; and therefore themſelves and their Agents were very buſy, to inſinuate into the Minds of the People, that the Deſign of the Grand Alliance being to reſtore the Kingdom of Spain to the Houſe of Auſtria, and the chief Motive to this Reſtitution of the Spaniſh Monarchy being to preſerve a Ballance of Power in Europe, by preventing France and Spain from being united under one crown'd Head, they had eſtabliſh'd the ſaid Ballance on a much ſurer Footing, than if the Monarchy of Spain had been given to the Houſe of Auſtria, which was by obliging King Philip to make an abſolute Ceſſion of his Right to the Kingdom of France, to go to the other Branches of the Bourbon Family, who on their Side were all to make the like Ceſſion and Renunciation of their Right and Title to the Crown of Spain. Theſe Pretences, however, gave no manner of Satisfaction to the oppoſite Party, who look'd on a ſeparate Peace with France, to be altogether dangerous; becauſe our Allies were

were all like to be diſappointed thereby in their reaſonable Expectations. 1712.

What remains farther to be taken Notice of, regarding the Tranſactions of this Campaign in the Netherlands, (the only one, during the whole War, in which the French had any Succeſs to boaſt of; for, as we have ſeen, they had none, as long as our ever-victorious Hero was in the Field) are two Excurſions, one, on the Side of the Allies, under the Command of Major-General Groveſtein, into Champaign, and the other, on the French Side, under the Conduct of Major-General Paſtur, toward Zealand, both which ended, as is uſual in thoſe Caſes, partly in military Execution, and partly in Exaction of Hoſtages, for Contribution: And while the French were before Bouchain, the Allies ſurpriz'd and took Fort Knocque (a ſtrong and important Poſt, ſituate at the Junction of the Canal of Ipres and Furnes, above Dixmuyde) and made the Garriſon, conſiſting of three French Companies, and one of Swiſſers, with the Governour and other Officers, Priſoners of War. The taking of this Poſt occaſioned the Motion of a great Body of the Enemy's Troops, on each Side, towards the Lys, in order to retake it: But they found the Allies too quick for them, and the Fortreſs ſo well provided, that they entirely abandon'd their Deſign of attacking it.

Excurſions on both Sides.

The Allies take Fort Knocque.

The Dutch, encouraged by this Succeſs, had form'd a Deſign for ſurprizing Newport or Furnes; but were prevented in bringing it to Execution, as it has been ſaid, by the Secret's being diſcover'd to the Enemy, by a great Man, then in Power: His Inclination to diſcover it is, at leaſt, evident, by a Letter he wrote about it to the Lord Bolingbroke, a Copy of which we have in the *Report from the Committee of Secrecy*: "The Succeſs "(ſays he) of the Enterprize upon Knocque has encouraged the "forming a Project, for ſurprizing Newport or Furnes, and the "fortifying Dixmuyde is made uſe of as a Pretence for draw-"ing together a Body of Troops, to put the Deſign in Execu-"tion. If it be thought more for her Majeſty's Service to pre-"vent it, I am humbly of Opinion ſome Means ſhould be found "to give Advice of it to the Marſhal de Villars, who may poſ-"ſibly think we owe him that good Office, in Requital of "ſome Informations your Lordſhip knows he has given me, "with a Deſign to ſerve her Majeſty and the Nation."

A Deſign form'd by the Dutch, abortive.

Theſe were the chief Tranſactions of the Campaign in the Low Countries: And while theſe Things were paſſing there, the Lord Bolingbroke, having been ſent into France, by her Majeſty, to ſettle ſome important Points ſtill depending between the two Courts, concluded another Suſpenſion of Arms, between Great Britain and France, for four Months, viz. from the 22d of Auguſt, to the 22d of December. This Suſpenſion was proclaim'd

1712. claim'd at Paris, the 24th of Auguſt, N. S. and at London, the 19th of the ſame Month, O. S. and before that Time was expired, it was continued for four Months longer. I ſhall now proceed in the enſuing Chapter, to give a brief Account of the principal Tranſactions at Utrecht, previous to the Concluſion of the Peace there.

CHAP. III.

A brief Account of the Treaty of Peace of Utrecht.

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Holland arrive at Utrecht:

THE Queen having been pleas'd to appoint the Biſhop of Briſtol (Lord Privy Seal) to aſſiſt at the Conferences at Utrecht, as one of her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries, his Excellency embark'd for Holland the beginning of January, and, on the 14th, arrived at the Hague. He had there a ſhort Conference with the Penſionary, and return'd the ſame Day to Rotterdam, from whence he went directly for Utrecht, where he arrived the 15th. The Earl of Strafford, the other Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, arrived there, the 17th, as did, the 18th, Meſſ. Buys and Renſwoude, two of the Plenipotentiaries of the States.

As do, likewiſe, the French Miniſters.

The 19th, the Marſhal d'Huxelles, the Abbot Polignac, and the Sieur Meſnager, the Plenipotentiaries of France, arrived there, likewiſe, and having notified their Arrival, were immediately afterwards viſited, by the Biſhop of Briſtol, and the Earl of Strafford, whoſe Viſit they return'd the ſame Day:

The 20th, the French and Dutch Plenipotentiaries, made and return'd their reſpective Viſits, and the Magiſtrates complimented all of them. A previous Conſultation was, likewiſe, this Day held, to concert proper Regulations, and the Manner of the Conferences. And thoſe Points being agreed upon, it was reſolved, that the Conferences ſhould be held for the future, every Wedneſday and Saturday, without any Ceremonies.

The Congreſs opened.

The 29th, the Congreſs was opened, and the firſt Conference held, about 10 in the Morning. The Aſſembly was not numerous; for the Emperour not having yet ſent any Plenipotentiaries thither, and no Prince of the Empire having thought it decent to ſend theirs, till his Imperial Majeſty had declar'd his Mind, as to the Negotiations, there were but about eight Plenipotentiaries preſent, on the Side of the Allies, viz. thoſe of Great Britain, the States, and the Duke of Savoy. The Biſhop open'd the Conference with a Speech, directed to the French Miniſter, promiſing Sincerity, Candour and Diſpatch, and requiring

ring the ſame, on their Side; Which the Marſhal d'Huxelles (firſt Plenipotentiary of France) promis'd, in a few Words, and was ſeconded, in a long and eloquent Speech, by the Abbot de Polignac. The Earl of Strafford, and the Miniſters of the States, and Savoy, likewiſe made each their Speeches, on the ſame Subject: And little elſe paſs'd, in their firſt Conference, but Compliments, mutual Exhortations and Aſſurances, to avoid all unneceſſary Diſputes, and every Thing that might retard the Concluſion of the great and good Work they were entering upon. 1712.

Count Zinzendorf, the Emperour's Plenipotentiary, arrived, in the mean time, at the Hague, and had immediately a long Conference with the Penſionary, in which he us'd all the Arguments he could, to have the opening of the Congreſs poſtpon'd, till he had received Letters from Prince Eugene, concerning his Negotiations at London, but without Succeſs.

The 30th, the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies met by themſelves, becauſe the French Miniſters having promis'd to deliver a Scheme or Plan of the Intentions of their Court, it was reſolved to deliver them, in the next Conference, a Declaration upon that Head. This was done, accordingly, the 3d of February; at which time, the French Miniſters promis'd to deliver their Offers for a general Peace; but declar'd, that they ſhould have been very glad, if all the Miniſters of the Allies had been preſent, that they might, at the ſame time, receive a Counter-Project or Anſwer, from all the Members of the Grand Alliance.

The 4th, the Count de Metternich, Plenipotentiary of the King of Pruſſia, arrived at Utrecht: and, ſoon after, the Imperial, and ſeveral other Plenipotentiaries, being, likewiſe, arrived, there was a general Conference held, the 11th, when the French Plenipotentiaries deliver'd in their Propoſals, to which they gave the following Title:

The Imperial, Pruſſian, and other Miniſters arrive.

A particular Explication of the Offers of France, for a General Peace, to the Satisfaction of all the Parties concern'd preſent War.

The French make Propoſals for a general Peace.

Theſe Propoſals were receiv'd by the Dutch, with great Indignation, and occaſioned ſeveral Conferences between the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies. They being, likewiſe, tranſmitted to London, by the Britiſh Plenipotentiaries, were received with almoſt as general an Indignation there. The 15th of February, O. S. the Lord Hallifax made a Motion in the Houſe of Peers, for preſenting an Addreſs to the Queen about the Offers of France, which he call'd *Trifling, Arrogant, and Injurious to her Majeſty and her Allies.* Upon the Debate, ſome noble Members of that auguſt Aſſemby gave it, as their Opinion, "That "they ought to be rejected with the utmoſt Indignation, and

They are received with Indignation.

1712. "that it plainly appear'd, France had no other View than to "amuſe and divide the Allies;" others ſaid, "it was derogatory to her Majeſty's Honour, to enter into any Negotiations "with that Crown, till her Majeſty's Title was acknowledg'd." And upon a Diviſion it was reſolved, in an Addreſs to her Majeſty; "to expreſs the juſt Indignation they had of the diſhonourable Treatment of her Majeſty by France, and their "utmoſt Reſentment at the Terms of Peace offer'd by the "French Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht." It has even been ſaid, that ſome Lords, who bore no great good Will to the Duke of Marlborough and the late Miniſtry, ſpoke againſt them. However, on the 5th of March, N. S. the Allies deliver'd to the Plenipotentiaries of France;

Her Majeſty makes her ſpecifick Demands.

The Specifick Demands of her Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain, for what relates to France.

All the Members of the Grand Alliance, having, likewiſe, given in their reſpective Demands, the French Plenipotentiaries promis'd to explain themſelves on the Demands of the Allies, the ninth. To that End, a general Conference was held, that Day; but the French then declared, that the ſaid Demands being very extenſive, they could not give in the Explanation they had promiſed, till they had received new Inſtructions from the Court of Verſailles and Madrid: And therefore deſired a farther Time of three Weeks, which was agreed to. The Plenipotentiaries met, accordingly, the 30th, when thoſe of France declar'd; "That as they had communicated "in Writing, the ſpecifick Offers of the moſt Chriſtian King, "and that the Allies, likewiſe, had given theirs in Writing, it "was unneceſſary to continue treating that Way: But that "they were ready to treat with the Plenipotentiaries of the "Allies, by way of Conference." The Miniſters of the Allies declared hereupon; "that they expected an Anſwer in Writing "as they had promis'd." This they inſiſted on again the 2d of April, in another Conference, and declared, that they were unanimouſly in the ſame Opinion: And the French return'd the ſame Anſwer they had done before.

A Difference ariſes concerning the Manner of treating.

In another Conference, held the 6th of April, the Allies ſtill perſiſted in their Demand of a *Specifick Anſwer, in Writing, to their Specifick Demands*, which had been delivered in Writing: To which the French Miniſters, in Anſwer, declar'd; "That "as they had poſitive Inſtruction not to engage themſelves into "a Negotiation in Writing, they could not do it without new "Orders from their Court." The Allies inſiſted upon a Promiſe made by the French Plenipotentiaries, that they would return an Anſwer in Writing; which was denied by the latter. This occaſion'd a warm Debate, in which, among other Arguments, to prove their Aſſertion, the Allies produc'd a Reſolu-

tion

tion agreed upon, in the firſt Conference, that all Propoſals, on both Sides, ſhould be ſign'd by one of the Plenipotentiaries, which, they ſaid, would be needleſs, if both Parties had not then deſign'd to treat in Writing: But to this, the French replied, that the Reſolution related only to the ſpecifick Offers, they made, and the ſpecifick Demands of the Allies. 1712.

The General Conferences, which were to have been held twice every Week, were upon this Account ſuſpended, till the 13th of April, when the French declared, that they had not yet received any farther Inſtructions, and perſiſted in their Refuſal of giving any Anſwer in Writing. Whereupon, the general Conferences remained ſtill ſuſpended; and the Publick knew nothing of the farther Steps made towards a Treaty, till the ſixth of June, O. S. when her Majeſty, the Queen of Great Britain, was pleas'd to communicate to her Parliament, the Terms, upon which a General Peace might be made. This Speech, which is pretty long, being inſerted in all our Annaliſts and Hiſtorians, I ſhall not repeat it here.

The general Conferences thereby ſuſpended.

The Terms for a general Peace open'd to the Parliament of Great Britain.

Thus we ſee, that while the General Conferences at Utrecht were at a Stand, becauſe the French would not return any Anſwer to the Allies, in Writing, the Conditions for a Peace were upon the Anvil elſewhere; and the Congreſs had nothing to do but to ſign what ſhould be agreed upon in the Cabinets of Princes. This Diſpute about Treating in Writing, or by Word of Mouth, was generally believed to be ſtarted and improved, with no other Intent but to amuſe the Allies, and gain time for private Negotiations.

There happen'd, in the mean time, a Miſunderſtanding between the Queen of Great Britain, and the States General: For Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Field-Deputies of the States, being determin'd either to attack the Enemy (who lay, with an inferiour Number of Forces, encamp'd, with the Right, at Caſtelet, and the Left, near Cambray,) or, if that was found impracticable, to undertake a Siege; the 28th of May, they communicated their Deſigns to the Duke of Ormond, who declared: "That he had received poſitive Orders from the Queen, "not to enter into any Action againſt the Enemy, either by "Battle or Siege." The Deputies of the States, hereupon, diſpatch'd, the ſame Evening, an Expreſs to their High Mightineſſes, with an Account of what had paſs'd. This Incident occaſion'd no ſmall Surprize, inſomuch that the Plenipotentiaries of the States at Utrecht went to the Biſhop of Briſtol, and complain'd to him, in the Name of the States, againſt thoſe Orders, which the Duke of Ormond ſaid he had received: To which Complaint his Excellency anſwered: "That two Days before, "he had received an Expreſs, with a Letter from her Majeſty, "in which ſhe complained, that, notwithſtanding all the Ad-

A Difference between the Queen of Great Britain and the States General.

1712. " vances ſhe had made, from time to time, to the States, in " order to engage them to enter with her, upon a Plan of Peace, " their High Mightineſſes had not anſwer'd her as they ought, " and as her Majeſty hop'd they would; that, therefore, they " ought not to be ſurpriz'd, if her Majeſty did now think herſelf " at Liberty to enter into ſeparate Meaſures, in order to obtain " a Peace, for her own Conveniency." The Plenipotentiaries of the States repreſented, hereupon, to the Biſhop; " that ſuch a Step " would be contrary to all the Alliances and Treaties, betwixt " their High Mightineſſes and the Queen; that they thought " they had merited otherwiſe, by the Deference, which, on all " Occaſions, they had ſhewn to her Majeſty; and that they " knew nothing of the Advances, which the Biſhop ſaid her " Majeſty had made, towards the States, on the Subject of a " Plan of Peace. His Excellency replied; That he muſt not for- " get to tell them, his Inſtructions bore farther: That conſider- " ing the Conduct of the States towards her Majeſty, ſhe " thought herſelf diſengaged from all Alliances, and Engage- " ments with their High Mightineſſes." This Anſwer and Declaration of the Biſhop's was communicated to the reſt of the Miniſters of the Allies, at the Hague, on the 4th of June, which gave Occaſion to ſeveral Conferences; and the States General wrote a long Letter to the Queen of Great Britain, which they ſent, on the 5th of the ſame Month, by an Expreſs, to their Envoy Extradordinary, in London, with Orders to deliver it into her Majeſty's Hands.

The States General write to the Queen.

In this Letter, among other Things, they acquainted her Majeſty, " That they were ſurpriz'd, and afflicted, at the two " Declarations made by the Duke of Ormond, and the Biſhop " of Briſtol. That after her Majeſty had aſſured them, her " Troops ſhould act with the uſual Vigour, it was very difficult " for them to conceive, how an Order ſhould be obtain'd againſt " their acting offenſively, and they hop'd they had given no Oc- " caſion, by their Conduct, for that Declaration, made by the " Biſhop of Briſtol; namely, *That ſhe held herſelf to be diſengaged* " *from every Obligation with regard to them.* They acknow- " ledg'd, indeed, that her Majeſty's Miniſters had demanded to " know of theirs, if they were furniſh'd with full Powers to treat " of Peace, and that they had refus'd to come into her Plan, leſt " the Emperour ſhould have taken Umbrage at it: But they " ſaid, if they had ſhewn ſome Backwardneſs to act in Concert " with her Majeſty, they hoped ſhe would attribute it only to " an Exceſs of Prudence and Caution in them: And if they had " really acted contrary to their Treaties and Engagements " with her Majeſty, ſhe ought not immediately to look upon " herſelf as diſengaged from all Obligations, till ſhe had re- " preſented wherein they had fail'd, and they had refus'd to

" have

" have given a Redreſs. That all the Difference between her " Majeſty and them, was no more, if rightly conſider'd, than a " Diſparity of Sentiments; and if, for ſuch a Cauſe, Confederates " united by the ſtrongeſt Ties, might quit their Engagements, " no Engagements could be relied on, for the time to come. 1712.

This Letter was printed and diſperſed, in England, almoſt as ſoon as it came to her Majeſty's Hands, which gave great Offence to the Court, and Court Party, and occaſioned an Addreſs from the Houſe of Commons to her Majeſty, complaining of the Indignity.

To which Letter her Majeſty immediately return'd the following Anſwer.

High and Mighty Lords, Friends, Allies, and Confederates,

" THere is nothing dearer to us, than the Conſervation of a " good Underſtanding, and a perfect Union, with your " State. This hath been the principal Object of our Care, and we " have ſo little Ground to accuſe ourſelves of having in the leaſt " contributed to the Leſſening of the ſame, that we reflect with " Pleaſure on the Pains we have taken, and on all the Inſtances " we have made, that the Diſputes which have happened, with " relation to the Intereſts of the two Nations, ſhould be ami- " cably determined, ſo as we might communicate our Thoughts " to one another, without Reſerve, upon thoſe of the Publick: " For, in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, there ought to be " an equal Frankneſs on both Sides, and a mutual Confidence. Her Majeſty's Anſwer.

" We ſuppoſe that the Alarms which you took, on account " of the Declarations made by the Duke of Ormond, and the " Biſhop of Briſtol, are now over, and we repeat to you, what " we have ſo often declared, that it will be your own Fault, as " it has been in time paſt, if all our Meaſures about War, or " Peace, be not taken in Concert with your State.

" The Earl of Strafford will be with you in a few Days, with " full Inſtructions concerning our Intentions. Our Miniſters will " be diſpoſed, and authorized, to do all that is incumbent on " us to renew an entire Confidence with you, and to prevent, " for the future, ſuch Miſunderſtandings as have been fomented " with ſo much Artifice, and ſo litle Foundation.

" But we cannot paſs over in Silence, our great Surprize, to " ſee that your Letter of the 5th Inſtant, N. S. was printed " and publiſhed almoſt as ſoon as we received it from the " Hands of your Miniſter, a Proceeding, which is equally con- " trary to good Politicks and Decency: It is a Remonſtrance, " inſtead of a Repreſentation; and an Appeal to the People, " inſtead of an Addreſs to the Sovereign. We hope that you " will not ſuffer the like to be done again; for our Honour will

" engage

1712. "engage us, to give no Anſwer to any Letters, or Memorials, "which will be publiſhed in that Manner. For the reſt, we "pray, &c.

Kenſington, June $\frac{2}{20}$ 1712.

Your good Friend,

ANNA REGINA.

The Queen's Speech communicated to the Miniſters at Utrecht.

The 27th of June, the Lord Biſhop of Briſtol communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies, at Utrecht, the Queen's Speech, and conſequently the Terms which the French King had been prevailed upon to make to the Allies; to which thoſe Miniſters made no other Anſwer, than that they would acquaint their reſpective Maſters therewith, and wait for new Orders. The ſame Day, his Excellency had a private Conference with the Plenipotentiaries of the States, and repreſented to them, the Neceſſity of a Suſpenſion of Arms, in the Netherlands, in order to facilitate the Concluſion of the Treaty.

About the ſame time, the French offering to put Dunkirk in her Majeſty's Poſſeſſion, as a Security for the Performance of the Offers made, great Endeavours were uſed, at the Hague and Utrecht, to induce the Allies to agree to the Suſpenſion, that no Incident might obſtruct the Negotiations for a General Peace: But all Attempts, to this End, proving fruitleſs, a Suſpenſion of Arms, between the Queen's Troops, and thoſe of France, for two Months, was publiſhed, in both Armies, and Dunkirk was, thereupon, delivered to the Queen's Forces, as the Reader has already ſeen in the foregoing Chapter.

It was then believed, and commonly reported, that the French Plenipotentiaries would make new Overtures for a General Peace, and for a Suſpenſion of Arms: But the Negotiations at Utrecht remained at a Stand, and an unlucky Difference that happened, ſome time after, between the Sieur Meſnager, one of the Plenipotentiaries of France, and the Count de Rechteren, one of thoſe of the States, which, for ſome time, made no ſmall Diſturbance, was the Occaſion, or, at leaſt, Pretence, of ſuſpending the general Conferences, the French having declared, that they could not renew the ſaid Conferences, till their King had received Satisfaction upon that Affair, which he preſcribed in ſuch Terms, as the States did not think fit to ſubmit to.

Difference between one of the French and one of the Dutch Miniſters.

The French, to colour their Refuſal of giving their Anſwer in Writing, which was inſiſted upon by the Allies, induſtriouſly kept up this Diſpute, the whole Remainder of the Year 1712. The Negotiations were, however, continued, in the mean time, by the Mediation of the Miniſtry of Great Britain, who concluded a Suſpenſion of Arms with France, both by Sea and Land,

Land, on the 19th of Auguſt, N. S. and after its Expiration, prolong'd it for four Months more. 1712.

During this Interval, the Lord Lexington was ſent to Madrid, where he was preſent at the ſolemn Renunciation, which King Philip made, of all the Claims and Pretenſions, that he had, or might have, for the future, to the Crown of France, for himſelf, and his Succeſſors. This Renunciation was made, the fifth of October, and confirmed by the general Cortez, (or States) of the Kingdom of Spain, which was ſummoned for that Purpoſe. As this is the Foundation, on which the whole Fabrick of the Peace ſtands, it was made in the ſtrongeſt Terms poſſible. King Philip renounces his Claims to France.

This neceſſary Preliminary being concluded, in the Form and Manner as deſired by the Queen of Great Britain, and King Philip having long before given to the Elector of Bavaria, the Property and Sovereignty of the Netherlands, whereby he, at once, extricated himſelf from all the Difficulties relating to the Barrier of the States General, in thoſe Provinces, it was believed, that his Miniſters would have been admitted into the Congreſs: But the Allies would not conſent to it: So that King Philip had no Miniſter at Utrecht, at the time when the Negotiations for a Peace ſeemed to draw towards a Concluſion. But his Plenipotentiaries not admitted to the Congreſs.

Tho' the general Conferences, as I have ſaid above, were ſuſpended, under Pretence of the Diſpute between Monſieur Meſnager, and the Count de Rechteren, the Negotiations were continued, by the good Offices of the Britiſh Miniſters, who acted, ſince the Suſpenſion of Arms with France, as Mediators: And the States being very much preſſed to come into the Queen's Meaſures, their Plenipotentiaries communicated to thoſe of Great Britain, in the beginning of October, a new Plan for a Peace, in which they declared: "That for the Good of Peace, their "High Mightineſſes were willing to yield Liſle to France, and "recede from their Pretenſions to have Douay, Valenciennes "and Maubeuge, which they had hitherto inſiſted on, provided "Conde and Tournay were included in their Barrier; the Ta-"riffs of 1664 reſtored; and that Sicily be yielded to the Em-"perour, and Straſburg to the Empire." This Propoſal was immediately tranſmitted to the Court of Great Britain, by the Earl of Strafford, where it met with a favourable Reception, and was look'd upon as more reaſonable than any of the former Schemes. A new Plan propoſed by the Dutch.

The Affairs of Portugal being, in the mean time, reduced to great Extremities, and their Forces not being able to make head againſt the Spaniards, as they were deprived of the Aſſiſtance of the Britiſh Troops; there was a Treaty for a Suſpenſion of Arms, for four Months, concluded at Utrecht, between the Miniſters of the moſt Chriſtian King, and thoſe of Portugal, which was ſigned the 7th of November, 1712. A Suſpenſion of Arms concluded between France and Portugal.

The

1712. The Earl of Strafford, who had made a Tour to England, ſtaid there till the latter End of November, when having obtained a new Plan, containing her Majeſty's laſt Intentions about the Peace; his Excellency embark'd for Holland, and arriv'd at the Hague, the ſixth of December, N. S. and, the next Day, made a Viſit to the Grand Penſionary. Having communicated the new Plan for a Peace, to the States, he deſired a poſitive Anſwer to it, as being the utmoſt Conceſſions that were to be expected from France, and which her Majeſty had not obtained but with great Difficulty.

The Earl of Strafford returns to Holland.

He told them, at the ſame time, "That he wiſhed the Love "of War, and the private Intereſt of ſome Perſons, had never "given Occaſion for a Coldneſs in the Friendſhip, which might "have proved fatal to their State, and might yet prove ſo, "if the laſt Offers now made, on the Part of her Majeſty, for "re-eſtabliſhing a perfect Union with this State, ſhould not be "accepted: That it was apparent, the Irreſolution of the States "had been attended by very unhappy Accidents, and that her "Majeſty was very deſirous, they would, at length, fix upon "ſome Propoſitions, which might be reaſonable in themſelves, "and of ſuch a Nature, that in the unlucky Conjuncture Affairs "now ſtood, they might be obtained of France. He ſaid, he "had brought with him, alſo, a Plan of a new Treaty of Succeſſion and Barrier, and muſt inſiſt, that this Treaty might "be ſign'd before the Peace: For, in the preſent Treaty, of "Barrier, many Things were inſerted, diſadvantageous to Britain, and which could not be reconciled, either to the Letter, "or the Deſign, of the Grand Alliance; nor were conformable "to any Principles, upon which the preſent Confederacy was "made, and the War begun.

He offers the Dutch a new Plan, for a Peace.

"And laſtly, he told them, that notwithſtanding all the Provocations, and all the Delays, on the Part of the States, the "Queen had, hitherto, kept the Negotiation open: But ſhe "thought, ſhe had now retarded it long enough, and poſſibly "too long, in good Policy. That, therefore, the Offers, which "her Majeſty now made, were her ultimate Reſolutions: And "that it was the laſt time ſhe would addreſs herſelf to their "High Mightineſſes, in caſe they form'd new Delays, and did "not anſwer her Majeſty's good Intentions, for their own Intereſts. He ſaid, her Majeſty alſo expected the Concurrence "of the States, in all ſhe had ſtipulated for his Royal Highneſs "the Duke of Savoy, as alſo in obliging the Emperour to a "Neutrality in Italy, and to withdraw his Troops from Catalonia."

This new Plan being communicated to the reſpective Provinces of the Republick, and the States General ſhewing an Inclination to comply with the Queen's Meaſures, ſome Explana-

The States conſent to the new Plan.

tions

tions and Reſtrictions were only inſiſted upon. This Affair was warmly debated, by the States of Holland, who had ſeveral Meetings before they could come to a Reſolution, through the Diviſions among the Cities of that Province. The Majority were for rejecting the Plan, as diſadvantageous to the Republick, and for continuing the War: but Amſterdam being of another Opinion, and the Sentiments of that City being always of great Weight with the States, the wiſeſt Members of that Aſſembly propoſed, that the Deputies ſhould return home, and adviſe with their Principals, in order that the Reſolution of their Province might be unanimous if poſſibe. During this Interval, the Earl of Strafford made a Tour to Amſterdam, where he had ſeveral ſucceſsful Conferences with the leading Magiſtrates of that City. And, on the 29th of December, the States General came to a Reſolution to comply with the Queen's Meaſures, whereof they gave her Majeſty Notice in a very ſubmiſſive Letter. 1713.

Subſtance of their Letter to her Majeſty.

" They told her, they thought themſelves obliged to return " her Majeſty Thanks, for the Overtures ſhe had cauſed the " Earl of Strafford to lay before them, and for the Aſſurances, " no leſs obliging than ſtrong, ſhe had added to them, both of " her Majeſty's Deſire to procure a good Peace for all Europe, " and provide for the Safety, and even Augmentation of their " State: And declared, they were reſolved to join with her " Majeſty, in the Meaſures ſhe had taken, and to conclude and " ſign the Peace, at the ſame time jointly with her: As alſo " to enter into a new Treaty with her Majeſty, about the Suc- " ceſſion and Barrier, and to conclude and ſign it, before the " Peace."

To which her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſhew her Satisfaction, in her Anſwer of the ſeventh of January, O. S.

And of her Majeſty's Anſwer.

" She told them, this might make ſome Amends for the " Misfortunes that had been occaſioned by the Diſunion of the " Allies, and prevent thoſe that were to be feared, for the fu- " ture; that ſhe ſhould take their Intereſts to Heart, equally " with her own, and be ready to do all that lay in her Power " to advance them. But ſhe was ſorry, that ſhe was not in a " Condition, to ſupport both theirs, and thoſe of the other " Allies, as effectually as ſhe could have done the laſt Spring."

A new Treaty of Succeſſion and Barrier ſigned.

This Letter of her Majeſty's contributed very much to the Succeſs of the Negotiations; inſomuch that the Britiſh and Dutch Miniſters had ſeveral Conferences, to concert a new Treaty for the Guaranty of the Succeſſion of the Crown, in the Proteſtant Line of Hannover, and the Barrier to be granted to the

1713. States, which was concluded and ſign'd the 30th of January, N. S. and ſent to England, for its Ratification, and to the reſpective Provinces of the Republick, for the ſame End. In this Treaty, the Number of Ships and Troops, with which each Party was to aſſiſt the other, in Caſe of Neceſſity, were ſtipulated: And the Places which the States ſhould have Garriſons in, for their Barrier, nominated, alſo the Revenues for their Maintenance aſſign'd. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the Engliſh and Dutch ſhould be upon the ſame Foot, in Point of Trade, in the Netherlands. After the ſigning of this Treaty, the Negotiations were carried on with greater Expedition than before, and ſeveral important Preliminaries ſettled, which had, till then, obſtructed a general Treaty. The Miniſters of the Emperour and France entered into a Negotiation for evacuating Catalonia, and the Neutrality of Italy. The States General were, likewiſe, prevailed upon to grant Paſsports for the Miniſters of Spain; and likewiſe thoſe which the French deſired for the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria. The Affair of Monſieur Meſnager and Count Rechteren was alſo adjuſted: And, in ſhort, all the Difficulties which obſtructed the general Conference were removed.

The Plenipotentiaries of Spain, Cologn and Bavaria admitted.

Matters having this favourable Appearance, in a Conference held the 13th of March, the Biſhop of Briſtol made a Speech to the Miniſters of the Allies, in which, he put them in Mind, "That the Congreſs had been opened fourteen Months, and, "therefore, it was high time to bring that great Work to a "Concluſion. That her Majeſty had obſerved, with Diſſatiſ- "faction, the Slowneſs and Delays with which they had pro- "ceeded in the Negotiations; ſo that ſhe was reſolved to con- "clude her Peace without any farther Delay, being perſuaded, "that the other Allies would follow her Example, that ſo the "Peace might be general: And that, in caſe any of them were "not yet ready, a convenient time ſhould be reſerved for them." Count Zinzendorff, one of the Imperial Plenipotentiaries, replied: "That the Propoſal made by the Britiſh Plenipotentia- "ries was of ſo great Importance, that it required ſome time to "conſider of it, and to be prepared to declare on this Subject, "in the following Conferences, at leaſt, on the Part of the Em- "perour and the Empire; and that it were to be wiſh'd the "Peace might be general; to which the Allies, by the Advances "they had made, and their facilitating of things, had ſuffi- "ciently ſhewn their Inclination.

The Biſhop of Briſtol's Speech about ſigning the Peace.

The Britiſh Miniſters, hereupon, fixed the twenty-fifth of March, as the laſt Day to which they were inſtructed to defer the Signing of the Peace. In the mean time, the ſeveral Inſtruments, relating to the Evacuation of Catalonia, and Neutrality of Italy (to which the Queen was Guaranty) were ſign'd, between

Inſtruments for the Evacuation of Catalonia,

tween her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of the Emperour, France and Savoy. 1713.

and Neutrality of Italy, ſign'd.

Theſe Difficulties being removed, the French Court agreed, that the Dukes of Berry and Orleans ſhould make a ſolemn Renunciation of the Crown of Spain, in the Parliament of Paris, which was perform'd accordingly, with great Ceremony; being ſo inſiſted upon by the Court of Great Britain, as the moſt effectual Means to prevent the Union of France and Spain, under one Sovereign.

The Dukes of Berry and Orleans renounce their Pretenſions on Spain.

The Imperial Miniſters ſtill refuſing to come into the Meaſures propoſed, and the laſt Courier, which the French Plenipotentiaries had ſent to their Court, being returned, on the ſixth of April, N. S. with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's freſh Inſtructions, by which they were impowered to remove ſome Difficulties, which principally obſtructed the ſigning of the Peace, on the ſide of the States General; the next Day, the French Plenipotentiaries had a long Conference with thoſe of Great Britain; after which, the latter were alſo in Conference with the Miniſters of the States, and thoſe of the Emperour, and told them, that as a ſufficient time had been allowed them to receive Inſtructions from their Court, they hoped they were ready to ſign their reſpective Treaties, the Tueſday following, being the 11th of April, on which they had reſolved to ſign theirs.

Count Zinzendorff, hereupon, declared, that the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperour, and the Empire were not ready, nor could they conſent to the Peace, without the Reſtoration of Straſburg, nor admit ſeveral of the Pretenſions of the French, in relation to the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria. The Miniſters of Portugal, Pruſſia and Savoy ſaid nothing, having agreed before with the French, to ſign, at the ſame time with the Britiſh: And thoſe of the States declared, that they would acquaint their reſpective Maſters therewith. At the ſame time, the Imperial Miniſters made a farther Declaration, that they were ordered to proteſt againſt the Peace, on the Foot it was projected.

The Imperial Plenip. refuſe to ſign the Peace.

The Dutch Plenipotentiaries, having conferred amongſt themſelves, deputed three of their Members to the Hague, who, immediately upon their Arrival, had a Conference with the Penſionary, and afterwards with the Deputies of the States, to whom they communicated the Declarations made by the Britiſh Miniſters, and the State of the Negotiation. This Report was, the ſame Day, communicated, by the Penſionary, to the States of Holland (which were extraordinarily aſſembled) and they declared for Peace, and that their Plenipotentiaries ſhould have full Power to ſign it. The next Morning, the Inſtructions drawn up for the ſaid Plenipotentiaries were communicated to the States of Holland, and, being approved by them, were delivered to the Plenipotentiaries, who immediately returned to Utrecht.

The States of Holland declare for Peace.

Count

1713. Count Sinzendorf went, in the mean time, to the Hague, where he uſed all poſſible Means to perſuade the States to put off the Signing of the Peace, till he had received an Anſwer to the Expreſs he had diſpatch'd to Vienna: And declar'd, that if the States ſign'd before his Maſter, his Imperial Majeſty would immediately withdraw his Troops out of the Netherlands: But finding his Reaſons and Repreſentations ineffectual, he proteſted againſt the Peace, as he had done before at Utrecht; whither he return'd, the ſame Evening, and found that the Dutch Plenipotentiaries had adjuſted ſeveral Articles, in relation to their Commerce, with France.

Count Sinzendorf proteſts againſt Peace.

The Peace concluded,

The eleventh of April, N. S. the Miniſters of the Proteſtant Princes met together in the Morning, and drew up a Repreſentation, in favour of the poor Proteſtants of France, which they delivered to the Britiſh Miniſters, and deſired them to deliver it to thoſe of France, which was done accordingly. The Britiſh Plenipotentiaries went afterwards to Count Sinzendorf, told him they were going to ſign the Peace, and ſhewed him the Plan they had ſtipulated with the French for the Emperour, and the Empire, till the firſt of June. They proceeded, from thence, to the Houſes of the other Miniſters of the Allies, to whom they made the ſame Declaration. At two in the Afternoon, the Miniſters of France came to the Houſe of the Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, where the Treaties of Peace and Commerce between her Majeſty, and the moſt Chriſtian King, were ſign'd. The Miniſters of the Duke of Savoy ſign'd the Treaty about four, and, about eight, thoſe of Pruſſia did the like. The Portugueſe ſign'd the Treaty about twelve at Night; and it was paſt one in the Morning, when the Plenipotentiaries of the States ſign'd their Treaties of Peace and Commerce.

And ſign'd.

The Germans reſolve to continue the War.

The Imperial and German Miniſters expreſs'd great Reſentment, that the Allies ſhould conclude a Peace without their Conſent, and pretend to preſcribe Conditions to them; they gave out that they would ſtill carry on the War, and hazard all, rather than ſubmit to ſuch Uſage.

The Peace being concluded between France and all the Allies, except the Emperour and Empire; I ſhall give the Reader an Abſtract of the moſt material Articles in the Treaty, between Great Britain and France, ſetting aſide Matters of Form, and keeping to ſuch Particulars only as have an immediate Relation to the Intereſt of Great Britain.

Abſtract of the Treaty between Great Britain and France.

Abſtract of the Treaty of Utrecht.

" By the fourth Article, the French King acknowledges and " approves the Act of Limitation of the Succeſſion to the King- " dom of Great Britain: And, on the Faith and Word of a " King

" King, as well as the Pledge of his own and Succeſſor's Ho- 1713.
" nour, he declares and engages, that no one beſides the
" Queen herſelf, and her Succeſſors, according to the Series of
" the ſaid Limitation, ſhall ever, by him, or by his Heirs or
" Succeſſors, be acknowledg'd, or reputed, to be King or
" Queen of Great-Britain. And whereas the Pretender is late-
" ly gone, of his own Accord, out of the Kingdom of France;
" the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, will
" take all poſſible Care, that he ſhall not, at any time hereaf-
" ter, or under any Pretence whatſoever, return into the
" Kingdom of France, or any of the Dominions thereof.

" And, by the fifth Article, he, in like manner, engages,
" not to diſturb or moleſt her Majeſty, her Heirs or Succeſſors,
" in the Proteſtant Line; and that he will not give any Suc-
" cour, or Aid, to any that ſhall endeavour to oppoſe the ſaid
" Succeſſion.

" In the ſixth Article, the King of Spain's Renunciation of
" the Crown of France, and that of the Dukes of Berry and
" Orleans of the Crown of Spain, with the French King's
" Letters-Patent, admitting and confirming the ſaid Renunci-
" ations, being inſerted, the Queen of Great-Britain, and the
" moſt Chriſtian King, engage to each other ſolemnly, and on
" their Royal Words; that nothing ever ſhall be done by them,
" or their Heirs and Succeſſors, or be allowed to be done by
" others, whereby the ſaid Renunciations, and the other Tranſ-
" actions afore-mention'd, may not have their full Effect: But, on
" the contrary, their Royal Majeſties, with joint Counſels and
" Forces, will always ſincerely take that Care, and uſe thoſe
" Endeavours, that the ſaid Foundations of the Publick Safety,
" (*viz.* the Separation of the French and Spaniſh Crowns) may
" remain unſhaken, and be preſerv'd untouch'd for ever.

" By the ſeventh, that there ſhall be a free Uſe of Navigation
" and Commerce, as heretofore, in Time of Peace, and before
" the Declaration of the laſt War.

" By the ninth, the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall demoliſh the
" Fortifications of Dunkirk, at his own Expence, within five
" Months after the Concluſion of the Peace.

" By the tenth, the moſt Chriſtian King obliges himſelf to
" reſtore, to Great-Britain, the Bay and Streights of Hudſon,
" with the Lands, Seas, Sea Coaſts, Rivers, and Places ſituate
" in the ſaid Bay, and Streights, with the Fortreſſes there erect-
" ed, in the Condition they now are, and alſo all the Cannon,
" and Cannon-Ball therein, with a proportionable Quantity of
" Powder, and other Proviſions of War, uſually belonging to
" Cannon. Provided that the Subjects of France have Liberty
" to remove themſelves, and their other Effects; and Commiſ-
" ſaries on the Part of Great Britain and France ſhall determine,

1713. " within a Year, the Limits to be fix'd between the ſaid Bay " of Hudſon, and the Places appertaining to the French; " which Limits, both the Britiſh and French Subjects ſhall be " wholly forbid to paſs over, or thereby go to each other, by " Sea or Land: And the ſame Commiſſaries ſhall alſo ſettle the " Boundaries between the other Britiſh and French Colonies, " in thoſe Parts.

" By the eleventh, Satisfaction ſhall be given to the Engliſh " Company, trading to Hudſon's Bay, for all Depredations of " the French, in time of Peace: and Satisfaction ſhall alſo be " given to the French, for any Damage done them, by the " Britiſh Subjects, in time of Peace.

" By the twelfth, the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, Nova " Scotia, or Acadia, Port-Royal, or Annapolis Royal, with " their Lands and Dependencies, are entirely yielded, and " made over, to Great Britain, in ſuch ample Manner, that " the Subjects of France ſhall be hereafter excluded from all " Kind of Fiſhing in the ſaid Seas, Bays, and other Places, on " the Coaſts of Nova Scotia; that is to ſay, on thoſe which lie " towards the Eaſt, within thirty Leagues, beginning from the " Iſland, commonly call'd Sable, incluſively, and thence " ſtretching along, towards the South-Weſt.

" By the thirteenth, the Iſland of Newfoundland, with the " adjacent Iſlands, ſhall belong, of Right, wholly to Great " Britain: But the Subjects of France ſhall be allowed to catch " Fiſh, and dry them on the Land, in that Part only of the " ſaid Iſland, and no other, which ſtretches from the Place " call'd Cape Bonaviſta, to the Northern Point of the ſaid " Iſland, and from thence running down, by the Weſtern " Side, reaches as far as the Place call'd Point Riche: But the " French ſhall not fortify any Place, in Newfoundland, or erect " any Buildings there, beſides Stages made of Boards, and Huts, " neceſſary and uſual for drying of Fiſh; or reſort to the ſaid " Iſland beyond the Time neceſſary for Fiſhing and drying of " Fiſh: But the Iſland call'd Cape Breton, and all others in the " Mouth of the River St. Laurence, and in the Gulph of that " Name, ſhall belong to the French, who may fortify any Pla- " ces there.

" By the fourteenth, the Subjects of France are to have the " Space of a Year to remove themſelves, and their Effects " from the Places and Colonies yielded by France: But thoſe " who chuſe to remain, and be ſubject to Great Britain, may " enjoy the Exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion, as far as the " Laws of Great Britain allow the ſame.

" By the fifteenth, the French inhabiting Canada, and other " Countries in America, ſhall give no Diſturbance to the five " Nations of Indians, ſubject to Britain, or to the other Na-

" tives

" tives of America, their Friends; and the Britiſh Subjects 1713.
" ſhall behave themſelves peaceably towards the Americans,
" who are Subjects or Friends of France: And there ſhall be a
" free Intercourſe of Trade, between the French and Engliſh,
" and the Natives of thoſe Countries. And it ſhall be ſettled
" by Commiſſaries, who are, and who ought to be accounted
" the Subjects and Friends of Britain or of France.

" By the twentieth, juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction ſhall
" be given, to all and ſingular the Allies of Great Britain, in
" thoſe Matters which they have a Right to demand of France.

" By the twenty-firſt, the French King agrees, that in the
" Treaty with the Emperour and the Empire, the State of Re-
" ligion ſhall be ſettled, in the Empire, conformable to the
" Treaty of Weſtphalia.

" By the twenty-ſecond, Satisfaction ſhall be given to the
" Family of Hamilton, the Duke of Richmond, and Charles
" Douglas, as to their ſeveral Demands in France.

" By the four and twentieth, the Treaty between France and
" Portugal is confirm'd; and her Britiſh Majeſty takes upon her
" the Guaranty of the ſame.

" By the five and twentieth, the ſame is done as to the Treaty
" between France, and the Duke of Savoy.

" By the ſix and twentieth, the King of Sweden, the Duke
" of Tuſcany, the Republick of Genoa, and the Duke of
" Parma, are included in this Treaty.

" By the ſeven and twentieth, the Hanſe-Towns are alſo
" comprehended in the Treaty, and are to enjoy the ancient
" Advantages they had in Point of Trade.

Sign'd,

Dated 31 March, 12 April, } 1713.

(L. S.) JOHN BRISTOL, L. P. S.
(L. S.) STRAFFORD.
(L. S.) HUXELLES.
(L. S.) MESNAGER.

CHAP. IV.

Tranſactions after the Peace of Utrecht, *to the Death of Queen* Ann.

HAVING given a brief Account of the laſt Campaign in the late War, and of the Treaty at Utrecht, which

1714. put an End to it, I am now to make ſome Mention of what happened, after the Concluſion of the Peace, to the Death of Queen Ann: In which, however, as I ſhall not have Occaſion to take Notice of the Duke of Marlborough, till towards the End of this Reign, I ſhall be very ſhort.

The Queen acquaints the Parliament with the Concluſion of the Peace.

The Peace being concluded, as the Reader has ſeen, in the foregoing Chapter, the Parliament met, the ninth of April, O. S. when her Majeſty, in a moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, gave both Houſes an Account of the Succeſs of the Negotiations at Utrecht, and the Concluſion of the Peace: And the two following Days, the two Houſes waited on her Majeſty with their congratulatory Addreſſes: Which were, ſoon after, follow'd by thoſe of ſeveral Corporations; tho' the Terms of the Peace were then hardly known.

Congratulatory Addreſſes on that Occaſion.

The Ratifications of the Treaties of Peace and Commerce, which met with ſome Oppoſition at the Council Board, having been exchang'd at Utrecht; and brought to London, the Queen, on the 4th of May, (being the ſame Day of the Month, on which the War was proclaim'd, eleven Years before,) ſign'd a Proclamation for publiſhing the Peace, which was, accordingly, perform'd, at London, the next Day, with the uſual Ceremonies, and ſoon after in all the Cities and Market-towns of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Peace proclaim'd.

The Treaties communicated to the Parliament.

The ninth of May, the Queen communicated the ſeveral Treaties of Peace and Commerce, between Great Britain and France, to the Houſe of Commons, which occaſioned another Addreſs of Thanks from that Houſe.

The Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and Spain being, likewiſe, ratified, and the Ratification brought over to London, the 27th of February, as I have given the Reader an Abſtract of that with France, an Abridgment of the moſt material Articles in this, may, likewiſe, not be unacceptable.

Abſtract of the Treaty of Peace, between Great Britain and Spain.

Abſtract of the Treaty between Great Britain and Spain.

" By the firſt Article of the Treaty of Peace; a perpetual " and true Friendſhip was ſtipulated between Queen Ann, and " King Philip V, and their reſpective Subjects. By the ſecond; " it was provided, that the Kingdoms of France and Spain " ſhould never be united under the ſame Dominion, and that " one and the ſame Perſon ſhould never become King of both " Kingdoms: To which Purpoſe the ſeveral Renunciations late- " ly made, in France and Spain, were here recited.

" The third, contained a perpetual Amneſty and Oblivion, " on both Sides, of all Things done in an hoſtile Manner, during " the late War.

" By

" By the fourth; all Priſoners, on both Sides, were to be " reſtor'd to their former Liberty, paying only ſuch Debts as " they might have contracted during their being Priſoners. 1714.

" By the fifth, the Catholick King ſincerely and ſolemnly ac- " knowledg'd the Limitation of the Succeſſion to the Kingdom " of Great Britain, in the Proteſtant Line of Hannover, and " declared and engaged, on the Faith and Word of a King, " and on the Pledge of his, and his Succeſſors Honour, that the " ſame ſhould for ever be approved, and accepted by them, his " Heirs and Succeſſors.

" This was coroborated, by the ſixth Article, in which the " Catholick King farther promiſed, as well in his own, as in " the Name of his Heirs and Succeſſors, never to diſturb or " moleſt the Queen of Great Britain, her Heirs and Succeſſors, " in the Proteſtant Line, or, on any Pretences, endeavour to " oppoſe the ſaid Succeſſion.

" By the ſeventh, it was agreed, that the ordinary Diſtribu- " tion of Juſtice be reſtored, thro' the Dominions of each of " their Royal Majeſties; ſo that it might be free for all the " Subjects, on both Sides, to proſecute and obtain their Rights, " Pretenſions and Actions.

" By the eighth, was ſtipulated a free Uſe of Navigation and " Commerce, between the Subjects of each Kingdom, as it was " in time of Peace, in the Reign of Charles II. And whereas, " among other Conditions of the general Peace, it was eſta- " bliſhed, as a chief and fundamental Rule, that the Exerciſe " of Navigation and Commerce, to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, " ſhould remain in the ſame State as it was in the time of the " aforeſaid King Charles II. That, therefore, this Rule might " be, hereafter, obſerved, with inviolable Faith, and thereby " all Cauſes of Diſtruſt and Suſpicion, concerning that Matter, " might be prevented, it was, eſpecially agreed, that no Licence, " nor any Permiſſion at all, ſhould, at any time, be given, " either to the French or to any Nation whatſoever, under any " Pretence, directly or indirectly, to ſail, to traffick in, or " introduce Negroes, Goods, Merchandizes, or any Things " whatſoever, into the Dominions ſubject to the Crown of " Spain, in America, except what might be agreed, by " the Treaty of Commerce, and the Rights and Privileges " granted in a certain Convention, commonly call'd *El Aſ-* " *ſiento de Negroes*; except alſo whatſoever the Catholick " King, or his Heirs or Succeſſors, ſhall promiſe, by any " Contract or Contracts, for the Introduction of Negroes, " into the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, to be made after that the Con- " vention, or the Aſſiento de Negroes above-mentioned, ſhould " be determined. And it was alſo agreed and concluded, that " neither the Catholick King, nor any of his Heirs and Suc-

1714. " ceſſors, ſhould ſell, yield, pawn, transfer, or by any Means, " or under any Name, alienate from them, and the Crown of " Spain, to the French, or to any other Nations whatever, any " Lands, Dominions or Territories, or any Part thereof, belong- " ing to Spain, in America. On the contrary, that the Spaniſh " Dominions, in the Weſt-Indies, might be preſerv'd whole and " entire, the Queen of Great Britain engag'd, that ſhe would " endeavour, and give Aſſiſtance to the Spaniards, that the an- " tient Limits of their Dominions, in the Weſt-Indies, be re- " ſtored, and ſettled, as they ſtood in the time of King Charles " II, if it ſhould appear, that they had, in any Manner, or " under any Pretence, been broken into, and leſſened, in any " Part, ſince the Death of the late Catholick King, Charles II.

" By the ninth Article; it was agreed, that all the Subjects " of each Kingdom ſhould, in all Countries and Places, on " both Sides, enjoy the ſame Privileges and Immunities, as to " all Duties, Impoſitions and Cuſtoms, as the Subjects of " France, or any foreign Nation, the moſt favour'd, might poſ- " ſeſs or enjoy.

" By the tenth, the Catholick King yielded for ever, to the " Crown of Great Britain, the Town and Caſtle of Gibraltar; " as he did, in like Manner,

" By the eleventh, the whole Iſland of Minorca, and the " Town, Harbour, and Fortifications of Port-Mahon: But it " was provided, that no Refuge or Shelter ſhould be open to " any Ships of War of the Moors, in Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, " or in any other Port of the Iſland of Minorca, whereby the " Spaniſh Coaſt might be infeſted by their Excurſions. And the " Moors, and their Ships, ſhould only be allow'd to enter the " Port of Gibraltar, and Iſland aforeſaid, on account of Traf- " fick, according to the Agreement of Treaties. The Queen " of Great Britain promiſed alſo, on her Part, that if, at any " time, it ſhould happen, that the Town of Gibraltar, and the " Iſland of Minorca, and the Ports, Towns, and Places therein " ſituated, be by any Means, hereafter alienated from the " Crown of her Kingdoms, the Preference ſhould be given to " the Crown of Spain, before any other Nation whatever, of " redeeming the Poſſeſſion and Propriety of the ſaid Town and " Iſland. Her Royal Majeſty of Great Britain, moreover, en- " gaged, that ſhe would take Care, that all the Inhabitants of " the ſaid Town and Iſland, both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, " ſhould ſafely and peaceably enjoy all their Eſtates and Ho- " nours, and that the free Uſe of the Roman Catholick Reli- " gion ſhould be permitted: And Meaſures ſhould be taken for " preſerving of the ſaid Religion in that Iſland, *provided the* " *ſame be conſiſtent with the Civil Government and Laws of* " *Great Britain.* Thoſe, likewiſe, who were now in the Ser-

" vice

" vice of his Catholick Majeſty, ſhould enjoy their Honours 1714.
" and Eſtates, tho' they continued in the ſame Service: And
" it ſhould be lawful for any Perſon, who was deſirous to leave
" the ſaid Iſland, to ſell his Eſtate, and paſs freely, with the
" Value thereof, into Spain.

" By the twelfth Article, the Catholick King granted to her
" Britannick Majeſty, and to the Company of her Subjects, ex-
" cluſive of all others, the Contract for introducing Negroes
" into ſeveral Parts of the Dominions of his Catholick Majeſty,
" in America, commonly call'd, *El Pacto del Aſſiento de Negroes*,
" for the Space of thirty Years ſucceſſively, beginning from the
" firſt of May 1713, with the ſame Conditions on which the
" French enjoy'd it: Together with a Tract or Tracts of Land,
" to be allotted by the ſaid Catholick King, and to be granted
" to the Company, commonly called *La Compania del Aſſiento*,
" in ſome convenient Place on the River Plata (no Duty or
" Revenues being payable, by the ſaid Company on that Ac-
" count, during the time of the above-mentioned Contract, and
" no longer;) and this Settlement of the ſaid Society, or thoſe
" Tracts of Land, ſhould be proper and ſufficient for planting,
" and ſowing, and for feeding Cattle for the Subſiſtence of thoſe
" who are in the Service of the ſaid Company, and of their
" Negroes, and that the ſaid Negroes may be there kept in
" Safety, till they are ſold: And, moreover, that the Ships be-
" longing to the ſaid Company may come cloſe to Land, and be
" ſecure from any Danger. With ſeveral other extraordinary
" Advantages, more amply explain'd in the Contract of the
" Aſſiento, concluded at Madrid, the 26th of March, 1713.

" The thirteenth Article imported, that whereas the Queen
" of Great Britain had continually preſſed, and inſiſted with the
" greateſt Earneſtneſs, that all the Inhabitants of the Principali-
" ty of Catalonia, ſhould not only obtain a full and perpetual
" Oblivion of all that was done in the late War, and enjoy the
" entire Poſſeſſion of all their Eſtates and Honours, but ſhould
" alſo have their antient Privileges preſerved ſafe and untouch'd;
" the Catholick King, in Compliance with the ſaid Queen,
" granted and confirmed to all the Inhabitants of Catalonia,
" whatſoever, not only the Amneſty deſired, together with the
" full Poſſeſſion of all their Eſtates and Honours, but alſo gave
" and granted, to them, all the Privileges, which the Inhabi-
" tants of both Caſtiles, who, of all the Spaniards are the moſt
" dear to the Catholick King, have and enjoy.

" By the fourteenth, the Catholick King, at the Requeſt of
" the Queen of Great Britain, yielded the Kingdom of Sicily
" to his Royal Highneſs, Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy;
" under certain Reſtrictions.

1714. "By the fifteenth Article, Their Royal Majesties, on both "Parts, renew'd and confirm'd all the Treaties of Peace, Friend-"ship, Confederation and Commerce, made heretofore, and "concluded, between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain, "in as full and ample a Manner, as if they were now particu-"larly inserted, in this Treaty.

"By several other subsequent Articles, diverse Kings, Princes "and States were included in this Treaty.

"This Treaty also contain'd two separate Articles, one to "prevent any farther Dismemberment of the Monarchy of "Spain, and the other concerning a Pretension of the Princess "Ursini, on the Duchy of Limburg.

"As for the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between "the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain, it was, in the main, "but a Renewal and Explanation of the Treaty of Peace, "Commerce and Alliance, concluded at Madrid, between the "two Crowns, the 13——23 of May 1667, which was hereby "ratified and confirmed, and inserted, Word for Word, in the "first Article.

"By a separate Article, The Catholick King consented, that "it should, at all Times hereafter, be lawful for the British "Subjects, who should live in the Canary-Islands, for the Sake "of their Trade, to nominate some one Person, being a Subject "of Spain, who should execute the Office of Judge Conservator "there, and should, at the first Instance, take Cognizance of "all Causes, relating to the Commerce of the British Subjects: "And his Royal Majesty promised, that he would grant Com-"missions, to such Judge-Conservator, with the same Authority, "and all the Privileges, which the Judges-Conservators had for-"merly enjoyed in Andalusia."

The Advantages of these Treaties owing to the D. of Marlboro'.

As those Articles of these Treaties of Peace, and Commerce, with France and Spain, which were really advantageous to the Nation, tho' they came far short of what the Publick had Reason to hope from the repeated Successes of the great Duke of Marlborough, against the common Enemy, and the wretched State to which he had thereby reduc'd the haughty Monarch of France; yet, such as they were, may justly be said to be the Consequences of his indefatigable Labour, for the publick Good, and the Effects of his Courage and Conduct, I have thought fit to give this Abstract of them, that they might remain upon Record, in the History of his Life, as so many Monuments of his Glory, rais'd upon a Noble Basis, tho' the Height to which they ought to have been carried was cut short, by the implacable Malice of his Enemies.

I might now proceed to shew what Objections have been laid against these Treaties, and, on the contrary, what had been said in the Defense of them; but as that has been so amply done by several

ſeveral Hiſtorians, who have gone before me, and they are not ſo immediately to my Purpoſe, I ſhall, inſtead thereof, only obſerve, that notwithſtanding they had the Sanction of being approv'd by both Houſes of Parliament, in an Addreſs to the Queen, an almoſt general Diſguſt and Murmuring againſt them appear'd throughout the whole Nation: The Miniſterial Party call'd, indeed, that Addreſs, the United Voice of the People: But to be convinced how far it was, or was not ſo, we need but compare it, with what the Lords ſaid, in their firſt Addreſs to his late Majeſty King George I, viz. *It is by no Means, to be imputed to the Nation in general.* And what the Commons ſaid of theſe Treaties of Peace and Commerce, in leſs than a Year after: *We are ſenſibly touch'd* (ſay they) *not only with the Diſappointment, but with the Reproach brought upon the Nation, by the unjuſtifiable Concluſion of a War, which was carried on at ſo vaſt an Expence, and was attended with ſuch unparallel'd Succeſſes: But as that Diſhonour cannot, in Juſtice, be imputed to the whole Nation, ſo we firmly hope and believe, that thro' your Majeſty's great Wiſdom, and the faithful Endeavours of your Commons, the Reputation of theſe your Kingdoms will, in due time, be vindicated and reſtor'd.* 1714.

The twenty ninth of June, Baron Bothmar, Envoy Extraordinary of the Elector of Hannover, arrived at London, and having a private Audience of her Majeſty, notified the Death of the Princeſs Sophia; who being walking in the Gardens of Herrenhauſen, near Hannover, the eighth of June, being the late King's Birth-Day, in the Evening, was taken with an Apoplectick Fit, and died in the Arms of the Electoral Princeſs (our late moſt gracious Queen Caroline) and the Counteſs of Pickenburg, before any one could come to her Aſſiſtance. Death of the Princeſs Sophia.

This excellent Princeſs, whom I have frequently had the Honour of ſeeing, with great Satisfaction, and who was, to the very Day of her Death, I think, the fineſt Woman I ever ſaw of her Age, was the fourth and youngeſt Daughter of Frederick, the unfortunate King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, his Queen, only Daughter of King James I. She was born at the Hague, the 3d of October 1630, and conſequently liv'd to the Age of Eighty-four.

The ninth of July, the Queen prorogued the Parliament, and, on that Occaſion, made her laſt Speech to both Houſes; which ſhe concluded with the following remarkable Words:

" My chief Concern is, to preſerve to you, and to your Po- " ſterity, our Holy Religion, and the Liberty of my Subjects, " and to ſecure the preſent and future Tranquillity of my " Kingdoms: But I muſt tell you plainly, that theſe deſirable " Ends can never be attain'd, unleſs you bring the ſame Diſ- The Q.'s laſt Speech to the Parliament.

" poſitions

1714. "positions on your Parts; unleſs all groundleſs Jealouſies, "which create and foment Diviſions amongſt you, be laid a-"ſide; and unleſs you ſhew the ſame Regard for my juſt Pre-"rogative, and for the Honour of my Government, as I have "always expreſs'd for the Rights of my People.

The Evacuation of Catalonia.

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Ill Succeſs of the Imperialiſts.

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Siege of Landau.

The beginning of June, he inveſted Landau, and, in the Night between the twenty-fifth of the ſame Month, the Trenches were open'd. Prince Eugene remain'd, in the mean time, unactive in his Camp, which was extended along the Rhine, from Phillipſburg to Mentz, without being able to give the French any Diſturbance: And tho' the Garriſon made a noble Defence, yet having no Expectations of Relief, they were compell'd to ſurrender, on the twentieth of Auguſt, Priſoners of War.

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1714. was well-affected to the Hannover-Succeſſion, and look'd for their Security and Happineſs in that alone. It was believed, that the two principal Perſons at the Helm were themſelves convinced of this Truth, and, as they look'd upon the Queen's Life as very precarious, tho' they were at Variance with one another, were both, for their own Preſervation, thoughtful, how they might be reconcil'd to the Party they had till then oppos'd. With this View, tho' they did not act in Concert, it is ſaid, they ſeparately made their Application to the Duke, and by Turns invited him over: But it will be neceſſary to deſcend to ſome Particulars.

Soon after Riſing of the Parliament, the Jars, which had, for ſome time, been daily encreaſing, among the Miniſters, broke out into an open Rupture. The Treaſurer had ever kept to himſelf the main Secret, and principal Direction of Domeſtick Affairs, and the Diſpoſal of moſt Places of Profit; and by the Credit and Intereſt of his High Poſt, and by Favour of the Queen, had procured illuſtrious Alliances for his Children, and advanc'd all his Relations. The Weight and Fatigue of the Foreign Affairs, lay, in the mean time, on the Secretary, who, as he was leſs circumſpect in the Proſecution of bold Meaſures, than the Treaſurer, had, therefore, the largeſt Share of the Publick Odium, without any Advantage but the Profits of his Office, moſt of which he laviſh'd away in riotous Pleaſures.

In the mean time, as he was a Man of excellent Parts, and great Penetration, he could not but be ſenſible of his own Merit, and impatient of Dependence and unequal Uſage. This occaſioned frequent warm Expoſtulations with the Prime Miniſter; who, believing himſelf ſecure, in the Queen's Favour, and depending upon his great Intereſt in Parliament, had no great Regard to his Complaints, which encreas'd the Rage of the fiery Secretary. Their private Diſputes would often have broken out into open Quarrels, had not the Commands of the indulgent Queen, aſſiſted by the Lord Chancellour, and the Lady Maſham, kept them within Bounds, to which, doubtleſs, the Neceſſity they found themſelves under, of providing for their common Safety, and quieting the Clamours of the Nation, gave an additional Weight. But no ſooner had the Parliament given a Sanction to the Peace, by their ſolemn Approbation, and all Danger was removed on that Side, than their irreconcileable Rivalſhip and Enmity appear'd bare-faced to the whole World: And it was viſible, that the one could brook no Equal, nor the other bear to be any longer Second.

Before Matters came to this Length, the Treaſurer, whether finding his Intereſt decline at Court, or deſpairing of the Queen's Life, and apprehending the Conſequence of ſome late Steps, began to think of a timely Retreat, and, in order thereunto,

unto, endeavour'd a Reconciliation with the contrary Party, and Particularly to gain the Friendſhip of the Lord Cowper, who had a great Influence over them. He, likewiſe, hop'd to be ſtrongly ſupported by the Duke of Shrewſbury, who, by his Candour, Virtue, and great Prudence, had maintain'd himſelf in the Eſteem, both of the Queen and of the Publick; and whoſe late Behaviour, in Ireland, had very much endeared him to the Well-affected to the Hannover Succeſſion: But his Grace juſtly reſenting the Neglect of the Miniſtry, while he was at Dublin, gave himſelf little Concern about them, when he return'd to London, and rather inflam'd than moderated their Differences, by complaining to the Queen of ſome Orders that had been ſent him, which he thought inconſiſtent with the Service of her Majeſty and the Nation. 1714.

Notwithſtanding theſe Diſappointments, the ſanguine Treaſurer form'd the Deſign of diſplacing his Competitor, as the ſureſt Means to approve his Affection to the Proteſtant Succeſſor: But while he was ſetting ſeveral Engines to work, to obtain this End, he found that he began to loſe Ground at Court, conſiderably: And it was ſoon after viſible, that the Secretary, what by his ſuperior Intereſt with the Lady Maſham, what by the Aſſiſtance of the Lord Chancellour, and what by his humoring the Queen in every Thing, and boldly purſuing all Meaſures, got entirely the better of his Rival, in her Majeſty's Favour and Confidence.

The Earl of Oxford diſgrac'd.

While the Court was in this Ferment, and an approaching Change in the Miniſtry ſeem'd beyond all Doubt, on the 17th of July, the Lord Chancellour took Leave of the Court, to go down to his Country Seat, for ſome Refreſhment, deſigning, from thence to have attended the Queen at Windſor, where ſhe propos'd to be the 27th. But, in the mean time, ſome Incident, not yet certainly known, happen'd which retarded her Majeſty's Departure from Kenſington, and haſten'd the Treaſurer's Diſgrace. Conjectures, what this Incident may have been, were various. Some pretended, that the Lord Bolingbroke had got Intelligence, and inform'd the Queen, of the Earl of Oxford's inviting the Duke of Marlborough to come over, (and it was probably with this Intent, that his Grace came to Oſtend the 18th of July) and of his holding private Conferences with ſeveral Lords of the oppoſite Party. Others would have it that he was ſuſpected of diſcovering the Queen's Counſels to the Court of Hannover, and even of putting them upon demanding a Writ for the Duke of Cambridge. Others, again, ſaid, that he was both againſt the Scheme of new-modelling the Army, and the Project of a new offenſive League, between the Crowns of Great Britain, France, Spain, Sweden, and Sicily: And yet others, that the Queen was greatly offended, at his preſuming

1714. ſuming to ſend Orders to Ireland, without conſulting either her or the Council.

Circumſtances attending his Diſgrace.

Whether any, or all of theſe, were concurrent Cauſes of the Earl's Diſgrace, I leave undetermin'd: But this is certain, that the Duke of Shrewſbury inſiſted on his Removal, which, it was likewiſe ſaid, the Duke of Marlborough had made a previous Condition of his Return to England; as having been the prime Cauſe of his and his Family's Diſgrace. Tho' otherwiſe, he had a better Pretence to a Reconciliation than Bolingbroke, as having obtain'd the Permiſſion the Duke had to go abroad. Be this as it will, the 20th of July, the Lord Chancellour was ſent for to Court, in all Haſte, and, the next Day, was in cloſe Conference with the Queen, and the Lord Bolingbroke, after which, it was every where reported, that the Treaſurer would ſpeedily be remov'd: And contrary to his own Expectation, as well as that of every Body elſe, when he came to Court, the ſeven and twentieth of July, the Staff was taken from him, rather with mortifying, than agreeable Circumſtances; when a conſiderable Penſion, or at leaſt a Feather in his Cap, was the leaſt that was expected for him.

It has been reported, that very bitter Reproaches paſs'd between the falling Miniſter, on one Side, and the Lord Chancellour, with the Lady Maſham, on the other, even in the Queen's Hearing. The Lord Treaſurer, looking upon theſe two as acceſſary to his Diſgrace, told them, *That he had been wrong'd and abus'd, by Lies and Miſrepreſentations: But that he ſhould be reveng'd, and leave ſome People as low as he found them.*

Theſe diſagreeable Expoſtulations could not but ſhock, and perplex the ſickly Queen, and give her uneaſy Suſpicions of her having been abuſed and deluded by thoſe ſhe moſt confided in. Some pretend, that in this Perplexity and Hurry of Thought, which open'd her Majeſty's Eyes, ſhe was diſpos'd to reſign herſelf wholly to the Conduct of the Duke of Shrewſbury: But it is more than probable, the Lord Bolingbroke had got ſuch an Aſcendant over her, that he was moſt like to ſucceed the Earl of Oxford in the principal Management of Affairs.

Farther Circumſtances of the Duke's Return

The very Day the Treaſurer was remov'd, it was obſerv'd, as ſomething remarkable, that the Lord Bolingbroke entertain'd at Dinner, the Generals Stanhope, Cadogan and Palmes; Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Craggs, and ſome other Gentlemen: Which meeting of Perſons of ſo different Principles, as it could not be the Effect of Chance, occaſion'd various Reaſonings. The moſt probable Conjecture was, that the Lord Bolingbroke, conſidering the Queen's Life was ſo precarious, and foreſeeing a Storm he could not be able to weather, reſolv'd to ſtrike in with the contrary Party, and to invite over the Duke of Marlborough, in which he had Reaſon to expect better Succeſs than his

his late Rival, with whom, it was ſaid, the Duke had vow'd not to be reconcil'd. Some other Circumſtances were, at that time, mention'd, to corrobate theſe Suggeſtions: But tho' it is certain, that the Duke of Marlborough, after having been detain'd, about a Fortnight, by contrary Winds, at Oſtend, without which he might have been in England before the Treaſurer loſt his Staff, did, at this Juncture, embark, at Oſtend, for England, yet the true Motive and Grounds of his coming over, at this critical Moment, was never poſitively known: Tho' it was aſſur'd, that he was invited by both theſe Rivals in Power, and that both promiſed him, great Deference would be had to his Counſels, they having both an ardent Zeal for his Intereſt: Nay, it was reported, the Compliment went ſo far, that Orders were ſent to the Commanders of the Caſtles and Forts, on the Coaſts of Kent, Eſſex, and Suffolk, to pay the ſame Honour, by firing of Guns, wherever his Grace landed, as was done when he return'd triumphant from his glorious Campaigns, in the laſt War with France: But, on ſome Account or other, this Ceremony was ſoon after countermanded by an Expreſs. Some imagin'd it was by Procurement of Bolingbroke, upon Intelligence, that his Rival was before-hand with him, and had ſucceeded better in the Application to his Grace. Others thought, they had both Apprehenſions, that he came not to ſerve either of their Turns, but with a juſt Reſentment of the Indignities that had been offer'd him: And that ſuch a Parade of Flattery would rather have expos'd them to the Contempt of the People, than be acceptable to his Grace, who wanted not the Roar of their Cannon, to add to his Glory, or proclaim his Welcome to his Native Country, which had been ſo long unjuſtly depriv'd of him. 1714.

The Removal of the Treaſurer was ſo ſudden, and occaſion'd ſo much Confuſion, that there was great Difficulty to determine how to ſupply his Place, or to fill up ſuch other Vacancies, as naturally attended his Diſgrace. The 29th of July, the Cabinet Council was to have ſat on this Affair: But their Meeting was put off to the next Day, on account of the Queen's Illneſs, which probably, if not occaſion'd, was at leaſt encreas'd, by theſe Uneaſineſſes: And ſhe is ſaid to have intimated to one of her Phyſicians, *That ſhe ſhould not outlive it.*

The Diſpute, to which her Majeſty was an Ear-Witneſs, and the Conſultation that was held, thereupon, and laſted till near two in the Morning, certainly occaſion'd ſo violent an Agitation in the Queen's Spirits, as could not but add to her Indiſpoſition: Which encreas'd ſo much upon her, that the next Morning, ſhe was believ'd to be in great Danger.

The

1714. The Dukes of Somerſet and Argile, having Advice of the deſperate Condition of the Queen's Life, their Graces repair'd with Speed, to Kenſington, and, without being ſummon'd, went into the Council-Chamber, where, the Lord-Chancellour, the Dukes of Shrewſbury and Ormond, the three Secretaries of State, the Biſhop of London, and ſome others, were aſſembled in a Committee. The Duke of Shrewſbury return'd their Graces Thanks, for their Readineſs to give the Council their Aſſiſtance, on ſo critical an Occaſion. One of the Council then repreſented, how neceſſary it was, in Caſe of the Queen's Demiſe, that the Place of Lord Treaſurer ſhould be filled: The whole Board aſſenting to this, the Duke of Shrewſbury was propoſed, and unanimouſly approv'd of, as the moſt proper Perſon for ſo high a Truſt: And the Phyſicians having aſſured the Council, that the Queen was then ſenſible, and might be ſpoken to, the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of Shrewſbury, and ſome others, were appointed to attend her Majeſty, and acquaint her with the unanimous Opinion of the Council: Upon which her Majeſty ſaid; *They could not recommend a Perſon ſhe liked better, than the Duke of Shrewſbury*; and giving him the Treaſurer's Staff, bid him *uſe it for the Good of the People.* The Duke would, thereupon, have return'd her Majeſty the Lord Chamberlain's Staff, but it was her deſire he ſhould keep both: So that his Grace was, at the ſame time, poſſeſs'd of three of the higheſt Places of Truſt, Honour and Profit, in the whole Kingdom, being Lord Treaſurer, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Q.'s laſt Sickneſs.

The Duke of Shrewſbury made Lord Treaſurer.

The Duke of Shrewſbury's Advancement made an immediate and great Change in the Face of Affairs, daſh'd the tow'ring Ambition of the Lord Bolingbroke, and, at the ſame time it baffled whatever undigeſted Schemes he may have had, to the Prejudice of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and gave new Life and Vigour to all who were well affected to the illuſtrious Houſe of Hannover. The coming of the Dukes of Sommerſet and Argile ſo opportunely into the Council, had a farther good Effect: For, upon their Motion, it was reſolved, that all Privy Counſellours, who where then in and about London, without Diſtinction, ſhould attend, which the Lord Sommers, and ſome other ſtaunch Friends of the Houſe of Hannover, did the ſame Day.

Great Prudence of ſome Privy Counſellours.

About three, in the Afternoon, the Queen relapſed into a Kind of Lethargick or Apoplectick Fit, and ſoon after, the Phyſicians acquainted the Council, that her Majeſty's Life was in extream Danger. The Council, hereupon, provided, with wonderful Prudence and Diſpatch, for the Security of the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, of the Maritime Towns, and of Scotland and Ireland. Orders were immediately diſpatch'd to four Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons, which were quarter'd

in

in remote Counties, to march up to the Villages near London, to keep the Jacobites and Diſaffected in Awe, and to ſeven of the ten Battalions of Britiſh Forces, that were then in Flanders, to embark at Oſtend, and ſail for England, with all imaginable Expedition. The Lords of the Admiralty, in the mean time, laid an Embargo on all Shipping, and gave Orders for fitting out ſuch Men of War as could be ſooneſt got ready: So that, by theſe excellent Orders, the Publick Tranquillity remain'd undiſturbed, and no Sign of Conſternation appear'd, unleſs in the Faces of thoſe who were avowed Friends of the Pretender, and who, by the Prudence and Foreſight of theſe truly noble Patriots, found themſelves entirely diſappointed in the Hopes, the great approaching Change might otherwiſe have buoy'd them up with. 1714.

The Queen continued all Night, in a kind of a Lethargick Dozing, which encreas'd to ſuch a Degree, about ten the next Morning, that all her Phyſicians deſpair'd of her Life. The Privy Council ſent, hereupon, Orders to the Herald at Arms, and a Troop of the Life Guards, to be ready to mount, in order to proclaim the Elector of Brunſwick, immediately upon the Queen's Demiſe. Their Lordſhips, at the ſame time, cauſed a Letter to be written to his Electoral Highneſs, to acquaint him, "with the extream Danger the Queen's Life was in, with "the Meaſures they had taken to ſecure the Crown to him, "and to deſire his Electoral Highneſs to repair, with all con-"venient Speed, to Holland, where a Britiſh Squadron, which "was fitting out, with all Expedition, would attend him, and "bring him over, in Caſe it pleaſed God to take the Queen to "his Mercy". This Letter was ſent expreſs by James Craggs, Eſq; jun. and by him Orders were diſpatch'd to the Earl of Strafford, to urge the States General to be in a Readineſs, to perform the Guaranty of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, if Need ſhould require.

All this being done, the indefatigable Lords of the Privy Council reſumed the Conſideration of the State of the Sea-Ports, and order'd a ſtrong Re-inforcement to be forthwith ſent down to Portſmouth. At the ſame time, rightly judging, that if the Partiſans of the Pretender made any Diſturbance in Great Britain, it would be in Scotland, their Lordſhips order'd Major-General Whetham thither, to aſſiſt Major-General Wightman, and appointed the brave Earl of Berkley to Command the Fleet.

Character of the Earl of Berkeley.

"Charles, Earl of Berkeley was Lord Durſley, in King "William's Reign, and was ſent, by him, Ambaſſador to the "States of Holland; he was noted for being a Nobleman of "excellent natural Parts, and great Learning; and, upon all "Occaſions, approv'd himſelf a ſtrenuous Aſſertor and Lover "of the Conſtitution of his Country.

1714.

The Death of Queen Ann.

Between twelve and one, the Queen gave ſome Signs of Life, and took ſome Spoons-full of Broth; and then continued in a dozing heavy Condition, till about ſix in the Evening. Her Pulſe then beat ſomewhat higher, which gave ſome Hopes; but it proved but a Lightning before Death: For the Remedies the Phyſicians applied, and particularly the Bliſters, not having the wiſh'd for Effect, her Majeſty expir'd, the next Morning, being the firſt of Auguſt, a little after ſeven o'Clock, in the fiftieth Year of her Age, and thirteenth of her Reign.

Thus died this great and excellent Princeſs, ANN STUART, Queen of Great Britain, who poſſeſs'd as many Virtues as ever adorn'd a Private Life, and who, in her Publick Capacity, tho', as I have ſaid elſewhere, on a like Occaſion, ſhe may have been miſled into ſome Prejudices and Miſtakes, in the latter Part of her Reign, may reaſonably be ſuppos'd to have had an upright Intention, for the Good and Happineſs of her People, and, therefore, may juſtly be pronounc'd to have been a Great and Excellent Princeſs.

I had ſome Thoughts to have added to this ſecond Edition, ſome farther Particulars as to the Perſon and Character of this Excellent Princeſs; but as I have already exceeded the Bounds I propos'd to myſelf, when I begun to prepare it for the Preſs; and beſides conſider'd, that I have not been writing a General Hiſtory, in which it might be expected, I ſhall only add, to ſum up her Character in a few Words; that "ſhe was an "affectionate Wife; a fond and tender Mother; an eaſy and "indulgent Miſtreſs, and a moſt gracious Sovereign. She re"tain'd, to the laſt, the Principles of true Religion, which "ſhe had early imbibed, being always devout without Affecta"tion, and charitable without Oſtentation; and we may ſay of "her, what cannot be ſaid of many of her Predeceſſors, ſhe "was admir'd and ador'd by both Parties, not only when, in "their Turns, ſhe favour'd their Wiſhes; but even when they "moſt blamed her Conduct.

BOOK

BOOK VIII.

TRANSACTIONS during the Reign of King GEORGE I. to the Death of JOHN, Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

UPON the Death of Queen Ann, the firſt of Auguſt, in the Morning, the Lords, and others of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council immediately aſſembled, at the Palace of St. James's: And the ſame Afternoon, both Houſes of Parliament met, purſuant to an Act for that Purpoſe, at Weſtminſter; where, the three following Days, the Members of both Houſes qualified themſelves according to Law. 1714. The Privy Council aſſembles.

By an Act of the fourth and fifth of Queen Ann, the Adminiſtration of the Government, during the King's Abſence, devolved on, The Lords Regents appointed by Act of Parliament.

Thomas Tenniſon, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury.
Simon Harcourt, Lord Harcourt, Lord Chancellour.
John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Preſident.
Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewſbury, Lord High Treaſurer.
William Legg, Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Privy Seal.
Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.
Sir Thomas Parker, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench.

1714. The ſame Act having empowered the next Succeſſour to nominate as many Perſons as he ſhould think fit, to be added to the aforeſaid ſeven Lord-Juſtices, or Regents, the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellour, and Monſ. Kreyenberg, Reſident of Brunſwick, in whoſe Hands the three Inſtruments under the Hand and Seal of the Elector of Brunſwick were lodg'd, purſuant to the Directions of the ſaid Act, produced the ſaid Inſtruments before the Council, and it appeared, that the Liſt of the Perſons appointed by his Electoral Highneſs, written in his own Hand, was as follows: The Lord Archbiſhop of York; the Dukes of Shrewſbury, Sommerſet, Bolton, Devonſhire, Kent, Argile, Montroſs and Roxborough; the Earls of Pembroke, Angleſea, Carliſle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford; the Lord Viſcount Townſhend, and the Lords Halifax and Cowper.

K. Geor. I. proclaimed. After the Opening of theſe Inſtruments, the Lords of the Council cauſed a Proclamation to be iſſued: And, purſuant thereunto, the Heralds at Arms proclaimed his Majeſty, King George I. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* with the uſual Solemnity, the ſame Day, before the Gate of the Royal Palace, at St. James's, at Charing-Croſs, at Temple Bar, in Cheapſide, and at the Royal Exchange.

The Earl of Northampton, Conſtable of the Tower, proclaim'd his Majeſty, King George, in the uſual Places of the Hamlets; and his Majeſty was afterwards proclaim'd throughout all England, as well as Scotland, and Ireland, with the ſame Affection, Unanimity, and Demonſtrations of Joy, as appeared in London; and no Manner of Diſturbance happen'd on that Occaſion any where.

The Earl of Dorſet ſent to Hannover The ſecond of Auguſt, the Earl of Dorſet, having been appointed, by the Lords-Juſtices, to carry the King News of his Inauguration, and to attend his Majeſty to England, departed to that End for Hannover.

Character of the Earl of Dorſet. " In the Reign of King Charles II. Charles, Earl of Dorſet " and Middleſex, was reckon'd one of the fineſt Gentlemen of " England. A Nobleman of great Wit and Learning, and " Author of ſome of the fineſt Poems in the Engliſh Language: " But tho' he bore the Character of the Mecænas and Prince " of the Engliſh Poets, his Talent lay chiefly in Satire; which " gave Lord Rocheſter the Occaſion to entitle him, *The beſt good* " *Man, with the worſt-natur'd Muſe.* During the Reign of " King James he appeared ſeldom at Court: But, after the " Revolution, King William gave him the Garter, call'd him " frequently to Court, made him Lord Chamberlain, and, in " his Abſence, appointed him one of the Lords-Juſtices. He " retired from Buſineſs, ſome time before that King's Death,

" nor

" nor did he frequent the Court at the Acceſſion of Queen Ann: 1714.
" But tho' not a little troubled with the Spleen, he ſtill kept
" up, in Company he lik'd, the Character of the pleaſanteſt
" Companion in the World.

I gave an Account, towards the Concluſion of the foregoing Book, of the Duke of Marlborough's intended Return to England, and of the Cauſes which were ſuppoſed to have moved him to this Reſolution. After a ſtormy Paſſage, his Grace with the Ducheſs, landed at Dover, the firſt of Auguſt, a Day which will be memorable to all future Ages, both for King George's auſpicious Aſcenſion to the Britiſh Throne, and his Grace's Return to his Native Country. As his Grace could know nothing of the Queen's Death, ſo the Cenſures, which were paſs'd upon his Conduct, by the Enemies to him and the Nation, were equally falſe and abſurd; and are more than ſufficiently anſwer'd by what I have ſaid above. He was received by the Mayor and Jurats of the Town, who then, likewiſe, knew nothing of the Queen's Death, in their Formalities, with the univerſal Acclamation of all People, with a Diſcharge of a great Number of Guns from the Platform, but none from the Caſtle, which never ſalutes any but the Sovereign. His Grace lay that Night at Sir Robert Furneſe's Houſe; the third, he proceeded to Sittingburn, accompanied by a great many Gentlemen; and, on Wedneſday, the fourth, at the Deſire of ſeveral Noblemen and eminent Citizens, his Grace conſented to make a kind of publick Entry, tho' in Reality, it was, in a manner, forc'd upon him; for Sir Charles Cox, Member of Parliament, for Southwark, with about two hundred ſubſtantial Inhabitants, were prepar'd to meet his Grace, on Horſeback, and reſolved to attend him thro' their Borough. He was, likewiſe, attended, as he paſs'd through the City, to his Houſe at St. James's, by above two hundred Gentlemen and others on Horſeback, and by his noble Relations, and others of the Nobility and Gentry, in their Coaches, many of them with ſix Horſes; the whole making a gallant Appearance, tho' without any great Formality. A Company of Voluntier City-Grenadiers march'd before his Grace's Coach, and having brought him to his Houſe ſaluted him with a Volly. The People every where crowded to ſee his Grace, and made loud and joyful Acclamations, of *Long live King* George, *long live the Duke of* Marlborough, *&c.* His Grace's Enemies and Enviers, notwithſtanding the Confuſion they were in, had yet the Confidence to cenſure his making ſuch a magnificent Entry, while his Royal Miſtreſs was hardly cold; but without reflecting on the Memory of that Princeſs, for ſuffering herſelf to be ſo far deluded, as to give up the beſt of her Subjects, who had gathered all the Laurels that adorn'd her Diadem, to the Malice of his ungenerous Enemies; Sure, ſuch a

The D. of Marlboro' lands at Dover.

His publick Entry thro' London.

The Duke cenſured for it.

1714. diminutive Triumph, was but a ſmall Recompence for the great Trophies he had formerly brought home; and the leaſt Attonement England could make, for her former Ingratitude, to the greateſt Heroes ſhe ever bore. Beſides, it was neceſſary to lay hold on the Duke of Marlborough's Arrival, as a proper Occaſion, for the People to ſhew their Zeal and Affection for King George, which ſtill redoubled the Fears and Alarms of the Pretender's Friends, to ſuch a Degree, that vaſt Numbers of them, who had lately come over from France, returned daily thither.

But juſtified.

The Pretender's Friends go back to France.

His Grace was complimented, the Morning after his Arrival, by moſt of the Foreign Miniſters, and by great Numbers of the Nobility, Gentry and Officers of the Army: And having been that Day, at St. James's, (where he was ſworn of the Privy Council, by the Lords-Juſtices,) as he went thro' the Park to the Houſe of Peers, his Sedan was followed by Crouds of Soldiers, and other People, with loud Huzzas; After which, his Grace retired, for ſome time, to the Bath.

The Lords of the Regency applied themſelves, in the mean time, with equal Diligence, Care and Succeſs, in the Diſcharge of their important Truſt. They choſe Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq; a Gentleman, who had gained an immortal Honour, by ſeveral excellent Works, both in Verſe and Proſe, to be their Secretary. The fifth, their Lordſhips went to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent a Meſſenger to the Commons, by the Uſher of the Black Rod, requiring their Attendance; who going up accordingly to the Houſe of Lords, the Lord Chancellour, in the Name of all the Lords-Juſtices, made a Speech to both Houſes, in which, after having ſpoken of the late Queen's Demiſe, "He gave "them a brief Account of what their Lordſhips had done, in "Execution of their High Office, and recommended to them, "to make Proviſion to ſupport the Honour of the Crown, and "the eſtabliſhing and advancing Engliſh Credit."

Mr. Addiſon, Secretary to the Lords-Juſtices.

Their Lordſhips Speech to the Parliament.

The Commons being returned to their Houſe, both Houſes voted humble Addreſſes to his Majeſty, to condole with him upon that Occaſion of the Queen's Death, and to congratulate his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne: Which Addreſſes being tranſmitted to the King, to Hannover, his Majeſty was pleaſed to return moſt gracious Anſwers to both. The ſame Day, the Lords-Juſtices publiſh'd a Proclamation, purſuant to an Act of Parliament for that Purpoſe, for all Perſons to continue in the Execution of their reſpective Offices. They, likewiſe, took into Conſideration the Complaint of the Merchants, whoſe Ships had been made Prizes by the Swedes.

Both Houſes addreſs the King.

The thirteenth, Mr. Craggs return'd from Hannover, and brought Letters from the King to the Lords-Juſtices, who, thereupon went, the ſame Day, to the Houſe of Lords; and the Lord Chancel-

The King writes to the Lords-Juſtices.

Chancellour, in a Speech to both Houſes, acquainted them with the Contents of the King's Letter, and eſpecially, that *His Majeſty expreſs'd great Satisfaction of the Loyalty and Affection, which his People had univerſally ſhewn upon his Majeſty's Acceſſion:* Which occaſioned new Addreſſes from both Houſes. 1714.

The ſeventeenth, the Earl of Berkley, Commander in Chief of the Squadron of Men of War and Yachts appointed to convoy over the King, and Prince Royal, arrived on the Coaſt of Holland, where he was afterwards join'd, by eight Ships of the States-General, commanded by Rear Admiral Coperen. The Earl of Berkley, with the Fleet, arrives in Holland.

The twenty-eighth, Mr. Murray arriv'd expreſs from Hannover, with ſeveral Orders for the Lords-Juſtices, and Council, particularly for preparing a Patent to create the Prince Royal, Prince of Wales, and to remove the Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, from his Office of Secretary of State, which was done, the thirty-firſt, with evident Marks of Diſpleaſure; Three of the Lords-Juſtices taking away the Seals from him, and ſealing up all the Doors of his Office. Lord Bolingbroke turn'd out.

The ſame Day, the King ſet out from Herrenhauſen, accompanied by the Prince Royal, on his Way for England; he arrived at the Hague, the fifth of September, where he was receiv'd with all imaginable Marks of Reſpect, and complimented on his Acceſſion to the Throne of Great Britain, by a large Deputation from the States-General, conſiſting of a Member of each Province. His Majeſty ſtaid in Holland, till the ſixteenth, when he embarked at Orange-Pokder; and landed, two Days after, at Greenwich, to the inexpreſſible Joy of every Well-wiſher to the Happineſs of his Country. The King departs from Hannover;

It was about ſix in the Evening, when the King landed, after having been ſaluted, by all the Guns of every Ship they paſs'd by, and welcomed by the loud Acclamations of vaſt Multitudes of People, who every where crouded the Banks of the River. The Duke of Northumberland, Captain of the Life-guards, and the Lord Chancellour, at the Head of the Lords-Juſtices, received his Majeſty at his Landing, and complimented him on his ſafe Arrival. There was a vaſt and ſplendid Appearance, the ſame Evening, of the Nobility and Gentry, at the Royal Houſe in the Park: But, among this Throng of bright Conſtellations, none ſhone forth with greater Splendour, upon this happy Occaſion, than his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, his late Suffering having added a new Luſtre to that he was always wont to appear in, when he return'd triumphant from his victorious Campaigns; nor was there any to whom the King ſhewed more diſtinguiſhing Marks of the Royal Favour and Eſteem. His Majeſty, who was an incomparable Judge of true Merit, and who, on his firſt Appearance in his new Dominions, ſhew'd, that he knew how to diſtinguiſh between thoſe, that, in the moſt critical And arrives in England. A great Appearance of Nobility at Greenwich. His Majeſty ſhews particular Marks of his Favour to the D. of Marlboro'.

1714. of Junctures, had boldly aſſerted the Rights of his Illuſtrious Houſe, and thoſe who had oppos'd, or acted contrary to his true Intereſts, gave the Duke of Marlborough an Opportunity, as it were, of triumphing over his Enemies, in the Eye of the whole Court, by his gracious and favourable Deportment to him; while his Perſecutors were hardly look'd on; or, at beſt, met with a cold Return, to their, perhaps, as faint Offers of their Duty and Loyalty. The Prince, who had been an Eye-Witneſs of ſome of the Duke of Marlborough's memorable and glorious Exploits, and was truly ſenſible, with how ſteady an Affection and Reſolution he had ever eſpous'd the real Good of the Nation, and, in particular, that of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, in the auſpicious Houſe of Hannover, was not wanting, on his Side, to add to his Grace's Triumph. In ſhort, though he was not yet declared, every one look'd upon him, as reinſtated in his Poſt of Captain-General, and a riſing Favourite.

And to ſeveral other Noblemen, &c.

Among others, who received particular Marks of his Majeſty's Royal Favour, were, likewiſe, the Dukes of Shrewſbury, Somerſet, Bolton, Argile, Montroſe, Rutland, and Montague, the Marquis of Dorcheſter, the Earls of Dorſet, Bridgwater, Sunderland, Carliſle, Berkley, Nottingham, Portland, Orford, Wharton and Cholmondeley, the Lord Viſcount Townſhend, the Lords Oſſulſtone, Sommers, Hallifax, and many others.

His publick Entry.

His Majeſty remained the 19th, being Sunday, at Greenwich, and the 20th made his publick Entry, thro' the City, to his Palace of St. James's, with a Pomp and Magnificence, which nothing could exceed, but the Joy of every true Briton, upon this great and ſolemn Occaſion. Never was a more agreeable Spectacle, nor never a greater Number of Spectators. The Roads from Greenwich to the Stones-End, and the Streets from thence to the Palace, were ſo throng'd, that in many Places, the Guards had enough to do to clear a Paſſage. Not only the Balconies and Windows were filled, by People, and particularly Ladies of the beſt Faſhion, but the very Tops of Houſes were cover'd. And here the Eſteem the Publick had for the Duke of Marlborough again viſibly appeared, by the continual Huzzas and Shouts of Acclamations, that conſtantly attended the Coach, in which his Grace was, with General Cadogan, the whole Way from Greenwich to St. James's.

The D. of Marlboro' particularly diſtinguiſhed;

Declared Captain-General, Col. of the firſt Regim. of Foot-Guards, and Maſter of the Ordnance;

The next, and ſome following Days, were almoſt wholly employed in paying and receiving Compliments, Congratulations and Addreſſes: And four Days after the Entry, among other Promotions, his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint his Grace the Duke of Marlborough Captain General of the Land Forces, Colonel of the firſt Regiment of Foot Guards, and Maſter-General of the Ordnance. He was, alſo, ſome time after, nominated one of the Commiſſioners for the Government of Chelſea-

Hoſpital. Beſides the Satisfaction his Grace had, to ſee the Regard due to his own Merit again reſtor'd, he had the Pleaſure to ſee the Royal Favour and Munificence ſhining upon his Friends and Relations, and particularly the Earl of Sunderland advanc'd to the high Poſt of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; as were ſeveral others of them, to other Poſts afterwards. 1714.

The nine and twentieth, his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare his Royal Pleaſure, for diſſolving the Privy-Council, and nominated the Members to compoſe a new one, among whom his Grace the Duke of Marlborough had juſtly his Rank. And Privy-Counſellour.

The thirteenth of October, the Nation, and particularly the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, had a new Cauſe of Joy and Triumph, in the Arrival of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales (our late moſt gracious Queen) and the two eldeſt Princeſſes, who paſſed thro' the City, about four in the Afternoon, in their Way to St. James's, being attended with the loudeſt Acclamations of the People, who flock'd together, to ſee the Princeſs, in whoſe Royal Progeny, the Nation had Reaſon to expect her Happineſs to be eſtabliſhed to a long Futurity. The Princeſs of Wales, and two eldeſt Princeſſes arrive.

The 20th, the Ceremony of his Majeſty's Coronation was perform'd, at Weſtminſter, with the greateſt Splendour and Magnificence, and a Joy as ſincere, general and unaffected, as had ever been known on the like Occaſion; and the Duke of Marlborough walk'd, the fourth time, in the Proceſſion of a Coronation. The Forms and Ceremonies having been the ſame as uſual, I paſs them by, and ſhall only take Notice of the Honour done our brave General, from the Pulpit, in a Paſſage of the Coronation Sermon, preach'd by the Lord Biſhop of Oxford, Father to the preſent Lord Chancellour. This Prelate, having ſpoke of the *Eight glorious Campaigns under the wiſe Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough*, goes on: "But whether it was "to correct us for ſome Sins, whereby we had provoked GOD "to Anger, or to chaſtiſe our Confidence, which, it may be, "we placed too much in the Arm of Fleſh, or to convince us, "that his Providence, which alone began, ſhould alone have "the Glory of finiſhing this great Work, he was pleas'd to ſuf-"fer us to fall into a Condition, from which nothing elſe could "have relieved us: Our Enemy, who had ſet up a Pretender "to this Throne, rais'd from a Condition of aſking Peace, to "a Condition of giving Peace, and Princes too, to Europe: "Our Allies ſome divided from us, others miſerably disjointed, "and we ourſelves not only unguarded, but wretchedly broken "into Parties and Factions at home. The King's Coronation. A Paſſage of the Coronation Sermon.

"The Friends of the Pretender thought theſe Circumſtances "ſo encouraging, that they openly avowed his Title, in Writing "and Diſcourſe, and his Agents as boldly liſted Soldiers, to aſſert "it with the Sword; And he muſt have been very ſanguine, "who,

1714. "who, in this View of Things, could have thought, that the "Pretender, whom our Queen's repeated Inſtances could not "remove from a Situation, which her Parliament thought too "near us, would not upon her Majeſty's Demiſe, have brought "a foreign Army to join his Friends here, before the Proteſtant "Heir, who was at a much greater Diſtance, could have "arrived, to have maintain'd his own juſt Right, or defended "his faithful Subjects.

"But when that Day was come, that was to put a Period to "that Royal Life, on the Continuance of which alone, this "threatning Danger ſeem'd ſuſpended; then was GOD pleaſed "to mix ſo much Mercy with the Stroke, as by his Providence "to order it, that the unſettled Poſture of Affairs abroad would "not permit the Pretender's foreign Friends, to ſend any Forces "to encourage an Inſurrection, and the Unreadineſs of his ſur-"prized Abettors here would not permit them to appear, in "ſuch a Manner, as to invite an Invaſion; but our King was "peaceably proclaimed, to the univerſal Joy of his People."

The King, Prince and Princeſs dine in the City.

His Majeſty, with their Royal Highneſſes, the Prince and Princeſs of Wales, having been pleaſed to accept of an humble Invitation from the City, to dine at Guildhall, on the Lord-Mayor's Day, Sir William Humphreys being then Lord Mayor, they came into Cheapſide, about two in the Afternoon, attended by the great Officers of the Court, and a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry, in their Coaches: After having ſeen the Cavalcade, from a Balcony, over againſt Bow Church, the King, the Prince and Princeſs, were conducted to Guildhall, by the two Sheriffs, Sir Randolph Knipe, and Sir Robert Breedon. At the Entrance, the Lord Mayor kneeled, and preſented the Sword to his Majeſty; who having returned it, his Lordſhip carried it before the King up to the Court-Room, and from thence to the Huſtings, where the Royal Gueſts dined. The Dinner was equally plentiful and elegant, and the whole Solemnity magnificent and ſplendid. His Majeſty ſaluted all the City-Ladies who were preſented to him, and was pleaſed to order 1000 l. to be paid to the Sheriffs, for the Relief and Diſcharge of poor Priſoners.

On New-Year's-Day, the Duke of Marlborough carried the Sword of State before his Majeſty, and it was obſerved, that his Grace was entirely in the King's Confidence, and conſulted in all Affairs of the greateſt Importance.

1715. Inſtructions given by the City to their Members.

Upon the Election of a new Parliament, the beginning of this Year, the Electors, in ſome Counties and Cities drew up Inſtructions for the Gentlemen they had elected to repreſent them. I ſhall inſert one Paſſage of thoſe given by the Citizens of London, to their new Members, as it does Honour to the Tranſactions and Adminiſtration, in which the Duke of Marlborough had ſo large a Share:

a Share: "We desire and expect (say they) that you will en- 1715.
"quire by whose Counsels it was, that after God had blessed
"*the Arms of her late Majesty, and her Allies, with a Train*
"*of unparallel'd Successes, she was prevailed upon, contrary*
"*to the Grand Alliance, and her repeated Promises, from the*
"*Throne, to both Houses, to send to, or receive Managers from*
"*France, to treat, separately, of a Peace, without the Know-*
"*ledge or Consent of our Allies.*" That this was the Sense of the greater and most considerable Part of the whole Nation, as well as the City of London, is evident, by the Addresses of Thanks of both Houses of Parliament, for his Majesty's most gracious Speech at the opening of it, which turn upon the same Principles, tho' express'd more copiously, as dictated these Instructions: For Brevity's Sake, however, I omit, as well these Addresses, as his Majesty's Speech, tho' they all do Honour to the Duke of Marlborough, as they expose the Intrigues of his Adversaries, in Opposition to his just and reasonable Measures, for the publick Good.

Reflections on the Sense of the Nation.

The Papers relating to the Peace and Commerce being laid before the House of Commons, the ninth of April, by Mr. Secretary Stanhope, he took that Occasion to tell the House; "That nothing had been omitted, that might either answer "the Desire they had express'd of being thoroughly inform'd "of what had passed in those important Negotiations, or satis-"fy the whole World, that the present Ministry acted with the "utmost Fairness and Candour, and design'd to take no manner "of Advantage over the late Managers, in their intended En-"quiries; concluding that the Papers, laid before the House, "being too many, and too voluminous, to be perused and exa-"mined by all the Members, he thought it more convenient, "and, therefore, mov'd, that the said Books and Papers be re-"ferr'd to a select Committee of twenty Persons, who should "digest the Substance of them under proper Heads, and report "the same, with their Observations thereupon, to the House."

Papers relating to the late Ministry laid before the House of Commons.

This Motion being approved of, it was resolved, pursuant thereunto, that the Papers should be referr'd to a Committee of Secrecy, the Number to be 21, who being named accordingly, they chose Robert Walpole, Esq; their Chairman. This was the famous Committee, which took so much Pains to discover the secret Meanders of the former Ministry, and the private Intrigues and Negotiations, which were prefatory to the Treaty of Utrecht, of whose Report I have had frequent Occasion to make mention.

A Committee of Secrecy appointed.

The eighteenth of April, the Duke of Marlborough reviewed the Horse and Foot Guards, in Hyde-Park, and had the Satisfaction of restoring several Officers of Merit, who, not long before,

The D. of Marlboro' restores several Officers of Merit.

1715. fore, had loſt their Commiſſions, for their Affection to his Grace, and their Zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

The Princeſs Caroline arrives from Hannover.

The 24th of May, the Princeſs Carolina, their Royal Highneſſes then youngeſt Daughter, arrived at St. James's, from Hannover, having been received at Greenwich, by his Grace the Duke of Sommerſet, and a Detachment of the Guards.

A Debate in the Houſe of Lords concerning the Land-Forces. Arguments uſed by the Duke of Marlboro'.

The 30th, there was a Clauſe offered, in the Houſe of Peers, to be inſerted in the Bill for regulating the Land Forces, to confine the ſeveral Regiments in thoſe Parts of his Majeſty's Dominions, for which they were allotted. The Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Trevor, the Lord North and Grey, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and others, ſpoke for the Clauſe. The Duke of Marlborough ſet forth the fatal Conſequences, which would attend ſuch a Bill, in caſe of an Invaſion from abroad, or an Inſurrection at home, by a Number of Enemies, foreign and domeſtick, ſuperiour to the Number of Forces, actually on the Spot, where either of them ſhould happen; and urg'd, "That his "Majeſty having truſted his Royal Perſon and Family entirely in "the Hands of the Nation, and at the opening of the Seſſions, "told the Parliament, *that what they ſhould judge neceſſary for their "Safety, he ſhould think ſufficient for his own*, the leaſt they could "do for his Majeſty, was to leave to his great Wiſdom and Di-"rection, the Diſpoſal of the few Troops that were kept on "Foot." It has, likewiſe, been ſaid, that ſome Lords mov'd *to have all foreign Officers excluded*; and that the Duke of Marlborough replied; "To exclude Officers, who, like the French "Refugees, had, for above 25 Years, ſerv'd England, with "diſintereſted Zeal, and untainted Fidelity, would be a Piece "of Injuſtice unprecedented in the moſt barbarous Nations."

Coarſe Cloathing delivered to the firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards.

About this time, an Accident happened, which had it not been timely remedied, might have been attended with moſt fatal Conſequences. On the King's Birth-day, new Cloathing was delivered to the firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards; but ſo coarſe, particularly the Shirts, that the Soldiers were like to mutiny upon it. There being Abundance of Iriſh Papiſts, and other diſaffected Perſons, then in the Guards, their Diſcontent was eaſily improved, by the Enemies of the Government, inſomuch that ſome of the Soldiers had the Inſolence, to throw their Shirts into the King's and the Duke of Marlborough's reſpective Gardens at St. James's, and on Monday Morning, the 30th of May, as a Detachment march'd from Whitehall, thro' the City, to relieve the Guard in the Tower, the Soldiers pull'd out their Shirts and ſhewed them to all Shop-keepers and Paſſengers, crying out, *Theſe are the Hannover Shirts*, &c. The Court being inform'd of what paſs'd, and foreſeeing the Conſequences, Orders were immediately ſent to the Guard, at Whitehall,

The Shirts ordered to be burnt.

to

to burn those new Shirts, which was done that very Evening (viz. May 30.) The Duke of Marlborough's Enemies laying hold of this Occasion to reflect on his Grace, as if he were to bear the Blame of the Injustice done to the Soldiers of his Regiment, the following Advertisement was made publick in the News-Papers. 1715.

The Duke of Marlboro' justified.

" His Grace, the Duke of Marlborough being informed, that " the Undertakers for the first Regiment of Foot-Guards had " delivered to the several Companies their Cloathing no way an- " swerable to the Pattern agreed for; his Grace, therefore, " ordered the said Cloathing to be visited, who finding the Sol- " diers very much abus'd in their Shirting, his Grace imme- " diately directed the Shirts to be burnt, as well to punish as to " deter such Undertakers from committing the like Abuses for " the future, which was done accordingly, and the rest of the " Cloathing has been compar'd with the Pattern, that the Sol- " diers may have Justice done in all the other Particulars. In " the mean time, his Grace ordered two Shirts to be made of " good Linen Cloth, for each Soldier, in lieu of one, as like- " wise new Wastcoats, instead of the Wastcoats made by the " Undertakers of their old Coats, and the old Cloathing to " remain to each Soldier's own Use."

Moreover, on Thursday, the second of June, the Duke of Marlborough made a Review of the first Regiment of Foot-Guards, on which Occasion his Grace spoke to the Soldiers to this Effect.

His Speech to the first Regiment of Foot-Guards.

GENTLEMEN,

" I AM much concerned to find your Complaints so just, " about the ill State of your Cloaths. I take this Oppor- " tunity to tell you, that I am wholly innocent of this Griev- " ance; and, depend upon it, no Application shall be wanting " on my Part to trace out the Measures that have been taken " to abuse you and me. I am resolved nothing shall divert me " from demanding forthwith (wherever it may happen to fall) " a Satisfaction, and shall think nothing too much, on my " Part, in regard to so much Merit. I have ordered you a new " Set of Cloathing, such as will be every way becoming " his Majesty's first Regiment of Foot-Guards. I desire you " will return these, and take your old, till such time as the " new can be compleated, which, I give you my Word, shall " be as soon as possible. I have had the Honour, to serve with " some of you, a great many Campaigns, and believe you will " do me the Justice to tell the World, that I never willingly " wrong'd any of you; and if I can be serviceable to any (the " least) of you, you may readily command it, and shall be " glad of any Opportunity for that Purpose. I hope, I shall

" now

1715. " now leave you good Subjects to the beſt of Kings, and every " way entirely ſatisfied."

The Soldiers made, thereupon, great Shouts, to expreſs their Joy and Satisfaction, and his Grace was pleaſed to preſent to each Company a Barrel of Beer, to drink his Majeſty's Health.

Mr. William Churchill, the Contracter for the Cloathing, being apprehenſive that the Blame of the Soldiers Grievance would reſt upon him, thought fit to publiſh what follows in the Daily Courant, of June 6, viz.

Mr. William Churchill's Account of the Cloathing delivered to the firſt Regiment of Guards, on the 27th of May, 1715.

Mr. Will. Churchill's Account of the Cloathing.

" Anno 1704. Lord Rumney left the Regiment in Debt, " about 14900 l. Duke of Marlborough's laſt Aſſignments.

" 16th of January 1709-10, took up the Off-Reckonings to " the 27th of April 1713.

" Duke of Ormond's laſt Aſſignment.

" 20th of December 1713, took up the Off-Reckonings, to " the 15th of January 1715-16.

" So that the Duke of Marlborough cannot have any Mony " towards this Cloathing delivered the 28th of May laſt, till " the 15th of January next, if the Government ſhould pay the " Off-Reckonings when due: But by the uſual Practice of " paying Off-Reckonings, he cannot have any in a much longer " time; for there is ſtill remaining to be paid for his Cloaths " delivered in, 1709-10, 2050 l. 0 s. 9 d. Farthing.

" The Duke of Marlborough is no ways faulty, that the " Regiments Cloathing-Mony is upon ſo bad a Foot. For it " has been the great Debt left by the Lord Rumney, which " 'twas not poſſible to clear off, during the laſt War, by reaſon " he had ſo many Men continually in Service: Though a great " Part of Lord Rumney's Debt was ſunk, in the time the " Duke of Marlborough had the Regiment.

" By the late Queen's Inſtructions, dated the 14th of January " 1707-8, a Foot Soldier, without making any Diſtinction for " the Guards, ſhould have a Coat every Year, and every other " Year the old Coat to ſerve for a Waſtcoat.

" That no Cloathing ſhould have new Coats and Waſtcoats, " only new-raiſed Regiments at their firſt Cloathing; they hav- " ing the firſt Year no red Coats to turn into Waſtcoats.

" That every Soldier ſhould have for the firſt Cloathing two " Shirts, one pair of Stockings, two Neckcloths, and one pair " of Shoes. And the ſecond Year one Shirt, and one pair of " Stockings, one Neckcloth, and one pair of Shoes.

" By the late Queen's ſecond Inſtructions, May 1, 1711.

" A Sum

" A Sum not exceeding fourteen Months Off-Reckonings, 1715.
" might be aſſign'd for the firſt Year, and leave ten Months
" Off-Reckonings for the ſecond Year.

" Mr. Churchill affirms, and is ready to do it upon Oath,
" that the Duke of Marlborough gave him only general Di-
" rections, that as he did not take any Præmium, the Regiment
" ſhould be well cloath'd; that the Duke of Marlborough never
" had, nor was to have had, directly nor indirectly, nor any
" other Perſon for him, any Sum or Sums of Mony, or other
" Gratuity or Præmium, in Conſideration of the Cloathing, of
" him the ſaid William Churchill, nor of any other Perſon for
" him, or upon his Account.

" That the Pattern Cloaths being made and ſeal'd, and the
" Quantities directed by the proper Perſons, he went to Mr.
" Brookſbank, a Factor for Woollen Cloth, a very rich ſub-
" ſtantial Citizen of London; who undertook to furniſh the
" Cloathing, according to the Patterns.

" That 'tis certain, but by what Misfortune he cannot ſay,
" the Shirts did not prove ſo good as the Pattern; and that
" they ought to have been returned, and taken back again.
" But Mr. Brookſbank does affirm to Mr. Churchill, that the
" Cloth of the Coats, the Lining, and the Breeches, are as good
" as the Pattern, and as any Regiments of Guards uſually had.
" And Mr. Caſtor who cut out the Cloaths, does aver the ſame.
" If the Officers had had time to have over-looked the ſeveral
" Companies Cloathing, before they delivered them to the
" Men, the bad Shirts had been returned, and this unfortunate
" Clamour avoided; but they were in a hurry to give them out,
" being delivered the Night before, and on the Morning of the
" King's Birth-day. This late Delivery by Mr. Brookſbank's
" Servants, and the Neglect about the Shirts, have been the real
" Faults.

On the other hand, Mr. Brookſbank publiſh'd the next Day, June 7, in the Daily Courant, the following Paper:

" Finding myſelf concern'd in an Advertiſement publiſhed in Mr. Brookſ-
" the Daily Courant of yeſterday, I think myſelf obliged, for my bank's Ad-
" own Vindication, to give the following Account of this Affair. vertiſement thereupon.

" The Cloathing of the firſt Regiment of Guards, under the
" Command of the Duke of Marlborough, was undertaken
" by Mr. Churchill, who came to me to provide the ſame:
" And as I have ſeveral times provided Cloth and Linings, for
" Coats, and Kerſeys for Waſtcoat and Breeches, for the ſame
" Regiment, I do hereby aſſert, and am ready to make it out,
" that the ſaid Cloth, Kerſeys and Linings, are, in every Re-
" ſpect, as good as formerly, of which there never was Cauſe of
" Complaint; and every Particular was made conformable to
" the Patterns (and ſome better) being the ſame Sort (and Ma-
" ker's)

1714. "ker's) Cloth, as the Pattern, and was eſteem'd ſo by the Perſons appointed to view the ſame: Except the Shirts, which "were alſo order'd, and intended to be the ſame as formerly; "and to that Purpoſe I conſulted the former Clothier, and the "Perſon who ſold the former Linen: And accordingly Patterns "of Shirts were made up, approved and ſealed by the Perſons "appointed for that Purpoſe: And the Pieces of Linen ac"cording to that Pattern being order'd to be ſent in from "the Linen-Draper to the Taylor who cut out the Shirts, ſtrict "Orders were given to return all Pieces that were not anſwer"able to the Pattern; but ſome Pieces of that Linen, being, "without my Knowledge, and contrary to my Orders, ſent "in, worſe than the Pattern, were cut out by the Taylor, and "delivered.

J. BROOKSBANK.

By this Advertiſement, the Fault ſeem'd, at laſt, to lie at the Linen-Draper's Door: But, it ſeems, the Linen-Draper would not take the Blame upon him; for, on the ninth of June, he cauſed the following Advertiſement to be publiſhed.

Mr. Heron's Counter Advertiſement.

Mr. Joſeph Brookſbank, having, in an "Advertiſement print"ed in the Daily Courant, of the ſeventh Inſtant, inſinuated, "that his Linen-Draper had ſent to his Taylor ſome Pieces of "Linen, without his Knowledge, and contrary to his Order, "which were worſe than the Pattern: Now the under-named "John Heron, thinks himſelf obliged, to do himſelf this pub"lick Juſtice, he being the Linen-Draper, intended in the "ſaid Advertiſement, and to that End doth hereby aſſert, and "is ready to prove the ſame upon Oath, that the ſaid Mr. "Brookſbank himſelf did ſee the greateſt Part of the Linen, "and that what he would not give himſelf the Trouble to look "upon, was the very ſame Sort which he did ſee, it being an "entire Parcel; and that the ſaid Mr. Brookſbank did agree "upon the Price thereof, took out one Piece himſelf, which "he order'd to be ſent to his own Houſe, and the Remainder "to his Taylor, and that the ſaid Brookſbank bought the "ſame of the ſaid Heron, without any Pattern either deliver"ed by him to the ſaid Heron, or the ſaid Heron to him.

June 9, 1715. JOHN HERON.

Thus, tho' the Grievance was real and palpable, yet all the Perſons concern'd endeavour'd to juſtify themſelves; But, whoever was in Fault, 'tis certain, that the worſt of the King's Enemies could hardly have done his Majeſty a greater Diſſervice, than at this tumultuous Juncture, to raiſe a Diſſatisfaction and Diſcontent, among his Guards; on whom alone his Majeſty

jeſty muſt depend, for the Safety of his ſacred Perſon, and of all his Royal Family. 1715.

The ninth of June, Robert Walpole, Eſq; from the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the Houſe of Commons; "That "he had a Report to preſent, according to their Order, but "that he had the Commands of the Committee, to make a "Motion to the Houſe before he read the Report. That there "are, in the Report, Matters of the higheſt Importance. That "altho' the Committee had Power to ſend for Perſons, Papers "and Records, they did not think fit to make Uſe thereof, be-"lieving it to be neceſſary, in order to bring Offenders to "Juſtice, that ſome Perſons ſhould be ſecured, before 'tis poſ-"ſible that they ſhould know what they are to be examin'd to, "and leſt they ſhould have Notice, from what ſhould be read "in the Report, to make their Eſcape. He was commanded "by the Committee, according to former Precedents, to "move, that a Warrant may be iſſued by Mr. Speaker, to "apprehend certain Perſons, who ſhall be nam'd to him, by "the Chairman of the Committee, and that no Members be "permitted to go out of the Houſe." The Report of the Committee of Secrecy read.

All this being ſo order'd and executed, ſeveral Perſons were nam'd to Mr. Speaker, by Mr. Walpole; and Mr. Matthew Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, were taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms. Mr. Walpole then read the Report in his Place, the reading of which laſted from one at Noon, till ſix in the Evening, and the reading of it again, by the Clerk of the Houſe, took up the remainder of that Day, and all the next till about four in the Afternoon. A late Hiſtorian having reduc'd the Contents of this Report under ten general Heads, they may ſerve to give the Reader, who has not ſeen it, ſome Idea thereof, and to refreſh the Memory of thoſe who have. Reſolutions thereupon.

1. "The Clandeſtine Negotiations with Meſnager, the "French Agent, which produced two Sets of Preliminary Ar-"ticles; one private for Great Britain only; the other gene-"ral, for the Allies. General Heads of the Report.

2. "The extraordinay Meaſures purſued to form the Con-"greſs at Utrecht.

3. "The Trifling, and Amuſements, of the French Plenipo-"tentiaries at Utrecht, by the Connivance of the Britiſh Mi-"niſtry.

4. "The Negotiations about the Renunciation of the Spa-"niſh Monarchy.

5. "The fatal Suſpenſion of Arms.

6. "The Seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to diſtreſs "the Allies, and favour the French.

1715. 7. " The Duke of Ormond's acting in Concert with the " French General.

8. " The Lord Bolingbroke's Journy to France, to negotiate " a ſeparate Peace.

9. " Mr. Prior's, and the Duke of Shrewſbury's Negotia- " tions in France.

10. " The precipitate Concluſion of the Peace at Utrecht.

Several Lords impeach'd.

In Conſequence of this Report, ſeveral Lords were impeach'd; but as one of them was drove away, probably, by a Senſe of his Guilt, a ſecond by his, perhaps, groundleſs Fears, and a third was honourably acquitted by his Peers, I forbear ſaying any thing more of theſe Impeachments.

Upon repeated Informations of a Rebellion hatching in Scotland, and of the Expectations of the Pretender's landing there, to give Life to it, ſeveral Meaſures were taken by the Government for the Security of theſe Kingdoms; it will, therefore, not be improper now to caſt our View upon them.

Sir George Byng takes upon him the Command of the Fleet.

On Friday the twenty-ſecond of July, Sir George Byng ſet out for the Downs, to take upon him the Command of his Majeſty's Fleet, which was order'd to be forthwith re-inforced with ſeveral Men of War. The ſame Day, General Earl went Poſt to his Government of Portſmouth, in order to put that important Place in a Poſture of Defenſe; and the Train'd Bands of London and Weſtminſter were under Arms. The next Day, July the twenty-third, General Cadogan, by the King's Command, mark'd out a Camp in Hyde-Park, for his Majeſty's Horſe and Foot Guards, where the latter encamp'd the ſame Day; and the former on Monday; and the Lord Viſcount Irwin was appointed Governour of Hull, in the Room of Brigadier Sutton, who, together with General Roſs, General Webb, General Stewart, the Lord Windſor, Colonel Deſaunay, and ſome other Generals and Colonels, were either diſmiſs'd the Service, or order'd to ſell their reſpective Regiments.

General Earl goes down to Portſmouth.

The Guards encamp'd in Hyde Park.

Several General Officers and Colonels diſmiſs'd.

New Regiments order'd to be rais'd.

The King in Council having, on the 20th of July, reſolved to raiſe thirteen new Regiments of Dragoons, and eight of Foot, and left the Nomination of the Officers of the ſame to the Dukes of Marlborough, and Argyle, General Stanhope, and General Cadogan; they ſat on Friday the twenty-ſecond of July, for that Purpoſe at the Office of Mr. Pulteney, Secretary at War: And July the twenty-ſixth, publick Notice was given in the Gazet, that Commiſſions were given out for raiſing the ſaid Regiments.

We muſt here take Notice, that, in the London Gazet of July the fifth, and July the twelfth, there was publiſh'd the following

following Letter, from his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, by his Majeſty's Command, to the Secretary at War. 1715.

SIR,

Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to the Secretary of War.

"HIS Majeſty being determined to provide as ſoon as "poſſible for the broken Officers, and thoſe who are "upon Half-pay, as well with Intent to eaſe the Nation, in "time, of the Burthen thereof, as to reward the particular "Merit of thoſe Officers, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves "by their Services, during the Courſe of the late War.

"I am commanded to ſignify to you his Pleaſure, that as "any Commiſſion ſhall happen hereafter to become vacant in "the Army, of what Degree ſoever it be, the ſame ſhall al-"ways be filled up with a Half-pay Officer; and that, for "the future, no Perſon through Favour, Intereſt, or other "Practices, may unjuſtly obtain a Commiſſion, to which he has "no Right, in Prejudice of another Officer, elder than himſelf, "it is his Majeſty's farther Pleaſure, that the firſt Regard ſhall "always be had to the Seniority of the Commiſſion, provided "his Majeſty ſhall have good Reaſon to be ſatisfied of the Cha-"racter and Merit of the Perſon, and of his Zeal and Fidelity "for his Service; ſtill obſerving, that a reduced Officer of the "ſame Rank, in the Regiments where ſuch Vacancy happens, "is to be preferred before all others. This his Majeſty's "Pleaſure you have, to cauſe to be enter'd in the Books of your "Office, as a ſtanding Rule and Direction in this Behalf.

I am,

SIR,

June the 30th 1715.
To the Secretary at War.

Your moſt Obedient,
humble Servant,
MARLBOROUGH.

"It is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that all the Colonels now and "late in the Army, do certify to me, the Date of each Offi-"cer's Commiſſion, reduced out of their reſpective Regiments, "to the Intent that all Officers ſo reduced may be provided for, "according to his Majeſty's Pleaſure, ſignified to me as above, "by his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, and the ſaid Co-"lonels are hereby required to ſend ſuch Certificates as ſoon as "poſſible.

WILLIAM PULTENY.

The Generals appointed by his Majeſty, to name the Offi-cers of the new Regiments, having pitch'd upon ſuch Gentle-

1715. men as they thought either to be moſt depended upon, or moſt proper to ſerve the King and the Nation, at this critical Juncture, without a ſtrict Regard to the Seniority of the Commiſſions, the ſame occaſioned great Murmurings, among the poſtponed Half-pay Officers. Some of them bore the Injuſtice, as they call'd it, that was done them, ſo impatiently, that they preſented Petitions to his Majeſty, to which they annex'd the Duke of Marlborough's Letter, and Mr. Pulteney's Order thereupon beforemention'd. And tho' to allay their Clamours, full Pay was procured to all the Half-pay Officers, yet many of them did not think the ſame ſufficient Amends for their remaining unprovided for, while Junior Officers were preferr'd in the new Levies. Hereupon, the Court thought fit to make ſome Alterations in the Liſts of the Officers of the ſaid Regiments. Which was publiſh'd, on the ninth of Auguſt, in the Gazet.

Half-pay Officers diſcontented.

On the twenty-ſecond of July, William Pulteney, Eſq; Secretary at War, by his Majeſty's Command, ſignified his Majeſty's Pleaſure: That all Officers now in the Army do immediately repair to their reſpective Poſts, upon Pain of his Majeſty's higheſt Diſpleaſure, and, at the ſame time, all ſuch Out-Penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital, as had paſs'd their Examinations before the Lords Commiſſioners, were ordered to appear on Tueſday and Wedneſday, the twenty-ſixth and the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame Month, in that Part of the ſaid Hoſpital, commonly call'd Burton's Court, upon Failure whereof they were to loſe the Benefit of their Penſions. All this while, the Juſtices of Peace, and other inferior Magiſtrates of London and Weſtminſter, were very active in ſearching for Horſes and Arms, in the Houſes of Papiſts and other ſuſpected Perſons.

The Duke of Marlborough dines in the City.

The twenty-ninth of October, the Duke of Marlborough, for whom the City of London retain'd the ſame Value and Reſpect, they had ever ſhewn for his incomparable Merit, was invited to the Feaſt of Sir Charles Peers, Lord Mayor, and dined with him, and the Court of Aldermen, at Fiſhmongers-Hall, being accompanied thither by many of the Nobility.

I might now proceed to give ſome Accounts of the breaking out, Purſuit, and Suppreſſion of the Rebellion; but as that has been done by ſo many already, more particularly than I have Room for here, I ſhall only obſerve, that his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, as Captain-General of his Majeſty's Forces, gave ſuch Orders, for the March of the King's Army, and ſuch Directions for the Suppreſſion of this unnatural Rebellion, as very ſoon brought it to a happy Period. It was his Opinion, as it happen'd, that *they ſhould fix the Rebels at Preſton*. The Order of the Diſpoſition of the Troops, for the Expedition againſt them, was chiefly of the Duke's own forming, tho' the

Is Inſtrumental in ſuppreſſing the Rebellion.

Alterations

Alterations, in the Execution, were made by General Wills and General Carpenter, according to the ſundry Circumſtances and Motions of the Rebels. 1715.

This was the laſt Scene of publick Action, in which we find our Illuſtrious Hero to have acted any Part: For, ſoon after, he retired from all Buſineſs, and thereby juſtified the Truth and Sincerity of that Part of his remarkable Speech in the Houſe of Lords, of the ſeventh of December, 1711. (an Abſtract of which, I have given the Reader, above) when he ſaid: *That his advanced Age, and the many Fatigues of War, made him earneſtly wiſh for Retirement and Repoſe, the Remainder of his Days, in order for him to think of Eternity.* This will, likewiſe, at the ſame time verify the Reflections I have made, on the Duke's Conduct, as well there, as in another Place. For his Grace being now in full Favour with the Court, and poſſeſs'd of the higheſt military Poſts, might have made as ſplendid a Figure, in Publick, as ever. His Retirement was altogether voluntary, and, next to a Reſolution of devoting the Remainder of his Days to the Service of his Creator, could proceed from nothing but a Satiety of Glory, and a ſtrong Propenſity to paſs his Hours in a ſweet Repoſe. His Grace retires from all Buſineſs.

His Grace ſpent the Time of his Retirement either at Blenheim Houſe, near Woodſtock, at Holloway-Houſe, near St. Albans, or at Windſor Lodge; at which laſt Place he fought his laſt Fight (the only Battle he ever loſt) and on Saturday the 16th of June, in the Year of our Lord, 1722, and, in the ſeventy-third Year of his glorious Life, fell a Victim to Death, that invincible Enemy, againſt whom there is no human Defenſe. Death of the Duke of Marlboro'.

The following ODE, on his Grace's Sickneſs, may properly find a Place here.

On the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's *Sickneſs.*

An ODE.

I.

AWFUL HERO; MARLBRO' riſe,
Sleepy Charms I come to break;
Hither turn thy languid Eyes;
Lo! thy GENIUS calls, awake! An Ode on the Duke of Marlboro's Sickneſs.

II.

Well ſurvey this faithful Plan,
Which records thy Life's great Story;
'Tis a ſhort, but crowded Span,
Full of Triumph, full of Glory.

III.

One by one, thy Deeds review,
Sieges, Battles, thick appear;
Former Wonders loſt in new,
Greatly fill each pompous Year.

IV.

This is Blenheim's Crimſon Field,
Wet with Gore, with Slaughter ſtain'd:
Here retiring Squadrons yield,
And a bloodleſs Wreath is gain'd:

V.

Dwell on theſe while Life ſhall laſt:
Th'utmoſt Bliſs to Men allow'd
Is to trace our Actions paſt,
And to find them great and good.

VI.

But 'tis gone——O Mortal born!
Swift the tranſient Scenes remove:
Let them paſs with noble Scorn;
Thine are Worlds which roll above.

VII.

Patriots, Captains, Heroes, Kings,
Pleas'd, thy ripe Approach foreſee;
Men who acted wond'rous Things,
But in all, far ſhort of thee.

VIII.

Foremoſt in the Patriot Band,
Shining with diſtinguiſh'd Day,
See thy Friend GODOLPHIN ſtand,
See he beckons thee away.

IX.

Yonder Seats and Fields of Light,
Let thy raviſh'd Thoughts explore,
Wiſhing, panting, for thy Flight,
Half an ANGEL, Man no more.

Thus died this ILLUSTRIOUS HERO, crown'd with Years, and bleſs'd with Peace, Wealth and Glory, the greateſt Subject, of his Time, in Chriſtendom, whom five ſucceſſive Monarchs of Great

Great Britain employ'd in their Armies and Councils, and took Delight in heaping Favours and Honours upon him. 1715.

As the Glory his Grace had obtain'd was without Example, and his Merit beyond what any Subject had ever acquir'd, every Body thought it highly beſeeming, for the Honour of the Nation, that his Remains ſhould be interr'd with all poſſible Solemnity. His late Majeſty, as a Token of the high Opinion he had of his extraordinary Merit, and how much he valued his Memory, was graciouſly pleaſed to offer defraying the Expences of his Funeral; but her Grace the Ducheſs, his diſconſolate Widow, would have the Honour of it herſelf, and to ſhew the Reſpect ſhe bore to his Memory, thought no Coſt too great, but cauſed all things to be prepared, with the greateſt State and Magnificence.

Before I give a Relation of our Hero's Funeral Obſequies, the following Lines on his Death, may not be improperly introduced.

On the Death of his Grace, JOHN *Duke of* MARLBOROUGH.

Verſes on the Death of the Duke of Marlboro'

AT length, GREAT LEADER! does th' indulgent Grave,
As generous as the Realms you fought to ſave,
Finiſh thy Labours, and Receſs afford
To the long Toils of thy PROTECTING SWORD.
That Eaſe thy enterprizing SOUL declin'd
In Pity to the Weal of human Kind,
Fate does at leaſt compel thee to receive,
And ſays, to ceaſe from Goodneſs, ceaſe to live!
Enough, thy Genius tells thee from above,
The laurell'd Hoſt of Conquerors approve;
A Race of Glory, ſo compleatly run,
With Warmth concluded, as with Zeal begun.
Search we thoſe Annals, where th' Hiſtorian's Pen,
Re-animates the Worth of mighty Men,
Where CÆSARS riſe, new Heroes Breaſts to warm,
And by another's Arms new Feats perform;
Again to conquer, as themſelves inſpire,
And fight thro' their own emulated Fire;
Warriors in boaſtful Numbers may be found
For this great Action, or for that renown'd:
France may its Luxemburg's Succeſſes plead,
Or Spain the late Atchievements of De Lede,
That Praiſe they merit, to their Actions be,
Praiſe was young AMMON's Due, but injures thee.
Thy Tyrant-cruſhing Sword, illuſtrious Shade!
By its own Wonders only is repaid;

1715. To call thee BRITAIN'S CHAMPION is a Name?
That robs half Europe of their common Claim:
What Realm, in Freedom nurtur'd, but is taught,
To bleſs th'Auſpicious Day when MARLBORO' fought?
To what forgetful Land ſhall ſink unknown
Th' Event of Hochſtadt's Plain, except thy own?
Pardon the Muſe, that o'er thy Hearſe forbears
The weak Reſpect of unavailing Tears;
At Mortal's Lot 'tis needleſs to repine,
So, what of thee was mortal, we reſign.
The Legacy thy Life's paſt Deeds bequeath
Our Art's ennobled Fund, attones thy Death;
An Art that ne'er can languiſh in Eſteem;
So well ſupported with ſo rich a Theme.

He lies in great State.

His Grace's Corps being brought to Marlborough's Houſe at St. James's, lay there, for ſome time, in great Pomp. The firſt Room was hung with Bayes, the ſecond with Cloth, where was a Chair of State at the upper End, with a Majeſty Scutcheon over it; the third was hung with Velvet, and floored with Bayes, having at the upper End an Aſcent of three Steps, where ſtood a Bed of State of black Velvet, properly adorn'd with black Plumes at the Corners of the Teſters, and at the Head of the Bed a Majeſty Scutcheon; the Coffin was cover'd with Crimſon Velvet, adorn'd with Water-gilt Nails, and a gilt Copper-plate of his Grace's Titles. Over it was a fine Holland Sheet, and on that a Pall of black Velvet, drawn up in Feſtoons; upon which was laid a compleat Suit of Armour gilt, with a General's Truncheon on the Right-Hand, the great Collar of the Order of the Garter about the Neck, with the George appendant, and the Garter on the Left-Leg, a rich Sword, in a Crimſon Velvet Scabbard being buckled to the Side by a like Velvet Belt. On one Side of the Head, was laid the Cap of a Prince of the Empire, and, on the other Side, a Ducal Coronet; under the Head, a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion with Gold Fringes and Taſſels, the Feet reſting on a Lion couchant, holding a Banner, being his Grace's Creſt; and round about the Body were placed the ſeveral Enſigns, which will be afterwards mentioned in the Proceſſion, with ſeveral Scutcheons on the Columns of the Bed properly diſpoſed. The three Rooms were adorn'd with a great Number of Scutcheons of ſeveral ſorts, with Cyphers and Badges interſperſed, and with Silver Sconces, and large Silver Candleſticks, having Wax Tapers burning in them. Two other large Rooms were hung with Cloth, and adorned in the ſame Manner, for the Reception of the Nobility, and others who were invited to the Funeral.

The

1715.

The Funeral Obſequies of his Grace, JOHN, *Duke of* MARLBOROUGH.

Funeral of the Duke of Marlboro'.

The ninth of Auguſt, about half an Hour after twelve, the Proceſſion began, and paſſed along the Road, through St. James's Park, and the Upper Park, to Hide-Park-Corner, thence through Piccadilly, down St. James's Street, through the Pall Mall, and by Charing Croſs, through King-ſtreet, to Weſtminſter Abby.

A proper Diſpoſition had been made of ſuch of the Forces, as were drawn from the Camp in Hide Park, to attend the Funeral. The firſt Regiment of his Majeſty's Foot-Guards was drawn up in the Upper Park, with their Right next to Buckingham Houſe; the reſt both Foot and Horſe-Guards, and Horſe-Grenadiers, were drawn up facing the Road through that Park, on the Left of the firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards, in the Order they were to file off after each other. A Train of Artillery, conſiſting of 15 Pieces of Cannon and two Mortars, with the great Kettle Drums belonging to the Artillery (on a Carriage drawn by two Horſes) and the two Companies of Cannoniers and Bombardiers, were drawn up in Hide-Park near the Gate, towards Picadilly; and a Detachment of the ſecond and fourth Troops of the Horſe Guards was drawn up on the Parade in St. James's Park, in order to cloſe the Proceſſion.

This Diſpoſition being made, the March was in the following Manner.

The Detachment of the firſt and ſecond Troops of Horſe Grenadiers commanded by Col. Fane.

They were led by ſix Serjeants, three a-breaſt, then a Lieutenant; then the private Men, four a-breaſt; after them two Lieutenants, two Captains, two Field-Officers a-breaſt; then Colonel Fane; laſtly, four Hautbois a-breaſt.

The Detachment of the firſt and third Troops of Horſe Guards, commanded by the Lord Newburg.

The Artillery, with the two Companies of Cannoniers and Bombardiers; commanded by Colonel Bourgard: And the Train, conſiſting of,

6. Tumbrils, with	12 Horſes, drove by	6 Drivers.
3. Covered Waggons	9	3
7. One and an Half-Pounder-Cannon	14	7
2. Hawbitzers	6	2
4. Three-Pounders	12	4
2. Six-Pounders	8	4
1. Kettle-drum	2	1
	63	27

Their

1715. Their March was in the following Order:

Two Ranks of Pioneers, ſix in a Rank, with one in the Front, one in the Center, and one in the Rear.

The Tumbrils, or cover'd Carts, and the laſt Waggon having a Standard on it.

Twenty-four Matroſſes, under a Lieutenant and Captain.

Four Gunners attending the ſeven Cannon of one and a half-Pounders.

Two Bombardiers, attending the two Hawbitzers.

Two Gunners attending the four three-Pounders.

An Adjutant, and one Gunner, attending the two ſix-Pounders, the laſt ſix-Pounder having a Standard on it.

The Kettle-drum.

Maſter Artificer and ſix Artificers.

James Deale, Captain-Lieutenant.
Richard Somerfield, Lieutenant. } a-breaſt.
John Winch, Fireworker.

Thirty-one Matroſſes, in four Ranks, ſix a-breaſt, two in the Center, and one at each Corner.

A Lieutenant, and as many Gunners, in the ſame Form, with two Lieutenants following a-breaſt.

Thomas Pattiſon, Captain, and Albert Bourgard, Colonel, cloſing the Rear.

The Detachment of the third Regiment of Foot Guards, commanded by the Earl of Dunmore.

The Detachment of the ſecond Regiment of Foot Guards; commanded by the Earl of Scarborough.

The firſt Battalion of his Majeſty's Regiment of Foot Guards, of which his Grace was Colonel.

The firſt Company led by Captain Courtney.

The ſecond, by Captain Lee, and Captain Webb a-breaſt; Lieutenant-Colonel Read, in the Center; and four Lieutenant-Colonels in the Rear.

The third and fourth by two Captains a-breaſt each.

The fifth by Enſign Worley.

The ſixth by Enſign Durand.

The ſeventh by five Enſigns.

The eighth by Enſign Hamilton.

The ninth by a Captain and an Enſign.

The tenth and eleventh, by two Captains each, and Captain Reynolds marching as Adjutant. Four Lieutenant Colonels cloſed the Rear. Then Major-General Tatton as Major of that Regiment alone, then ſix Hautbois:

The

1715.

The General Officers, viz.

Brig. Honywood.	Brig. Crofts, and Munden.
Brig. Stanvix.	Brig. Bowles and Biſſet.
Major Gen. Wightman.	Major Gen. Wade.
Lieut. Gen. Macartney.	Lieut. Gen. Wills.

The Earl of Cadogan, General and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces, Maſter-General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the firſt Regiment of the Foot Guards, attended by

Col. Otway, as Quarter-Maſter General (in the Place of Col. Armſtrong, who being Surveyor or General of the Ordnance was obliged to attend at the Tower.)	Col. Williamſon Adjutant-General.

And by his Lordſhip's ſix Aids de Camp.

Col. Manning.	Col. Hurk.
Col. Morton.	Col. Morgan.
Capt. Macartney.	Lord Carmichael.

They were followed by the eldeſt Company of Grenadiers of the firſt Regiment of Guards.

Captain Bagnell led up the laſt Company. Drums in the Center, Captain Herbert, and then Colonel Pitt, brought up the Rear.

All the Officers were in ſuch cloſe Mourning as the Military Profeſſion admits, the Colours furl'd and wrapp'd in Cypreſs, the Drums and Kettle-Drums cover'd with black Bayes and Scutcheons, the Trumpets covered with Cypreſs, and having Banners of the Arms of the Deceaſed, the Officers and Soldiers bearing their ſeveral Arms reverſed in a Funeral Poſture. All the Foot Guards march'd eight a-breaſt, ſix deep.

Next came, on Foot, the Porter of the Heralds Office in a Gown of Cloth, with a black Staff in his Hand.

Eight Conductors, in like Gowns, with black Staves in their Hands, to lead the Way, two and two.

Out-Penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital, in Number 73 (anſwerable to the Years of his Grace's Age) in like Gowns, with the Badge of his Grace's Creſt on one Arm, two and two.

Four Trumpets and two Kettle Drums, on Horſeback, having Banners, with the ſame Arms as on the following Standard.

The Standard, on a Lance, carried by Major Gardiner, ſupported by two Officers in their military Mourning.

1715. A mourning Horſe, cover'd with black Cloth, caparison'd with the ſame Arms as on the Standard, with Plumades before and behind, led by a Groom on Foot, with a Cap.

Forty Perſons in mourning Cloaks, Hatbands and Gloves, on Horſeback, two and two.

Two Trumpets, having Banners with the ſame Arms as the following Guidon.

Rouge Croix, Purſuivant of Arms, in the Coat of his Office.

The Guidon, on a Lance, carried by Major Keightly, ſupported by two Officers, in military Mourning.

The ſecond mourning Horſe, covered with black Cloth, caparison'd with the ſame Arms, as on the Guidon, with Plumades, led by a Groom on Foot.

Forty Perſons, in mourning Cloaks, on Horſe-back.

Two Trumpets having Banners with the ſame Arms as the Banner of Woodſtock.

Rouge Dragon, Purſuivant of Arms.

The Banner of Woodſtock on a Lance, carried by Lieutenant Colonel Purcell, ſupported by two Officers in their military Mourning.

The third mourning Horſe, covered with black Cloth, caparison'd with the ſame Arms as on that Banner, with Plumades, led by a Groom on Foot.

Forty Perſons, in mourning Cloaks, on Horſeback, as before.

Two Trumpets having Banners of the Deceaſed, as a Prince of the Empire.

Blue Mantle, Purſuivant at Arms.

His Grace's Banner, as Prince of the Empire, on a Lance, carried by Lieut. Col. Petit, ſupported by two Officers, in their military Mourning.

The fourth mourning Horſe, covered with Cloth, caparison'd with the Arms of a Prince of the Empire, with Plumades, led by a Groom on Foot.

Forty Perſons in mourning Cloaks, on Horſeback.

Mr. Smith, Secretary to the Deceaſed.

The Rev. Mr. James, and Mr. Cole, Chaplains to the Deceaſed.

Two Trumpets, in his Majeſty's Livery, with Banners of the Order of the Garter.

Portcullis, Purſuivant of Arms.

The Banner of the Order of the Garter on a Lance, carried by Col. Pendelbury, ſupported by two Officers, in their military Mourning.

The fifth mourning Horſe, covered with black Cloth, caparison'd with the ſame Arms as on the Banner of the Garter, with Plumades, led by a Groom on Foot.

Forty Perſons in mourning Cloaks on Horſeback.

Mr.

Mr. Hodges, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Pitts, Chamberlain, Steward, Treaſurer and Comptroller to the Deceaſed, with the white Staves of their Offices, a breaſt. 1715.

Three Trumpets in his Majeſty's Livery, having Banners with the ſame Arms as on the great Banner.

Cheſter, Herald of Arms, in his Coat.

The great Banner of his Grace's full Arms, on a Lance, carried by Colonel Hopkey, ſupported by two Officers, in their military Mourning.

The chief mourning Horſe, covered with Velvet, capariſon'd with the ſaid Arms, led by an Equerry, aſſiſted by a Groom.

The Spurs and the Gantlets, carried by Somerſet, Herald of Arms.

Helmet and Creſt, carried by Lancaſter, Herald of Arms.

The Target and Sword, carried by Windſor, Herald of Arms.

His Grace's Surcoat of Arms, carried by Norroy, King of Arms.

The Body, with the Suit of Armour, as on the Bed of State, in an open Chariot, with Mr. Ridley and Mr. Mitchell, two Officers of his Grace's Bed-chamber, ſitting at the Head and Feet, in cloſe Mourning, bare-headed. The Chariot had four Columns which bore up a black Velvet Canopy, lin'd with black Taffeta, with deep gold Fringe, and Taſſels at each Corner. At the Top were ſeveral black Plumes, with Trophies of War, intermix'd with his Grace's Arms on the Eagle, with Stars and Badges. The lower Part of the Chariot was adorned, on both Sides, with ſeveral Shields repreſenting his Grace's Victories and Conqueſts, under which was a Scroll, with this Motto, *Bello hæc & plura.* The Chariot was drawn by eight Horſes, covered with Velvet, the two firſt Horſes capariſoned with the Arms of his Grace as Prince of the Empire, the next two with his Grace's full Arms, ſurrounded with the Garter, with the Supporters, ſurmounted with the Ducal Coronet; the next two with the ſame Arms as the firſt, and the two next his Body, with his full Arms, ſurrounded with the Garter, as before. On each Side of the Chariot were five Captains, in their military Mourning, each carrying a Bannerol of the Arms of the Deſcent and Lineage of the Deceaſed; each of the eight Horſes was led by a Groom, the Coachman in deep Mourning.

The Banner-Rolls were,

Right.	Left.
Churchill and Jennings.	Churchill and Drake.
Churchill and Winſton.	Drake and Butler.
Butler and Villars.	Drake and Bullon.
Winſton and Bond.	Drake and Forteſcue.
Churchill and Meller.	Churchill and Bond.

Immediately

1715. Immediately after the Chariot, came a Horſe of State, capariſoned with Cloth of Gold, led, with a ſilken Rein, by Captain Read, his Grace's Maſter of the Horſe, in his military Mourning, walking on Foot, aſſiſted by two Grooms on Foot.

Garter, King of Arms, with the Rod of his Office in his Right Hand, and as Director of the Funeral.

His Grace the Duke of Montague chief Mourner, in deep Mourning, with the Collar of the Order of the Garter, and the Star of the Order on his Cloak, in the Ducheſs Dowager's Coach, with ſix Horſes, Sir Robert Rich, his Train-bearer, ſitting over againſt him.

The Earl of Sunderland and Godolphin, in the Junior Ducheſs of Marlborough's Coach, as being Supporters to the chief Mourner, the former on the Right, the latter on the Left.

In five other Coaches followed,

The Duke of Sommerſet,	The D. of Newcaſtle, L. Cham.
The Duke of Grafton,	The Duke of Cleveland.
The Duke of Montroſs.	The Duke of St. Albans.
The Duke of Dorſet.	The Duke of Kent.
The Earl of Strafford	The Earl of Peterborough.

All (except the Duke of Montroſe) having their Collars and Stars, as Knights of the Garter; theſe ten being Aſſiſtants to the chief Mourner: The firſt Column being on the Left, and the ſecond on the Right.

In the next two Coaches came,

The Earl of Cardigan.	The Earl of Leiceſter.
The Earl of Briſtol.	The Earl of Burlington.

Who were to ſupport the Pall in the Church.

A Horſe of Honour, richly capariſoned, led with a ſilken Rein, by Captain Fiſh, in his military Mourning, walking on Foot, aſſiſted by two Grooms on Foot.

His Majeſty Coach.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales's Coach.

Then followed the Coaches of the Nobility, *&c.* according to the ſeveral Precedencies and Degrees.

Being arrived at the Weſt-Door of the Abby of Weſtminſter, only thoſe Perſons who bore the Standards, Guidons, and Banners above-mentioned, and their Supporters, as alſo the Heralds, with his Grace's Secretary, two Chaplains, and his four white Staff-Officers, and thoſe who carried the Bannerols, entered the Church. The Chariot coming to the Door, the Armour was taken off, the Body was carried into the Church, and reſted, near the Entrance, while the chief Mourner, Supporters, and Aſſiſtants, the Pall-bearers, and the Nobility and others attending, alighted out of their Coaches, the Organs playing during that Time. Having all entered into the Church, a Velvet Canopy being held over the Body, and the Pall-bearers having taken

taken up the Corners of the Pall, the Prebends in their rich Copes, and the Choir in their Surplices, placed themſelves after the great Banner, and before the Heralds, who carried the Trophies, and ſung the Sentence in the Office for the Burial, *I am the Reſurrection and the Life*, with the two following Sentences, and continued ſinging till the Body was placed in King Henry the VIIth's Chapel, 1715.

Garter King of Arms.

The chief Mourner, with his two Supporters, Sir Robert Rich bearing his Train.

The ten Aſſiſtants.

The Nobility according to their ſeveral Precedencies.

In this manner they proceeded through the South Iſle of the Church, till they came near to the Choir, and then croſſing into the North Iſle, went up to King Henry the VIIth's Chapel, where the Body was reſted on a Stand prepared for it, in the Middle of the Area; the Pall-bearers were ſeated on Stools on each Corner of the Body, at the Head the chief Mourner, with his two Supporters one on each Hand, and his ten Aſſiſtants were ſeated five on each Side of the Body; the Nobility placing themſelves in the Stalls. During the whole Solemnity, in the Church, and alſo in this Chapel, the Bannerols were held over the Body.

An Altar, by the Dean's Order, was erected at the Head of King Henry the VIIth's Tomb. After the Body was ſet down in the Chapel, a fine Anthem, ſet to Muſick by Signor Bononcini, was performed, with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick, the Performers being placed on a Scaffold, hung from Top to Bottom with Mourning, erected for that Purpoſe croſs the Chapel at the Entrance.

The Words ſuited very well to the Dignity and Solemnity of the Occaſion, and were as follows:

CHORUS.

When Saul was King over us, thou waſt he that leddeſt out, and broughteſt in Iſrael; Anthem on this Occaſion.

The Lord then ſaid to thee, Thou ſhall be Captain over Iſrael, and you ſhall chace your Enemies, and they ſhall fall before you, by the Sword.

DUET.

How are the Mighty fallen, the Weapons periſhed of War.

RECITATIVE.

How doth the City ſolitary ſit, ſhe that was great among the Nations, and the Princeſs of the Provinces.

AIR.

All the Night ſhe weepeth ſore, and her Tears are on her Cheeks.

CHORUS.

Howl, O ye Fir-Trees; for the Cedar is fall'n. The

1715. The Anthem being ended, the Body was carried to a Vault at the Foot of King Henry the VIIth's Tomb, the Choir singing, *Man that is born of a Woman*, and the three following Sentences, and continued ſinging them till the Body was depoſited in the Vault. Then the Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, Dean of Weſtminſter, in his Cope, read, *For as much as it hath pleaſed Almighty God*, &c. Then the Choir ſung, *I heard a Voice from Heaven*, &c. The Service being ended, Garter King of Arms proclaimed the Stile of the deceaſed as follows:

Thus it hath pleaſed the Almighty God, to take out of this tranſitory Life, unto his Mercy, the moſt High, Mighty, and Noble Prince, John Churchill Duke and Earl of Marlborough, Marquis of Blandford, Lord Churchill of Sandford, in the County of Hertford, Baron of Aymouth, in the County of Berwick in Scotland, Prince of the moſt Holy Roman Empire, Captain General of his Majeſty's Forces, Maſter General of the Ordnance, one of the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

And then his Grace's Officers breaking their Staves, delivered the Pieces to Garter, who threw them in upon the Coffin.

During the Proceſſion, and till the Body was depoſited, the Guns at the Tower were fired, one every Minute.

The Detachments of the Horſe Grenadiers, and of the firſt and third Troops of Horſe Guards, having paſſed by the Weſt-Door of the Abbey, went thro' Tothill-ſtreet, to Buckingham Houſe, and entring St. James's Park, at the Gate there, march'd to the Parade) and drew up. The Artillery, with the two Companies of Cannoniers and Bombardiers, made the ſame March, and drew up alſo on the Parade. The Detachments of the third and of the ſecond Regiment of Foot-Guards, and the firſt Regiment of Foot Guards, having march'd by the ſaid Abbey-Door, paſs'd thro' Queen's-Square into St. James's Park, and drew up on the Parade. The Detachments of the ſecond and fourth Troops of Horſe-Guards, commanded by the Lord Forreſter (which cloſed the Proceſſion) after they came to the ſaid Abbey-Door, returned by the Way they went, march'd into St. James's Park through the great Gate at the Horſe-Guards, and drew up alſo on the Parade.

All the Troops and Artillery being drawn up on the Parade in St. James's Park, at a Signal given, that the Body was depoſited, fired three Volleys. Then they returned to the Camp in Hyde-Park, the Horſe firſt, the Foot next, and after them the Artillery.

FINIS.

17 AP 66

APPENDIX.

THE following Pieces, which, as it were, ſum up the Glories of our Illuſtrious Hero, and bring them into one View, as they may be term'd a brief Recapitulation of what has been related in the foregoing Sheets, can be no where more properly placed than at the Concluſion of them.

I.

On the Day, the late Duke of MARLBOROUGH*'s Funeral was perform'd, an excellent Copy of Verſes, written by the ingenious Mr.* Amhurſt, *was publiſhed, as follows:*

Verſes on the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Funeral.

CHURCHILL is dead, and in that Word is loſt
The *braveſt Leader* of the *braveſt Hoſt!*
A *Veteran Chief*, that in the bloody Field,
For forty rolling Years, untaught to yield,
Thro' half the ſever'd Globe obtain'd Renown,
And with its brighteſt Gems adorn'd the *Britiſh Crown.*

Beyond what *Ancient Heroes* could atchieve,
Beyond what future Ages will believe,
His Actions riſe, by ſome *Diviner Grace*,
Diſtinguiſh'd from the Deeds of Human Race;
Unnumber'd and unrival'd, o'er his Foes
Are the *Great Conqueſts* which his Life compoſe;
Such *Vaſt Exploits* contribute to his Fame,
So many Laurels ſhade his *Deathleſs Name*;
He looks like *MARS* invincible in Fight,
And ſhines, unſully'd, with a ſingle Flight.

Achilles, *Ammon*, and the *Julian* Star,
With all thoſe ancient Thunderbolts of War,
To *Blenheim*'s *Victor* ſhall reſign their Claims,
And condeſcend to paſs for Vulgar Names.

In wild Ambition, in the Waſte of Blood,
And acts injurious to the Publick Good,
Their Glory lay, to ſpread unjuſt Alarms,
And ravage peaceful Nations with their Arms:
To burn down Cities, to deſtroy and kill,
And bow the World to their imperious Will——
Thus *Cæſar* reign'd, in wicked Arts refin'd,
Fam'd for the Scourge and Miſchief of Mankind;
Thus *Alexander*, in oppreſſing Right,
In Plunder, and in Rapine, took Delight,
Smil'd o'er one ruin'd World, with impious Joy,
And wept for others, only to deſtroy.

By different Toils, *more Glorious* and *Sublime*,
Up the ſteep Hill of Fame did *Marlbro'* climb.
In *Freedom's Cauſe*, he drew the righteous Blade,
And fought to reſcue Nations, not invade;
From home-bred Tyrants, and from foreign Foes,
To free Mankind, and give the World repoſe.

Barbarian States thoſe *Ancient Chiefs* ſubdu'd,
Artleſs of Warfare, and in Manners rude;
Nations that in Diſorder throng'd the Field,
Unſkilful to aſſault, and prone to yield;
Of *Martial* Proweſs and of Conduct void,
By their own Numbers eaſily deſtroy'd.

Far other Wars, our *Britiſh Hero* wag'd,
With Foes, the Terror of the World, engag'd;
Foes, who the Slights of Battle underſtood,
Long vers'd in Camps, and diſciplin'd in Blood:
A *Martial* People, tho' a People vain,
Slaves, that o'er *Freeborn Souls* aſpir'd to reign:
Germania trembled when their Hoſts drew near;
And half the *Weſtern World* was ſeiz'd with Fear:
'Twas the great *Marlbro'*, in his Rage, went forth,
To curb theſe proud Oppreſſors of the Earth;
Such were his *QUEEN*'s Command, and at the Word,
Firm by his Side he binds his faithful Sword.

Ordain'd by *Heaven* the ravag'd World to bleſs,
For *ten long Summers*, with unchang'd *Succeſs*,

To

To diſtant Lands the *Britiſh Arms* he bore,
Where *Britain's Glory* never reach'd before:
Contending Nations vy'd in *his Applauſe*,
And ſtyl'd him the *Preſerver of their Laws*;
His Merit KINGS in Gratitude confeſs'd,
And *EMPEROURS* his *Martial Virtue* bleſs'd.
On brazen Columns, and on Coins of Gold,
Let it in laſting Characters be told,
That for her *Victor*, this rejoicing Iſle,
Near *Woodſtock*'s *Grotto*, rais'd the ſtately Pile;
That his juſt *QUEEN* augmented his Renown,
With ancient Manors of the *Britiſh* Crown;
And that the *Senate*, anxious for his Fame,
By a new Law *immortaliz'd his Name*.
But in late Ages, may it ne'er be known,
That *Churchill* was diſgrac'd, from Favour thrown;
Was call'd a Traytor, made the Rabble's Sport,
And driv'n, an Exile, to a foreign Court——
Be all his Honours, to remove that Blot,
Remember'd! His Indignities forgot!
Thro' five ſucceſſive Reigns, *his Virtues* ran,
And finiſh'd, by Degrees, the *Godlike Man*,
Loyal in all, to every Monarch true;
Whilſt to each Monarch Loyalty was due;
But with Oppreſſors of his Native Land
Scorn'd to combine, or lend his Venial Hand;
Fir'd by theſe Motives, with a noble Pride,
He fled from *James*, and fought on *William*'s Side.
But ſee! the ſad Proceſſion moves along,
And from his living Deeds diverts my Song:
How ſlow and ſolemn, thro' the crouded Street!
How truly worthy of a Charge ſo great!
The Hearſe proceeds, with pompous Emblems crown'd,
And Trophies of his Actions blazon'd round;
His *Veteran* Troops, Companions of his Wars,
Grown white in Arms, and mark'd with glorious Scars,
(Their laſt ſad March) upon their Chief attend,
And to his Tomb in mournful Order bend;
Each drooping Head the Heart's deep Anguiſh ſpeaks,
And the Tears trickle down their manly Cheeks;
The Drum and Trumpet yield a doleful Sound,
And wait upon their Maſter to the Ground.

Several imperfect Copies of the following Poem, on the ſame mournful Occaſion, having appeared, the following, which may be depended on to be genuine, cannot but be acceptable

to the Reader, eſpecially as, in the Opinion of very good Judges, the Lines perfectly anſwer the Dignity of the Subject.

II.

A POEM occaſion'd by the Funeral of the Glorious and Invincible JOHN, *Duke of* MARLBOROUGH, *&c. &c. &c.*

Another Copy of Verſes on the ſame Occaſion.

WHENCE this *Sad Pomp!* The mighty Cauſe declare,
Why mourn the brave intrepid Sons of War?
With ſilent Grief they in ſlow Order go,
Whilſt ſolemn Sadneſs ſits on every Brow;
And all Things bear the Signs of Martial Woe.
The Trumpets their loud Clangors now forbear,
Nor rouſe the fiery Steeds, nor animate the War:
But, in ſad Accents, their ſoft Moans repeat,
Whilſt the hoarſe Drums, in mournful Conſort beat.
It looks as if the GOD of WAR were dead;
Or *Conqu'ring Britain*'s *Guardian Genius* fled.
Too juſt the Grief; the Mighty *Marlbro*'s gone:
Whilſt pale *Britannia* mourns her *Glorious Son.*
The dire Event, 'tis fit, Mankind ſhould know,
That the moſt diſtant Climes may ſhare th' extenſive Woe;
Let the whole Earth attend his Obſequies,
The World's a Loſer, when *Great Churchill* dies.

Belgia's *United States* his Loſs deplore,
Nor griev'd for their own *Glorious Naſſau* more.
Warlike *Germania* mourns, with all her Sons;
Her *Great Deliverer*, the ranſom'd *Empire* owns.
The *Scheld* and *Thames*, in doleful Conſort join,
And hoary *Iſter* eccho's to the *Rhine.*

France *owns his* juſt Applauſe, *tho' late her Dread;*
She fear'd him Living, and admires him Dead:
In him thoſe *Glorious Virtues*, which, alone,
Might form a *Hero*, all united ſhone.
Greatneſs *and* Goodneſs *here, at once, were ſeen,*
Sweetly inthron'd, in his Majeſtick Mien,
How Mild, *yet* Awful! Piercing, *yet* Serene!

With *Wonder* we the *Godlike Man* beheld,
Great in the Cabinet, and in the Field.
Lovely he ſhone, with ſuch attractive Grace,
He ſeem'd, by Nature, form'd for all the Arts of Peace:

But

But when call'd forth, to Battle's loud Alarms,
How grand he ſhew'd, how terrible in Arms!
When *Marlbro'* led the *Britiſh Legions* on,
Cities they ſtorm'd, Lines forc'd, and Battles won,
Secure of Conqueſt, e'er the Fight begun.
Fearleſs when their *Great Leader* they beheld,
Serene in all the Tumult of the Field,
Whilſt in ten Thouſand Deaths, *Heaven* did its *Fav'rite* ſhield:
Calm and unmov'd, he rul'd the wild Uproar,
And all the Horrors of the raging War.

So *when* (as *Milton* ſings) *array'd with Might*,
MESSIAH put Satanick Hoſts to Flight;
Scatt'ring his fiery Vengeance all Abroad,
He calm amidſt the awful Thunders rode,
The Rebel-Angels *trembled, and confeſs'd the* GOD.

Let *Greece* and *Rome their Rival Heroes boaſt*,
'Till Truth of Hiſtory's in Fiction loſt.
Britain *ſhall ſing her* Marlborough *alone*,
And all their Mighty Generals *ſhew in* One.
'Gainſt Tyrants he unſheath'd his *Conqu'ring Sword*,
Like *David* fought the Battles of the LORD;
Dauntleſs he fought, not fir'd with Thirſt of Blood,
Nor Thirſt of Glory, but his *Country's Good.*
Whilſt *Vict'ry* ſtill her radiant Wings diſplay'd,
And conſtant follow'd where the *Hero* led.
No Cruelty his *Generous Courage ſtain'd*,
Nor did he court the *Vaſt Applauſe* he gain'd.

Thrice happy Iſle! for *Arts* and *Arms* renown'd,
Darling of *Heav'n*, with ev'ry Bleſſing crown'd:
In *Marlbro'* we a *Finiſh'd Hero* ſee,
Nature's laſt *Great Attempt* reſerv'd for *Thee.*

To diſtant Worlds ſhall fly the ſounding Praiſe,
Wherever *Fame* her Golden Trump can raiſe.
From Pole to Pole, and where the circling Sun,
Thro' diff'rent Climes his Flaming Race hath run;
He ſpread the Nation's Glory *and his Own.*

In his *Great Actions*, *Homer's* ſelf might chuſe
A Subject fit for his immortal Muſe;
He need not here ſing th' Imbatti'd Gods,
Nor bring th' *Immortals* from their bright Abodes;
Great Marlbro's Acts his Genius would employ,
Strong as his Numbers, as his *Fancy* high.

Such Praiſes to the *Wond'rous Theme* belong,
There needs *No Fiction* to adorn the Song.

What *Bard* will now the mighty Taſk explore?
Great ADDISON began; But, Ah! he's now no more!
Yet ſtill behold, in his *Immortal Lines*,
How Great, how Bright, the *Matchleſs Hero* ſhines!
Bleſt Age, bleſt Iſland, which, at once, could ſhew,
The *Chief of Heroes*, and of *Poets* too!
With like Applauſe, thro' ev'ry Age, ſhall reign
Great VIRGIL'S *Æneid*; ADDISON'S *Campaign*.

Poets unborn *Churchill's High Deeds* ſhall chuſe,
To add ſublimer Raptures to their Muſe;
With his *Exploits*, their Fancy ſhall inflame,
And borrow Ardor from ſo *great* a *Theme*.

Thus lateſt Ages ſhall, with *Wonder* read,
How *Marlbro'* fought, how *GEORGE* the Scepter ſway'd,
Greateſt of *KINGS*; *Europe's* juſt *Arbiter*,
Glorious in Peace, the Thunderbolt of War.

Let not *Britannia's* Foes, inſulting, boaſt,
Tho' *Mighty Churchill's* gone, yet All's not loſt:
She'll find an Arm, proud Enemies to ſcourge,
Nor want a Marlbro', *whilſt ſhe hath a* GEORGE.

The following EPITAPH on the late Duke of *Marlborough*, made by a *Gentleman* of *PERTH*, is generally commended as an excellent Compoſition.

III.

Epitaphium in illuſtriſſimum MARLBURIÆ Ducem,

MARLBURIUS *jacet hic: Satis eſt. Tamen accipe Tanti*
Ex pœne innumeris pauca notanda Viri.

Semper Olympiacis, *fulgebant Caſtra Triumphis:*
Non ſtetit ancipiti Splendida Palma loco.

GALLORUM *Rabiem, quoties compeſcuit Armis!*
Arma reformatam ſuſtinuere fidem.

Haud Ducis unius; Cunctorum cernite Miras
Virtutes, Artes, Geſta, Fidemque Ducum:

Fabricio ſimilem, LUDOVICI *Gaza, Minæque,*
Flectere Magnanimum non valuere Virum.

Quid

Quid referam FABIOS, DECIOS, *fortemque* CAMILLUM?
Majorem bello MARTIA ROMA *negat.*

GRAECIA *quos jactas, quos jactas* PUNCICA *tellus?*
Judice vel GALLO *præficiendus erat.*

Martis, Musarum, BRITONUM *Pacisque, Poëtæ*
Gloria, Præsidium, Fama, Minister, Opus.

IMPERIO, PATRIÆ, BATAVIS, *Ille Impiger Hosti,*
Munimen, Palmam, pectora, Jura, dedit.

Non gens ulla DUCEM, *non ullus* VICTOR *honorem,*
Regia Tutelam non habet ulla Parem.

The Reader has seen, in the first Volume of this Work, that Her late Majesty Queen *Ann*, of Ever-Pious and Glorious Memory, was graciously pleas'd, as a Testimony of the Great and Just Value She set upon the extraordinary Services done by his Grace, the Duke of *Marlborough*, to Herself and the Nation, and to perpetuate a Remembrance of his unparallel'd Actions, to make him a Grant of the Royal Manour of *Woodstock*, and to order the Palace of *Blenheim*, to be erected there at Her own Expence; Which gave Occasion to the following excellent Lines.

IV.

On Her MAJESTY'S *Grant of* WOODSTOCK-PARK, *&c. to his Grace the Duke of* MARLBOROUGH.

In a Letter to Signior *Antonio Verrio*, at *Hampton-Court.*

RENow'd in Arms, when *Mighty Heroes* rise,
Th' *Immortal Muse*, in lasting Nnmbers tries,
To future Ages to transmit their Fame,
And give them after Death a living Name.
The *Fields of Bliss* below, the shady Grove,
Were the Reward of all their Toils above:
The MANTUAN *Swain* has fill'd the solemn Place,
With the wreath'd Worthies of his *Roman Race.*
While GREATER MARLBORO' disdains to wait,
Mature for Fame, the slow Approach of Fate:
But reaps that GLORIOUS HARVEST whilst he lives,
Which Time to all his *Ancient Heroes* gives.
Elysian Shades shall now no more be sought,
The gay Creation of the Poet's Thought;
The ROYAL GIFT displays a nobler View,
No feign'd *Elysium* can exceed the true.

WOODSTOCK her lov'd PLANTAGENET no more
Laments, when MARLBRO' ſhall her State reſtore;
She, for whom *Chaucer*'s tuneful Lyre was ſtrung,
And *Wilmot*'s Muſe, in ſofter Tranſport ſung,
From lonely Bow'rs, her lofty Head ſhall rear,
And chearful, like her CONQ'RING Lord appear.
Thro' her cool Glades, on ev'ry verdant Plain,
Eternal Plenty, Peace, and Pleaſure reign:
High on her Walls *Imperial* Eagles tell,
By bolder Hands, how fierce *Bavarians* fell;
Here we behold, by *Verrio*'s Pencil wrought,
The num'rous Spoils, from SWABIAN CONQUESTS brought;
How o'er th' oppoſing SCELLENBURG he run,
Which none before, but *Great* GUSTATUS won,
Here Camps aſſaulted, and a City ſtorm'd;
There, on expanded Plains, the Battle form'd;
Thro' Seas of Blood, the fiery Courſers fly,
And rapid Streams, and thund'ring Braſs defy;
While ecchoing Cliffs, and *Sylvan* Heights around,
With Groans, and Shouts, alternately reſound.
Surrend'ring Squadrons, with their Lillies torn,
And haughty Chiefs before his Proweſs born:
In Exile One, and One beneath his Chain,
Strive for a Crown, and Liberty in vain.
Gild his *Victorious Carr*, bold Artiſt, draw
ALBION rejoicing, and the World in Awe:
Paint, in full Splendour, all his ACTS that claim
Triumphant Laurels, and *Immortal Fame*.
Make him *Gaul*'s glitt'ring FLOWERS, in Homage yield,
To fix 'em faſter in *Britannia*'s Shield;
Let *Auſtria*'s ſacred Branch, in State deſcend,
To view the VICTOR, and applaud the Friend;
Let your great *Genius*, on the Canvas ſhow,
How the ſwift *Rhine*, and how the *Danube* flow,
How *Eaſtward* THIS, in ſtreaming Purple ſtrays,
How THAT, his Captives to our Coaſt conveys;
How THUS the TROPHIES, he at once has WON,
Haſte to the Riſing and the Setting Sun.

V.

The following Lines were deſigned to be written on the Gate of Blenheim-Caſtle.

FROM *Danube*'s Banks thy two *Chief Stones* were brought;
At *Brabant*'s *Lines* thy riſing *Baſe* was wrought;

Thy

Thy lofty *Stories* fair *Ramilia* rear'd:
The tow'ring *Height* was gained at *Oudenard*,
Thy *Roof* Majeſtick was with Maſter-Skill
Compleatly *Cover'd* at the Siege of *Liſle*.
The uſeleſs *Refuſe*, took a cleanſing *Scour*,
Along the rapid *Scheld*'s intrenched Shore.
Such *Furniture*, as *Princely* rich and rare is,
Thy *Lord* ſhall challenge at the Gates of *Paris*.
But let their molten *Mome* of *Triumph* ſtand,
And bluſh, tho' Braſs, at MARLBRO's mighty Hand:
While impious *Art* ſuſtains the *Tyrant*'s Name;
He's not the *Statue*, but the *Soul* of *Fame*.

As every Reader may not have had an Opportunity of ſeeing the *Monumental Inſcription* on the famous Pillar, in the Park before the Caſtle of *Blenheim*, I am perſuaded it will be a moſt agreeable Entertainment to thoſe who have not, and an acceptable Remembrance even to thoſe who have.

" It contains a ſhort Enumeration of the *Duke of* MARL-
" BOROUGH's *Unparallel'd Victories* and *Exploits*, written, (as
" an ingenious Author juſtly obſerves) in a plain, elegant and
" maſculine Stile. It is founded on Facts univerſally known,
" as all juſt Panegyricks ought to be; and, to give it the high-
" eſt Commendation, is worthy of the Memory of the *Duke of*
" MARLBOROUGH.

VI.

The Monumental Inſcription, &c.

The Caſtle of *Blenheim* was founded by Q. ANN.
In the fourth Year of her Reign;
In the Year of the Chriſtian *Æra* 1705;
A Monument deſign'd to perpetuate the Memory of the
ſignal Victory
Obtain'd over the *French* and *Bavarians*,
Near the Village of *Blenheim*,
On the Banks of the *Danube*,
By JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH;
The Hero not only of his Nation, but of his Age;
Whoſe Glory was equal in the Council and in the Field;
Who by Wiſdom, Juſtice, Candour and Addreſs,
Reconciled various, and even oppoſite Intereſts;
Acquired an Influence, which no Rank, no Authority can give,
Nor any Force but that of ſuperior Virtue;
Became the fixed important Center,

Which

Which united in one common Cauſe
The principal States of *Europe*;
Who by military Knowledge, and irreſiſtable Valour,
In a long Series of uninterrupted Triumphs,
Broke the Power of *France*,
When raiſed the higheſt, when exerted the moſt;
Reſcued the *Empire* from Deſolation;
Aſſerted and confirmed the Liberties of *Europe*.

PHILIP, a Grandſon of the Houſe of *France*, united to the Intereſts, directed by the Policy, ſupported by the Arms of that Crown, was placed on the Throne of *Spain*. King *William* the Third beheld this formidable Union of two great, and once rival, Monarchies. At the End of a Life ſpent in defending the Liberties of *Europe*, he ſaw them in their greateſt Danger. He provided for their Security, in the moſt effectual Manner. He took the Duke of *Marlborough* into his Service.

Ambaſſador extrordinary and Plenipotentiary
To the *States General* of the United Provinces.

The Duke contracted ſeveral Alliances before the Death of King WILLIAM. He confirmed and improved theſe. He contracted others, after the Acceſſion of Queen ANNE; and reunited the Confederacy, which had been diſſolved at the End of a former War, in a ſtricter and firmer League.

Captain General and Commander in Chief
Of the Forces of GREAT BRITAIN.

The Duke led to the Field the Army of the Allies. He took with ſurprizing Rapidity *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, *Stevenſwaert*, *Liege*. He extended and ſecured the Frontiers of the *Dutch*. The Enemies, whom he found inſulting at the Gates of *Nimweghen*, were driven to ſeek for Shelter behind their Lines. He forced *Bonne*, *Huy*, *Limbourg* in another Campaign. He opened the Communication of the *Rhine*, as well as the *Maes*. He added all the Country between theſe Rivers to his former Conqueſts. The Arms of *France*, favoured by the Defection of the Elector of *Bavaria*, had penetrated into the Heart of the *Empire*. This mighty Body lay expoſed to immediate Ruin. In that memorable Criſis, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH led his Troops with unexampled Celerity Secrecy, Order, from the *Ocean* to the *Danube*. He ſaw; he attacked; nor ſtopped, but to conquer the Enemy. He forced the *Bavarians*, ſuſtained by the *French*, in their ſtrong Intrenchments at *Schellenberg*. He paſſed the *Danube*. A ſecond royal Army, compoſed of the beſt Troops of *France*, was ſent to reinforce the

firſt.

firſt. That of the Confederates was divided. With one Part of it the Siege of *Ingolſtadt* was carried on. With the other the Duke gave Battle to the united Strength of *France* and *Bavaria*. On the ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, 1704, he gained a more glorious Victory than the Hiſtories of any Age can boaſt. The Heaps of Slain were dreadful Proofs of his Valour. A Marſhal of *France*, whole Legions of *French*, his Priſoners, proclaimed his Mercy. *Bavaria* was ſubdued. *Ratiſbon*, *Augſburg*, *Ulm*, *Memminghen*, all the Uſurpations of the Enemy, were recoved. The Liberty of the *Diet*, the Peace of the *Empire*, were reſtored. From the *Danube* the Duke turned his victorious Arms toward the *Rhine*, and the *Moſelle*. *Landau*, *Treves*, *Traerbach* were taken. In the Courſe of one Campaign the very Nature of the War was changed. The Invaders of other States were reduced to defend their own. The Frontier of *France* was expoſed in its weakeſt Part to the Efforts of the Allies.

That he might improve his Advantage, that he might puſh the Sum of Things to a ſpeedy Deciſion, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH led his Troops early in the following Year once more to the *Moſelle*. They, whom he had ſaved a few Months before, neglected to ſecond him now. They, who might have been his Companions in Conqueſt, refuſed to join him. When he ſaw the generous Deſigns he had formed fruſtrated by private Intereſt, by Pique, by Jealouſy, he returned with Speed to the *Maes*. He returned; and Fortune and Victory returned with him. *Liege* was relieved; *Huy* re-taken; the *French*, who had preſſed the Army of the *States-General* with ſuperior Numbers, retired behind Intrenchments, which they deemed impregnable. The Duke forced theſe Intrenchments, with inconſiderable Loſs, on the ſeventh Day of *July*, 1705. He defeated a great Part of the Army, which defended them. The reſt eſcaped by a precipitate Retreat. If Advantages proportionable to this Succeſs were not immediately obtained, let the Failure be aſcribed to that Misfortune, which atttends moſt Confederacies, a Diviſion of Opinions, where one alone ſhould judge; a Diviſion of Powers, where one alone ſhould command. The Diſappointment itſelf did Honour to the Duke. It became the Wonder of Mankind how he could do ſo much under thoſe Reſtraints, which had hindered him from doing more.

Powers more abſolute were given him afterwards. The Encreaſe of his Power multiplied his Victories. At the opening of the next Campaign, when all his Army was not yet aſſembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the Field, the Noiſe of his Triumphs was heard over *Europe*. On the 12th of *May* 1706, he attacked the *French* at *Ramillies*. In the Space of two Hours, the whole Army was put to flight. The

Vigour

Vigour and Conduct, with which he improved this Succeſs, were equal to thoſe, with which he gained it. *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, *Malines*, *Liere*, *Ghent*, *Oudenard*, *Antwerp*, *Damme*, *Bruges*, *Courtray* ſurrender'd. *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermond*, *Aeth* were taken. *Brabant* and *Flanders* were recovered. Places, which had reſiſted the greateſt Generals for Months, for Years; Provinces, diſputed for Ages, were the Conqueſts of a Summer. Nor was the Duke content to triumph alone. Solicitous for the general Intereſt, his Care extended to the remoteſt Scenes of the War. He choſe to leſſen his own Army, that he might enable the Leaders of other Armies to conquer. To this it muſt be aſcribed that *Turin* was relieved, the Duke of *Savoy* reinſtated, the *French* driven with Confuſion out of *Italy*.

Theſe Victories gave the Confederates an Opportunity of carrying the War, on every Side, into the Dominions of *France*. But ſhe continued to enjoy a Kind of peaceful Neutrality in *Germany*: From *Italy* ſhe was once alarmed, and had no more to fear. The entire Reduction of this Power, whoſe Ambition had cauſed, whoſe Strength ſupported the War, ſeemed reſerved for him alone, who had ſo triumphantly begun the glorious Work.

The Barrier of *France*, on the Side of the *Low-Countries*, had been forming for more than half a Century. What Art, Power, Expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here ſhe was moſt expoſed; for here the Duke of MARLBOROUGH threatned to attack her.

To cover what they had gained by Surprize, or had been yielded to them by Treachery, the *French* marched to the Banks of the *Schelde*. At their Head were the Princes of the Blood, and their moſt fortunate General, the Duke of *Vendoſme*. Thus commanded, thus poſted, they hoped to check the Victor in his Courſe. Vain were their Hopes. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH paſſed the River in their Sight. He defeated their whole Army. The Approach of Night concealed, the Proximity of *Ghent* favoured their Flight. They neglected nothing to repair their Loſs; to defend their Frontier. New Generals, new Armies, appeared in the *Netherlands*. All contributed to enhance the Glory, none were able to retard the Progreſs of the Confederate Arms.

Liſle, the Bulwark of this Barrier, was beſieged. A numerous Garriſon and a Marſhal of *France* defended the Place. Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* commanded, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH covered and ſuſtained the Siege. The Rivers were ſiezed, and the Communication with *Holland* interrupted. The Duke opened new Communications with great Labour and much greater Art. Through Countries, over-run by the Enemy, the neceſſary Convoys arrived in Safety. One alone was attacked.

attacked. The Troops, which attack'd it, were beat. The Defence of *Liſle* was animated by Aſſurances of Relief.

The *French* aſſembled all their Force. They marched towards the Town. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH offered them Battle, without ſuſpending the Siege. They abandoned the Enterprize. They came to ſave the Town. They were Spectators of its Fall.

From this Conqueſt the Duke haſtened to others. The Poſts taken by the Enemy on the *Schelde* were ſurprized. That River was paſſed the ſecond Time; and notwithſtanding the great Preparations made to prevent it, without Oppoſition.

Bruſſels, beſieged by the Elector of *Bavaria*, was relieved. *Ghent* ſurrendered to the Duke in the Middle of a Winter remarkably ſevere. An Army, little inferior to his own, marched out of the Place.

As ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year permitted him to open another Campaign, the Duke beſieged and took *Tournay*. He inveſted *Mons*. Near this City the *French* Army, covered by thick Woods, defended by treble Intrenchments, waited to moleſt, nor preſumed to offer Battle. Even this was not attempted by them with Impunity. On the laſt Day of *Auguſt* 1709, the Duke attacked them in their Camp. All was employed, nothing availed againſt the Reſolution of ſuch a General; againſt the Fury of ſuch Troops. The Battle was bloody. The Event deciſive. The Woods were pierced. The Fortifications trampled down. The Enemy fled. The Town was taken. *Douay*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, *Bouchain* underwent the ſame Fate in two ſucceeding Years. Their vigorous Reſiſtance could not ſave them. The Army of *France* durſt not attempt to relieve them. It ſeemed preſerved to defend the Capital of the Monarchy.

The Proſpect of this extream Diſtreſs was neither diſtant, nor dubious. The *French* acknowledged their Conqueror, and ſued for Peace.

Theſe are the Actions of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH:
Perform'd in the Compaſs of few Years,
Sufficient to adorn the Annals of Ages.
The Admiration of other Nations
Will be conveyed to lateſt Poſterity,
In the Hiſtories even of the Enemies of BRITAIN.

The Senſe, which the BRITISH Nation had
Of his tranſcendent Merit,
Was expreſſed
In the moſt ſolemn, moſt effectual, moſt durable Manner.

The

The ACTS of PARLIAMENT, inſcribed on this Pillar,
Shall ſtand
As long as the BRITISH Name and Language laſt,
Illuſtrious Monuments
Of MARLBOROUGH's Glory
And
Of BRITAIN's Gratitude.

PREAMBLE of the Act for ſettling Five thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* upon the Duke of *Marlborough*, and his Poſterity; wherein his Battles and other Actions are recited. Mentioned in the firſt Volume.

An *Act for ſettling upon* John, *Duke of* Marlborough, *and his Poſterity, a Penſion of five thouſand Pounds* per Annum, *for the more honourable Support of their Dignities, in like Manner, as his Honours and Dignities, and the Honour and Manor of* Woodſtock, *and the Houſe of* Blenheim *are already limited and ſettled.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign; Whereas the moſt noble, *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, was, by ſeveral Letters-Patent, created Baron *Churchill* of *Sandridge*, and Earl of *Marlborough*, to him, and the Heirs Male of his Body; And by other Letters-Patent, bearing Date the fourteenth Day of *December*, in the firſt Year of your Majeſty's Reign, in Conſideration of his great and eminent Services, to your Majeſty, and your Allies, as well by his prudent Negociations, as your Majeſty's Plenipotentiary at the *Hague*; Where to the mutual Advantage of your Majeſty, and the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, he ſettled an entire Confidence between your Majeſty and the *States-General*, as by his Valour and good Conduct, in the Command of the *Confederate* Armies Abroad, was created Marquis of *Blandford*, and Duke of *Marlbro'*, to him and the Heirs-males of his Body: And whereas by other Letters-Patent, under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the twenty-ſecond Day of *December*, in the firſt Year of your Majeſty's Reign, your Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, as a farther Mark of your Royal Favour, and Satisfaction with his Services aforeſaid, and for the better Support of his ſaid Dignity, to give and grant to the ſaid Duke of *Marlbro'*, one Annuity, or yearly Penſion of Five Thouſand Pounds of lawful *Engliſh* Money, to be iſſuing and payable out of the Rents, Iſſues, Profits, Incomes, Revenues, Sum and Sums of Money whatſoever, due and payable, or which ſhould from time to time ariſe, grow due, or be payable, out of, by, or in reſpect of your Majeſty's *General Letter-Office*, or *Poſt-Office*, or *Office of Poſt-Maſter-General*, or for or by reaſon of the *Poſtage*, or *Carriage of Letters, Packets*, or other Things, within your Majeſty's Kingdom of *England*, or elſewhere; to have, receive and enjoy the ſaid Annuity, or yearly Penſion of Five Thouſand Pounds, unto the ſaid *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Heirs Male of his Body, for and during your Majeſty's natural Life,

Life, the ſame to be computed from the Feaſt of St *Michael* the *Archangel*, then laſt paſt, and to be paid quarterly, at the four moſt uſual Feaſts or Terms in the Year; that is to ſay, the Feaſt of the Birth of our LORD CHRIST, the Annunciation of the bleſſed *Virgin Mary*, the Nativity of St. *John the Baptiſt*, and the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the Archangel, by even and equal Portions: And whereas an Act paſs'd in third Year of your Majeſty's Reign, entitled, An Act for the better enabling Her Majeſty to grant the Honour and Manor of *Woodſtock*, with the Hundred of *Wotton* to the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Heirs, in conſideration of the eminent Services by him performed to Her Majeſty and the Publick, wherein it was mentioned and recited, *&c.*

Here follows that Part of the ſaid Act which the Reader has ſeen in the firſt Volume.

And whereas, in the Beginning of the Year 1705, the ſaid Duke of *Marlborough* led Your Majeſty's Forces, and thoſe of the *Allies* to the *Moſel*, where, by the Progreſs made in the preceding Year, a fair Proſpect was afforded of removing the War, from the Countries of your *Allies*, into the Enemy's own Territories; But that great Deſign, thro' unforeſeen Accidents, was render'd impracticable, and the Enemy taking Advantage of the Remoteneſs of your ſaid General, and the Troops under his Command, preſs'd the Armies of the *States-General*, which were left for the Defence of their Frontiers, with a ſuperior Force: On this extraordinary Occaſion, the Duke ſhew'd all the Parts of a great Captain, and, at the ſame Time, the Zeal he had for Your Majeſty's Service, and true Regard to Your *Allies*; by a ſpeedy March he returned to the *Maes*, where a new Face of Affairs immediately appear'd, and Your *Allies*, the *States-General*, were deliver'd from the Uneaſineſs they were under; *Liege* was relieved, *Huy* retaken, and the Enemy oblig'd to retire, behind their Lines, which they thought impregnable: But the ſaid Duke, with a ſurprizing Conduct and Bravery, on the ſeventh Day of *July*, 1705, with an inconſiderable Loſs, forced the ſame, defeated great Part of the Enemy's Forces, and obliged the whole Army to a precipitate Retreat; And altho' all the Advantages were not obtain'd, which the Duke had propoſed to himſelf from that Succeſs, yet it confirm'd the Minds of your Majeſty's *Allies*, and produced that *happy Conſequence*, of the Duke's being intruſted with ſuch a Power, as gave him an Opportunity of performing thoſe great Actions, which were executed in the laſt glorious Campaign, in which the Enemy, confiding, in the Superiority of their Army, compoſed of their choiceſt Troops, gave the Duke of *Marlborough* an Opportunity of attacking them,

which he did at *Ramellies*, on the twelfth of *May* 1706, with ſuch Reſolution and Conduct, that, in two Hours Time he obtained a moſt compleat and glorious Victory, and proſecuted his Advantage, without any Intermiſſion, during the whole Campaign.

The Battle of *Ramellies* was followed by the immediate ſurrender of *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, *Maline*, *Liere*, *Ghent*, *Oudenarde*, *Antwerp*, *Damme*, *Bruges*, and *Courtray*, and the taking of *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermond*, and *Aeth*, moſt of which had heretofore employed the greateſt Generals, whole Campaigns in their Sieges. And thus almoſt the entire *Spaniſh Netherlands*, which had been contended for ſo many Years, were conquer'd in one Summer, *&c.*

The following very curious Piece, which, as I am inform'd, is not in many Hands, being as it were an *Epitome*, or Recapitulation of the Duke's whole *Life*, may properly ſerve as a Concluſion of this Work, with which I ſhall therefore finiſh.

VII.

An EPITAPH *upon his Grace* JOHN, *Duke of* MARLBOROUGH, *who was reported to have died in* Antwerp, July 19, 1714.

In Hopes of an happy Reſurrection,
Here lies the Body of
JOHN,
DUKE of MARLBOROUGH,
An ENGLISH-MAN.
Whoſe Soul,
Above Mortality now,
Out of the Power of *Envy*,
Or
Ingratitude,
Enjoys the happieſt Stations of *Elyſium*:
Where
ALEXANDER, CÆSAR, CATO,
Admire,
Revere,
Adore,
The BRAVEST GENERAL, the FIRMEST PATRIOT.
Where,
Nor Cowardice, nor Treachery,
Vain Glory, vain Ambition,
A ſordid Thirſt for Riches,
A reſtleſs Aim at Greatneſs,
Or ſtudied Popularity and Noiſe;

Where

Where,
No baſe *Betrayer* of his Prince's *Weakneſs*,
No Sycophant,
No ſervile Courtier of th'inconſtant Crowd,
(Who, whom they raiſe, pull down;)
Where,
None that doth ſerve his *Country*'s *Enemy*,
To build his private Intereſt
On that *Country*'s Ruin;
Who truſts his *Foe*, deſerts his *Friend*,
Dare ſhews his hated Head.

Stop, Traveller,
Here are the poor Remains
Of
GENERAL CHURCHILL;
His Country's GLORY, and his *Country's* SHAME,
Who,
Having enlarg'd her Credit, far Abroad,
By Arms ſucceſsful, and victorious Troops;
And having well ſecur'd her Peace, at Home,
Was, firſt, *Rewarded*;
Then
Envy'd,
Injur'd,
Baniſh'd.

Happy *Antwerp!*
To whoſe ancient Walls each Foreigner,
From both the *Indies*, and from either Pole,
In future Times will come,
To Read and Wonder:
To Learn,
How changeable is every Mortal's Fate;
How certain Death.
Then value not thyſelf, Vain Man!
Although poſſeſs'd
Of Youth or Beauty, Riches, Glory,
Since all that's valuable could not ſave
Great MARLBRO' from *Antwerp* and the Grave
And all thy Gifts,
Whether of Body, Fortune, or of Mind,
Will not continue thee thyſelf for ever.
Whether thou'rt renown'd
For *Military* Feats,
In glorious Fields, in proſperous Campaigns,
For Troops couragiouſly led on, and ſoon
Victoriouſly led off:

Whether thou'rt renown'd,
For bravely ſtorming, with a daring Hand,
The well-wall'd Citadel and Rampart,
Of *Flandria*'s ſtrongeſt Towns:
Or, whether thou haſt purchas'd *Fame*,
In diſtant Courts, and Camps, and Palaces;
For being ſkill'd in Council deep and dark,
And underſtanding well
The many mazy Wiles and Turns of State.
For,
Little it avails,
(Read MARLBOROUGH's Fate!)
Little,
To have known the diff'rent Intereſts
Of neighbouring and of diſtant Nations:
Little to have known
The trueſt Int'reſt of his *Native Land*,
And to have fix'd it neareſt to his Heart:
Little it avails,
To have advanc'd moſt *glorious Terms of Peace*;
To have directed a moſt *glorious War*;
T'have been the Darling of his Prince;
T'have had the Heart of every Fellow Subject;
Of *mitred* Flamens, and of *well-rob'd* Prieſts;
Of *furr'd* Patricians, and plain Senators;
Of plainer, poor Plebeians:
For Time and Chance,
Death and Diſgrace,
Happen, Alas! to all:
The Stout, the Coward, to the Wiſe, the Fool:
The Juſt, the Knave;
The honeſt Lover of his Country;
The *VILLAIN* that betrays it.
But, oh! Heav'n, may that *Man*
Liv'd curs'd and hated long,
Live in unuſual Diſgrace,
With pungent Mind and painful Body:
And if he roſe in *Haſte*, in *Haſte* too may he fall.

Happy *Antwerp!*
Bleſt with the laſt Retirements of the Great,
The Glorious *MARLBOROUGH*:
More ſplendid and more honourable here,
Than when he ſhin'd in *Ermin*, or in *Armour*:

Who,

Who,
Having obtain'd a Name,
Amongſt the moſt Illuſtrious Mortals;
The ancient Demi-Gods, and preſent Heroes;
A Name!
Eſteem'd wherever *Phœbus* gilds the Day,
Thro' th'habitable Earth;
Having ſecur'd from *French*,
And *Popiſh* Power,
The Happy Realms of *Britain*,
By *Britiſh Arms*, and thoſe of firm *Allies*:
Having,
By glorious Marches, Sieges, Battles,
(Still Victorious)
Reliev'd the *Empire*, vanquiſh'd *France*,
Made *Flanders* ſmile, *Holland* rejoice,
Tyrants tremble;
And,
A certain *Aſcititious* Prince deſpair:
Full of Years,
With Honours loaden,
Withdrew into thy peaceful Walls, in Quiet;
To contemplate
Th' *Herculean* Labours of his buſy Life;
(Chiefly employ'd for *England*'s Good)
To contemplate
Such *Glories* purchas'd by a *ſingle* Man,
In *few* Years Space,
As a whole Race of *Worthies* might attempt
With *leſs* Succeſs, in many Ages.
Happy *Antwerp!*
Bleſt with the laſt Remains
Of that *great Man*, who once protected thee,
Secure from Tyranny:
Not all thy ſtately Buildings,
Not *Temples* (*Antwerp*'s Pride)
Not
That happy Situation,
To which the Elements do *All* conſpire,
To make thee ſtill frequented, ever lov'd;
Not all thy Riches, Plenty, Power,
Learning, Arts and Sciences:
So *true* an *Ornament* to thee do prove,
As *MARLBOROUGH*'s Preſence
When Alive,
His Monument,
Now Dead.

Envy us, *England!*
And act, as often thou haſt done,
Neglect thy *Heroes* and thy *Benefactors*;
Diſgrace them;
But
Lament and Honour them, when 'tis too late.

Speak *Citizens*,
What *Shrines*, what *Arches*,
What *Mauſoleum* ſhall we raiſe,
For *Marlborough*'s Glory, and our own?
The Graver's Art will periſh,
The Painter's fade:
Time conquers *Trophies*,
And levels
Beſt rais'd *Triumphant Pillars* to the Ground:
'Tis the Poet,
The *Muſe* muſt make *him* live;
For *She* that ne'er can die,
Alone an *Immortality* can give.
Deſcend, *Apollo*, then,
And all ye Heavenly Choir,
Which round *Parnaſſus* dwell;
Aſſiſt,
Inſpire,
Whilſt every Son of *Art*,
And rev'rend Bard who treads on *Antwerp*'s Plains,
And walks, and ſings, and loves, and rhimes,
Under the *Umbra* of its Groves,
Along the Banks of many warbling Streams,
Summons all their Fire;
Strongeſt *Judgment*, brighteſt *Wit*.
Livelieſt *Fancy*, juſteſt *Meaſure*,
To eternize *Themſelves*, their *Verſe*,
And
MARLBOROUGH.

Methinks! I ſee a noble *Iliad* riſe,
Virgil's invok'd, *Statius* and *Lucan* read,
And ev'ry *Flandrian* Muſe aſpires to be,
DRYDEN or ADDISON!
Strange!
How the labouring Genius works the Brain,
To rout the *French* on fam'd *Ramilia*'s Plain:

How

How many Poets gain that glorious Day?
Here One
With his All-conquering Pen,
Forces the Lines (by Stratagem once paſs'd)
Maintain'd by Courage,
And writes (as *Marlborough fought*) an Army down.
Tropes, Figures, Similies engage the TROOPS,
Sweep all the Plain,
And level ſtrongeſt Bulwarks to the Ground:
Another,
With *Pegaſæan* Speed from *Flanders*,
Denmark, *Pruſſia*, *Thule*'s ſelf,
Poſt whole *Battalia*'s ſwift to *Germany*.
How does the *Bojan* Prince
(Rewarded Rebel now)
Tremble in Verſe Heroick; How! the Fate
Of the Great *Empire*, dubious, nod;
Till MARLBOROUGH give the *Word*?
Then *Baden* marches; *Eugene* fights,
Schellenberg's paſt, *Hochſtadt* won,
The *Empire* free, *Tallard* a Captive,
An ARMY PRISONERS.
Attend y' inſpiring Souls,
Who Numbers love, and the juſt Force of Verſe;
Applaud, encourage;
And, in immortal *Lines*, employ
Your beſt *Invention*, *Diction*, *Phraſe*;
In *proud* Heroick, *humble* Elegy,
In *bold* Alcaic, *ſofter* Saphic,
To ſing the mighty, endleſs Deeds
OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Oh! what a *noble Subject* muſt HE chooſe,
Who takes him *Infant* firſt, into his Care,
Then writes him full grown *Youth!*
What *Words*, what *Images*,
Will *this* happy *Poet* find,
To expreſs his beauteous Body, beauteous Mind?
Strong Promiſes of *future Greatneſs*,
See! in the *Boy* he reads the *Man*;
And, without *Prophecy*, foretells,
The *Politician*, *Patriot*, *General*, yet to come.
Whoſe *Genius* now, outruns his *Years*,
And renders him the *King*'s, the *Court*'s Delight,
Their preſent *Admiration*, *future Hope*.

How

How greatly too, HE employ'd,
Who his *maturer Years* deſcribes;
And finds the HERO in full Bloom!
Bending his *Thoughts* and *Actions*,
All, to his Country's Good;
Who leads him, with Succeſs,
To many Princes Favours;
With HIM great *WILLIAM*'s Reign adorns;
With HIM embelliſhes Six Glorious Years
Of, then, Great ANN.
What Poet, now, is equal to the Talk?
What *ſingle* Genius dare attempt
The Praiſes, which are due to
MARLBOROUGH?
See! they divide the Theme:
One Sings
His *Noble* Race, *Equeſtrian* Family;
By *War* Atchievements,
Ripen'd into *Princely Titles*, Honours, Riches:
Another ſings his *Princely Conſort*,
(Glory of Females!)
The beſt of *Women*, and the beſt of *Friends!*
(The beſt of *Wives!*)
And a beautiful *Deſcent*,
Even of *Goddeſſes*, in *mortal* Line:
And Another
Deſcribes all MARLBOROUGH in his Son.
Oh, *Blandford!*
Had kind Fate
Thee ſuffer'd ſtill to breathe the Vital Air,
CHURCHILL had never died.
The awful Grace, the Godlike Mien,
The Man, the Hero,
All in Thee had ſhin'd,
And in a long Poſterity,
When thou wert gone,
Behold!
Iernè here, rejoycing drawn,
At MARLBOROUGH's Arrival on her Shore,
Towns ſurrend'ring! Battles won!
The *French*, the Native *Iriſh*, forc'd to fly,
And POPERY
And Slav'ry baniſh'd from the happy Coaſt.
There,
Another Poet makes him ſhine
In WILLIAM's *Council at* AUGUSTA;

And

And Another
In WILLIAM's *Wars*, in FLANDERS;

WILLIAM!
The *Good Genius* of the *Britiſh* Iſles:
Aſſerter of our Liberty:
Defender of our Laws:
Protector of our Religion:
Reſtorer of them all.
WILLIAM, and MARLBOROUGH!
For ever, Both employ'd
Our Peace and Safety to ſecure,
And to tranſmit our Crown
To ANNA, Glorious.

Another,
A Melancholy Bard;
On NASSAU's Death,
Thus makes th' illuſtrious Monarch ſpeak his laſt;
With earneſt *Eyes*, and *Force* of Voice,
Impreſſing HANNOVER,
Upon his Royal Siſter's Heart.
ANNA, my Siſter, my Belov'd:
The Cauſe
With which Heaven warm'd my Breaſt:
For which I left my Native Land,
To render this *a Guardianſhip to* That,
And That *to* This:
To join in ſtrict Alliance, Friendſhip, Love,
The Dutch *and* Britiſh *People*:
Beſt *Security*
'Gainſt France's *lawleſs Power*;
'Gainſt Popery *and* Slavery *at* Home.
That good Cauſe, which thy Sire
Had made deplorable *and wretched*;
By introducing Politicks *in* State,
And Worſhip *in* Religion,
Foreign *and deſtructive to our Iſle*;
Retriev'd *by* Me!
Fate *has determin'd*
By thee *to* finiſh.
Thou ſhalt riſe,
In Power Glorious:
Victory, *kind,*
Shall oft return
Thy Reign to Grace;
France *ſhall be humbled,* Lewis *ſeek for* Peace;

But

But remember, remember *well, my Sister;*
Take CHURCHILL *to thy Heart,*
Let HIM *command thy Arms, Abroad;*
Adviſe *at Home;*
'Tis HE *muſt draw my Sword:*
HE,
Tho' a Briton, *ſhall command*
The Belgian *Troops,*
And thoſe of numerous Allies.
I ſee! I ſee the CONQUEROUR,
From Flanders, France, *the* Rhine, *the* Maes, *the* Scheld,
Victorious, *to the very* Iſter.
To Oudenarde, *to* Mons, *he makes his Way,*
But, oh! Blaregnies *is the greater Name,*
Tournay *ſurrenders,* Liſle *ſubmits,*
Doway *yields, e'en* Bouchain's *taken,*
And, Paris——*with that his Spirit ſunk,*
Juſt able, with his lateſt Breath, to ſay,
Paris,——Pretender.

FINIS.

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